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1968 - To Understand Mariategui

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It has been a little more than three years since we had the occasion to talk from this place. At the time, we spoke about the problem of education and shared our thoughts on this important issue. It was a wonderful opportunity to talk with you. Today, once again, we have the opportunity to speak with you, but the circumstances are somewhat different.

We are going to speak about José Carlos Mariátegui, of the actuality of his thought, and this task which I have been assigned to address, is not in itself an easy task, at least not to me. First of all, we believe that Mariategui must be approached with respect, and secondly, we must approach him from a clear and precise position, because otherwise it is not possible in any way to understand the actuality and richness of his thought.

Of course, Mariátegui has been physically dead for many years, but his thought is still profoundly alive, just as it was in the 1930s. It is still vibrant, still current and still a perspective for Perú, while other thoughts of people who are still alive are truly dead.

It is difficult in an hour more or less, to talk on all Mariátegui's thought, so for this reason we want to focus on a few concrete problems and emphasize on what should do facing the image of this great Peruvian. First, we uphold the figure of Mariátegui as a proletarian intellectual. We will not get into detailed dates or other matters which are not of interest now. We will get into central problems set forth by the actuality of the thought of José Carlos Mariátegui.

TO UNDERSTAND MARIÁTEGUI

- After having tried to bury him in silence, much has been written about Mariátegui. Of course, we also see Mariátegui as very highly spoken of, so as to mystify him, to systematically try to twist him, to try to "better" him with senseless pedantry. It has been said in the first place about Mariátegui that he was not a

convicted and confessed Marxist and whose thought was not sustained by Marxism-Leninism.

Mariátegui said it himself. He was a convicted and confessed Marxist, fearless, neat and precise. What does that mean? It means that Mariátegui had a proletarian class position. He was plainly and simply on the side of the exploited. Mariátegui felt in his own flesh what the exploited masses of our country felt and during his time, unfortunately for us, a very short life, he translated into deeds what he felt and put in practice written word. Mariátegui had a conception of the world. He had an ideology, and he said many times that his ideology was Marxism-Leninism. He conceived and upheld it, and he based his thesis on the contemporary world. It is not possible to understand things, and it is not possible to understand society and the world, unless we view them from the ideological conception of the proletariat.

Mariátegui was a Marxist-Leninist. If we review his works, Mariátegui tells us that in the current century (he spoke around the 1920's) Leninism was the new form, the highest Marxism acquired at the time. Mariátegui then found his affiliation with Marx and Lenin and that is why he called himself a convicted and confessed Marxist-Leninist. In the third place, Mariátegui had a working method, a method of analysis, an irreplaceable method to understand anything. Mariategui based himself on dialectical materialism, and his works are convincing proof of that. The first question, we said, which must be very clear, is the proletarian position of Mariátegui, the Marxist-Leninist ideology nourishing him and the dialectical materialistic method guiding him.

On these three bases it is feasible to understand the figure of José Carlos Mariátegui, but whoever cannot understand Marxism-Leninism, will not be able to understand Mariátegui, and it is not for a lack of enlightening or of intelligence that she or he cannot understand him, but because he is not on the same side, nor has the same light in the brain, nor uses the same method. That must be very clear.

We must base ourselves on facts, start from the class position of Mariátegui, start from his Marxist-Leninist ideology and one must also start, therefore, from his dialectical materialist method. Whoever does not focus on Mariategui with those three viewpoints indicated above, cannot understand his thought and will twist it in many cases in good faith or in the majority of cases, like the feathery hacks, in very bad faith.

Mariategui was a great Latin American Marxist-Leninist and we must

be very proud of that fact. There is not in all of Latin America another Marxist-Leninist comparable to him in any way; truly José Carlos Mariátegui is a summit of Latin-American Marxism thought and a greater summit as time goes on.

José Carlos Mariátegui is better appreciated outside our borders. Here in our country he is less wanted, less respected, and even very little known, which is a shame. Mariátegui then is a great Marxist-Leninist, who honors our country and the exploited among our people, but not others, for the others he is a knife sunk in their hearts, which they cannot manage to take it out neither will they are able to take it out.

Mariátegui was not a mere repeater, who simply knew four or five formulas, but he is much more, something more profound, more Marxist. He takes Marxism-Leninism and introduces and fuses it with our reality, he gets it into our country, incarnates it in our soil, and upon incarnating it, introducing it, penetrating it in our country with Marxism-Leninism, he Illuminates us with a thought which is still current. The interpretation Mariátegui wrote of our country, in his famous "Seven Interpretative Essays on Peruvian Reality," (Siete Ensayos de Interpretacion de la Realidad Peruana) is still an unshakable document.

In Mariátegui we see the grip he had, the Marxist and genial grip of being able to fuse the universal reality of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete actuality of our revolutionary prophet. Very few persons have this quality and Mariátegui had it in excess and grandeur, and we must recognize it. Whoever does not understand the development of Marxist ideas in our country; cannot understand what is happening in Peru, and evens less, of course, can he call himself a revolutionary? Unfortunately there many revolutionaries out there who know Mariategui's thought and still fear it, a justified fear, because it is a good touching stone to find out who are genuine revolutionaries and who are not. That's the reason why they fear Mariátegui. Mariategui's Seven Essays are still a fundamental part of Peruvian thought.

Mariategui developed seven masterful interpretations for us from the Marxist viewpoint, and from the one and only correct viewpoint of our Peruvian reality. Many talented and well-versed scholars with a contrary viewpoint have tried to discredit that little book, from the reactionary position of Don Victor Andres Belaunde (TNF: Bourgeois Peruvian Historian), but their efforts have failed.

THE IMMORTAL BOOK

Mariategui's little book "Seven Interpretative Essays on Peruvian Reality" is still very much alive, while that of Don Victor Andres Belaunde has been read only by very few (mostly for historical curiosity.) We must start from this, what Mariategui is telling us in that little book, in this small volume which constitutes a vision of the People's War in our country. Mariategui does an analysis of our economy, which is a vital and fundamental issue. It is impossible to understand a society if we don't understand its economic structure, unless we understand the social relations of exploitation which are the social economy, the political economy. All else are fabrications (TNF: Spanish word "engendros"). What does he tell us about Perú? He characterized it very concretely; Peru is a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. He shows and proves it in his scheme of the economic process of our country. Mariátegui also develops an outline of social classes in Perú and their historical development, and he states, with other words, of what today is the Marxist thought in Perú being developed under Mao Tsetung's thought.

Mariategui not only develops an outline of the relations of exploitation in our country, not just an outline of the social classes, he also makes a schematic that describes the evolution of ideas in Perú. He speaks, for instance, of the literary problem, something we must study sufficiently to realize how literature has evolved in Perú, and how it has had a clear class character. Mariátegui makes a fusion of Marxism-Leninism with the concrete reality of our country, and as a result, the best, the most profound meaning of that reality emerges. This analysis of the Peruvian reality is the basis to continue advancing theoretically what he masterfully began. No one was able to seriously refute the theoretical thesis of Mariátegui, the most they could do, is to come up with superficial outlines, but they could not make the building that he designed and built so quickly and at such a young age.

Much has been said that the "Seven Essays," was simply journalistic work, putting them down as only the work of a newspaperman. There is even a certain individual --the mere saying of his name, Ravines [TNF: usurped the Party's leadership after Mariátegui's dead], pollutes the air around us-- he claiming things like this: "what can one think about Mariátegui, why so much noise about Mariátegui if he was only a frivolous journalist." That person did not understand a bit about Mariategui; of course, how could he understand anything about Mariátegui, when he was one of those who deviated from Mariátegui's road (just like a player of a team who takes off his shirt and goes over to help the other side.) Because they lack the proletarian conception and the method of Mariategui, that shirt will not help them. With time

and exposure to the sunlight, things lose their color and become yellowish.

For this reason, the problem is not external, but three little things, three basic things about Mariátegui: his class position, his ideology and his method. Whoever is on the side of the proletariat, of the peasantry and of the exploited classes in our country is in a position to understand Mariátegui; whoever does not assume this attitude, this class position, whoever has one foot on the side of the exploited, and the other foot on the side of the exploiters, whoever cautiously sides with the exploited, but at heart is with the exploiters, is not able to understand Mariátegui; that's why we see so many salivating varmints out there. However, their spit will never reach the height of the steps reached by Mariategui more than 30 years ago.

MARIATEGUI WAS A FIGHTER FOR THE PROLETARIAT

We would like to go on to another point which cannot be unlinked from the one above. These are tied like the two sides of a sheet of paper, inseparably linked. I am referring to Mariategui as a proletarian fighter, a great figure, an extraordinary thinker and also an extraordinary organizer, and the first militant Marxist fighter of our country. We must also put that out very clearly.

José Carlos Mariátegui came to our country from Europe. He brought new ideas and a new task, a mission: to build socialism in Peru. That was his mission and he fulfilled it. He worked tirelessly for socialism, he lived for socialism, he outstretched himself for socialism, and he died for socialism. At all times he remained unbeatable, with an erect spinal cord, without twisting accommodations. When one studies a bit, one finds in Mariategui a work plan, some kind of organizational development of the proletariat in our country. In the first place, he works to prepare the work of workers unions, he shows up as one of the creators of classic trade unionism. Before him there already were union struggles in the country, but Mariátegui sets the bases for proletarian industrial unionism. Mariátegui is the founder of the General Confederation of Peruvian Workers (CGTP). The CGTP is Mariátegui's work. He was its ideologist, its mentor, who built it organically and who conceived its foundations and organizational characters.

One of the first organizations the proletariat needs is the structuring of an industrial and trade Central Union. Mariategui understood that very well, but he not only understood it, since Mariátegui was not the type of person who upon understanding something, just laid back

relaxing on the enjoyment of his own lucidity, but quite the contrary, he felt the need to fulfill the task this understanding demanded of him. He did all the preparatory work of the CGTP constitution and platform. Any constitution, no matter what it is, has two consecutive parts, two elements which together form any organization or institution. First, the ideological part, that is, the dynamics of thought, the formation of a programme, the constitution of its points of agreement, the importance of a statute, etc., and a second part, the constitution of the organization apparatus strictly speaking. That was understood by Mariategui profoundly and masterfully, and following his Marxist analysis, Mariategui was the creator of the CGTP.

THE GENERAL CONFEDERATION OF PERUVIAN WORKERS (CGTP)

There is a very interesting thing: in developing the statutes, Mariategui made a class conscientious, proletarian workers' union statute which is still awaiting to fulfill its realization. That is ironic, but more than ironic, it is proof of the disorientation and confusion that after him have imposed certain individuals in the workers' union movement in our country. If you read the CGTP statutes, in the first place you'd find some sort of introduction, an orientation says Mariategui, and it set forth how the proletariat sees the world of today, how there is a struggle which cannot be disguised, a struggle which cannot be swept under the rag, a struggle between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, and in turn he sets forth, that there is a class ideology one must follow to create a union organization, he sets it forth clearly and in a very precise language. Then, what does Mariátegui do?

Mariátegui sets forth the general bases of the organic constitution of that union organization, but he does not do it so meticulously as to suffocate it, but in general lines, and basic points which allow for the development and initiative of the people. We cannot tell the people, "when you get down a ladder, do it first with the right foot." We must allow for their initiative, their creativity, let them think with their own heads so they can understand the issues, so they learn instead of being forever "under age." He thought about the people that they did not need at all times a sort of guiding dog, because the people aren't blind. Mariátegui understood that very well and that's why he drew the general bases for the organization. Also, when Mariátegui addressed the problem of the unions he referred to formidable ideas not found in any statute. The only favorable difference of today's statutes is that they are printed in a better quality paper.

Mariátegui sets forth the means of the struggle and speaks to us about

the strike. Why does Mariátegui set forth things that way? Because in the organization one must also speak to them of the means and tactics to wage a struggle, in accordance with what we want to achieve, there is a form of the struggle.

It is important to say this, because it one reads the newspapers of today in our country, La Prensa, for instance, it claims that the strike is a poor method, inadequate, a method just for extremist agitators. La Prensa wants to domesticate the proletariat wishing it never goes on strike, but rather appeal to Congress (parliamentarism), to compromise, it pretends that the victim of theft discusses about the stolen goods with the thief. In any struggle, it is important, it is fundamental, to see what the means of the struggle is, the ways in which struggle is conducted, and what is the basic and fundamental demand that allows the mobilization of the masses, and mobilizing them for one sacrosanct reason: because through active mobilization the people open their eyes and understand and free themselves from apathy and atavism and go on to generate those who will conduct the struggles (their leaders). For this reason, a mass movement is very important, for that reason it's good to highlight this fundamental point in the statutes of the CGTP. Mariategui also addresses the problem of propaganda and agitation. The people need their own voice to say their own words. They don't need for others to say it instead of them. The people may not talk in a florid language, they may not have a polished language, they might make mistakes on diction, but it does not matter. What counts is that the people say what they feel, what they see, what they need and struggle consistently and to the end for what they want, regardless of defeats, because any defeats the people may suffer are temporary, all of them, each and every one of them; Mariategui takes care of that too and when we read the statutes he speaks of propaganda and agitation.

If we study at this long historical period from Mariátegui's death, we see how this entire problem has not been understood and how reaction may shout at us every day. However, we cannot find a daily press expressing the voice of the workers, we can't find such a thing because the problem, how Mariátegui set it forth, has never been well understood. If we do this small summary of what was proposed right in the statutes of the CGTP, then we see the extraordinary capacity Mariátegui possessed and the means of solution. Mariátegui understood perfectly well this problem: "As long as they are organized, the people are invincible." Lenin, extraordinary in every sense, said: "the people are invincible, but only when they are organized like steel, united on its own principles."

THE ORGANIZATION OF THE PEASANTRY

Mariátegui proposes that the people, first and foremost, must define their ideological and political position, second, they must forge their organic structure.

But Mariátegui not only takes care of organizing the workers, the gigantic work of Mariátegui does not end there, but he sees something else: he understands our country to its very entrails and discovers that in our country there are peasants. Mariátegui not only studies them but understands their role, understands their historic mission, and what it is that oppresses them. Mariátegui says that in Perú, there are peasants who are crushed by the feudalism oppressing them. This feudalism has two expressions: Latifundia and serfdom that damned urge to exploit, to live off somebody else's labor. Mariátegui understands all that and pinpoints the fundamental cause, the malady, the origin, the historic source is feudalism which still prevails in our country. He says our country is semi-feudal and, that is a mountain yielding its weight over and crushing the Peruvian peasant. The problem of the Peruvian peasant is the problem of the land, and the problem of the land is summarized by how to conquer that land. How can the land be conquered? Mariátegui proposes that the peasantry be organized and he is the first to sow it under a correct concept, to fight for it from a proletarian viewpoint, indefatigable in the organization of peasants. Mariátegui has a profound work that is seldom read, because many consider it simple political work rather than a scientific one. Some people have monumental blindness. Mariátegui begins to address the peasants' problem and proposes organic forms, and he does an analysis in his work "Sketch of the Indigenous Problem," which was presented at an international meeting.

Mariátegui analyzes the situation of the peasantry in our country, of interest to us is that right there he proposes forms to organize the peasantry. Mariátegui calls for organizing unions of peasants, to form peasant leagues, to set forth organizations capable of mobilizing of the peasantry. Mariátegui understands that without organization the people are very weak and cannot fight. However, he does not stop there, he proposes the need to create a workers-peasants alliance, that is, one of the most fundamental principals of any revolutionary process.

Mariátegui points this out and goes further. He proposes two extraordinary things; with respect to Power, Lenin said: "the problem of the revolution is the problem of Power." That is fundamental, everything points to conquering power, to retain it or to maintain it.

Some believe that Mariátegui was a deformed humanist or a humanistic bourgeois liberal. Mariátegui goes much further and says that there is something else to do in the problem of organizing the peasantry: to find out the weaponry of the peasants, to organize the revolutionary armed forces of the peasantry. Now, don't tell me I am promoting this: I am merely speaking of Mariátegui, and Mariátegui proposes arming the peasantry as one of the necessary forms of organizing them; he not only proposed that, but proposed that Soviets needed to be formed, and that is most correct and applicable from A to Z, wholly and absolutely, outside little fears we might have. That was how Mariátegui proposed things.

THE PARTY

Mariátegui resolves the political problem in our country. He knows perfectly well that the proletariat has organic forms such as workers unions, workers' alliances, and workers' weaponry. Well, Mariategui knew that these three things we just mentioned amount to nothing if there is no brain guiding it. So then Mariategui proposes founding a proletarian party and creates the party of the proletariat in our country. Anyone studying the problem of the ideas in Peru must recognize that fact. But out there we see some of the ilk of Carlos Tapia [TNF: the same individual who nowadays -1990's- is a well-paid Senderologist, an agent of reaction] saying that Mariátegui was not the founder of the Communist Party of Perú, that what Mariátegui founded was the Socialist Party of Perú, "because Mariátegui was a man of ample concepts, and an ample spirit, Mariátegui was not sectarian. He was not narrow minded, and he was very gentlemanly in his ideas." That seems like a defense of Mariátegui, but in reality it is the worst offense that can be done to Mariátegui. Mariátegui would accept anything except that, which is like telling him: "you were a bad man, at the end, you broke down when you were only 35."

There are some "defenders" whom we are better off telling them, do not defend me, because you are sinking me, and that is what we need to tell to these "defenders of Mariátegui," who speak about a non-sectarian Mariátegui, and ample and democratic one, so ample as to confuse the exploiters for the exploited. Mariátegui founded the Communist Party of Peru, which at first was not thus named: it was named the Socialist Party. There arises the aforementioned Mr. Ravines saying, "we can prove it with documents and everything else," he says with trembling voice that he [Mariátegui] founded the Socialist Party and not the Communist Party. "I founded the Communist Party," states the miserable Ravines.

But that is false. It is true that Mariátegui founded the Socialist Party, but affiliated to the III International and subject to the principles stipulated by Lenin in 1919. How is that about? Mariátegui creating a Socialist Party instead of a Communist Party, however one affiliated to the Communist International? Were those really ignorant people who thought that this party was not the Communist Party, yet in reality it was? Mariategui wrote its constitutive charter, its birth certificate. Mariategui was present there. Mariategui also wrote the party programme. We must refer to the documents found in the works of Martinez de la Torre [TNF: a biographer and close comrade of Mariategui.], there we find the programme written by Mariategui himself, the program of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP). How is that? He does not create the Party, yet creates that document? Does that mean that those in the International were not aware? They say he did not create it, yet was affiliated to the International. He does not create it, yet writes its constitutive charter. Simply what we see is a conspiracy to wrest away from us the immense figure of Mariátegui.

Mariátegui dedicated his life and tireless work to accomplish what he thought was his duty, to participate in the struggle for Peruvian socialism. But he wasn't only a mere participant but the one who generated it. Since then, socialism in our country has a filiation, an ideal. We are in the process of rediscovering the figure of Mariategui.

WE ARE THE LEGITIMATE HEIRS OF MARIATEGUI

We want to speak about the actuality of Mariátegui. But first we must speak of the enemies of Mariátegui. You already know that he died young, at age 35; his work remained largely to be done and he set the bases for his practical work. His work has had many ups and downs: open felonies, untold betrayals, opportunists attempting to cover themselves under his shade. It also has, naturally, individuals who have defended it consistently and some who today want to go back to his figure, to his source. With Mariátegui physically dead, certain elements, certain individuals, certain weasels whose name I do not even want to mention here, arise as the ones carrying the banner of Mariátegui, for the express purpose of systematically renege and distort his thought and betray in deeds the legacy they claim to have received. How do these self-proclaimed heirs of Mariátegui behave politically? , What is their practice? By their deeds you will know them. The way they act today they will act tomorrow and with still more reason in 1969. In words, they cover Mariátegui with praise, they fill column after column in newspapers to pay him homage. They call for massive and popular picnics, ostensibly to heighten the figure of Mariátegui. Behind Mariategui's name, they pretend to hide their

many years of betrayals in our country, more than 30 years. They are old and proven betrayers. Can anyone heighten the image of Mariategui, recognize him, without following his thought? In no way is this possible. How could they have been followers of Mariategui when, unlike the Amauta [TNF: El Amauta referring to Mariátegui, the teacher] who held that the country is semi-feudal and semi-colonial, they hold, with very loose bones and shamelessly, that Peru is a dependent nation? How can they be followers of Mariátegui? These gentlemen say, and it is on their posters, in their documents around everywhere, they claim that Mariátegui's thought is still current, is still real, concrete, that Mariátegui's economic analysis is still reality in our country, but that Peruvian society is semi-feudal and dependent. Let's repeat what Mariategui says? Mariategui says that Perú is a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country, and that its semi-colonial character will go on worsening and establishing itself more with the increased penetration of imperialism. Let's ask ourselves a simple question: Has imperialism penetration increased or not since the time of Mariátegui? The clear answer is obviously yes. It has penetrated more. If imperialism has penetrated more, has what Mariátegui said been fulfilled or not? He told us that with the further penetration of imperialism, and of semi-colony we would be even more at risk of becoming a total colony, that is, definitely losing our sovereignty. Mariátegui proposed, for instance, a workers and peasants front and to make Soviets. And what do these self-proclaimed followers of Mariátegui preach? They preach to make a front with the bourgeoisie. How about the workers and peasants? They are not in their plans, except for the very few they bring in pulling them from their ears, to falsely represent the genuine workers. But what do these supposed followers say? That we should participate in elections that through elections we will conquer power. What kind of followers are these? I refer myself to Mariátegui's documents. Can these gentlemen be called followers of Mariátegui? No. They are smokers of Mariátegui, arsonists of Mariátegui's work. They burn a lot of frank incense for the purpose of covering the saint with ashes, to tar him so no one will be able to see how he really was and still is. Much picnicking, much phrase mongering, elevating the figure of the man while prostituting his thought. They mention Mariátegui a lot while denying his revolutionary vision. Are these followers of Mariátegui? No. They are traffickers, enemies of Mariátegui. They want to reduce the celebration of Mariátegui to merely commemorate his death (TNF: Las Romerias al Amauta. Yearly delivery of flowers and candle light to Mariategui's tomb by revisionist groups in Peru). Very symptomatic. They celebrate his death because they celebrate that he is dead, understand? When should we be much happier of the fact that he was

born, like for the great figures of the world, nobody celebrates the day Lenin died, but all celebrate the day on which Lenin was alive. We know them better for their deeds. We must not accept that. We must fight all those who oppose Mariátegui, who denies he. But it is not only Mariátegui who has those kinds of enemies.

THOSE "SUPERSEDING" MARIATEGUI'S WORK

He also has hidden enemies. Those individuals who keep on saying: "On what year was it that Mariátegui wrote? In 1928? Ah! ," They say, "that was forty years ago! In 40 years historical science has progressed much in the world. The methods of investigation have progressed much, studies on Peruvian history have advanced both on the archeology, on history of the republic, on history of the Inca empire, "these things have advanced so much as to "exceed the reach of Mariátegui."The affiliation of these superseders is the same of the improvers of Marx. These "petty superseders"have not even been able to supersede their own narrow minds. They are liars, false, traffickers. What do these individuals do? They have the habit of accumulating data: that typical intellectual richness of the bourgeoisie. Data is a bourgeois concept. They believe that the more data one has, the better interpreter one is, the better understanding one has of the national situation; which of course it is absurd. That is not where the problem lies, it is not a matter of accumulating data, because we simply are not mere counting machines; the problem lies on the interpretation, and Mariátegui called it "Seven Essays of Interpretation," not seven essays of data accumulation. And the problem of interpretation is a problem of class position, of proletarian ideology and of dialectical materialist method. What happens is that his superseders have yet to grasp the problem of knowledge in the bourgeoisie and in the proletarian. What happens is that these superseders want to make a Marxist interpretation of Perú, with a bourgeois concept in their heads, that is what really happens. What is the end result? A chili pot which not even they themselves are able to digest and that is how ambiguous things get: "Perú is semi-capitalist, Perú is a semi-colony, Perú is a neo-colony, but Perú is the same time semi-feudal, at the same time that it is capitalist." But what the hell is Perú? The problem with these individuals is that they lack unity of thought, not because they are less intelligent. They may have a great intelligence, great wit, but they lack a base. It is a like building a house that has a roof but lack of a foundation. They lack class position and that is why they cannot go further. They digress, make grandiose interpretative schemes, lucid and brilliant schemes about a stage of the country or of today's Peruvian society, but they are unable to get to the crux of the problem and therefore, end up talking about Perú having curious situations of

class or curious alliances. There is nothing curious in Perú, society is not curious at all.

Society is governed by laws, but those who do not follow Marxism cannot understand those laws. To these friends, to these gentlemen who pretend to overcome Mariategui, we must tell them to understand what the problem is, show them what a gross mistakes they make when they try to understand Mariátegui while keeping the bourgeois system in their heads. They will never succeed.

One of the most debated problems is the capitalist character of Peru, because Mariategui held that Perú is semi-feudal and that is correct. They claim Mariátegui made a mistake because he said we are semi-feudal when we are capitalist; what happens is that at the bottom of the thought of those individuals there is no dialectic mechanism, they believe that revolution is not feasible unless the forces of production are largely developed. That concept was superseded already: Lenin made of these ideas "mashed potatoes," but some still revive it.

Some people claim to have superseded Mariategui. In what does this betterment consist? Where is the well-thought document showing us that the country is this or that way, or that the revolution must have this or that character? That is another problem, because Mariátegui says that the first stage of the Peruvian revolution is national democratic, people's democratic, but the superseders of Mariátegui say, no, the revolution is socialist. Finally, there is another set of twisters, they extract or cut little sentences of Mariátegui's work, then begin to make weird mental elaborations, somewhere Mariátegui says something about religion, he has an opinion about religion, about the myth, but then some rub their hands with glee, their soft hands which have never done any field work, and say: deep down Mariátegui was a mystic and not a Marxist, he was a humanist that suffered and pained for Peru.

Mariátegui set forth clearly that Marxism-Leninism is universal. The superseders take hold for one sentence of his in which he said that the revolution in Perú will not be traced nor copied. Mariátegui set forth Marxism as a universal truth and that universal truth he transferred into our reality. It is not as some say that Mariátegui attempted to squeeze reality within the narrow Marxist scheme that is what Mr. Victor Andres Belaunde said. No. Mariategui has not done that. Mariátegui was not a senseless man. Mariátegui was a Marxist man and he understood things as a scientist, although he had an anti university feelings, this was because he was against the rigid, obsolete and a feudal university we had in our country, not against the people's

university which he shone with his thought.

Reactionaries pretended to show a bourgeois or petty-bourgeois Mariátegui, and some have even said Mariátegui was a populist [laughter], a populist in the sense that it was Mariátegui who developed the pro-peasantry thought in Perú, a Mariátegui who did not develop a proletarian conception, but a conception from the viewpoint of the peasantry. That is a lie and a gross distortion. Mariátegui is a Marxist, he does not have the peasantry viewpoint, because if he had it, he would be a petty bourgeois revolutionary and nothing else.

TO STUDY AND TO DIFFUSE

What conclusions must we the revolutionaries draw about Mariátegui's thought? First, to study and diffuse José Carlos Mariátegui. Why study Mariátegui? Because much is spoken about him in our country, but very little by him is read. Let's do a retrospective analysis and see if we have read the 10 little volumes written by Mariátegui? Strictly speaking, do we know his political proposals? Are we familiar with his anti-imperialism viewpoint? How many times have we think about the problem of an anti-imperialist viewpoint? How much have we meditated about the problems of Mariátegui? Not much.

Mariátegui is a man who shines in our country: there is no one else of this magnitude. What figure do they pretend to counterpoise? To Mr. Riva Aguero, that apprentice of fascism who never even became a consistent one? Neither did Don Victor Andres Belaunde managed to put forth a consistent thought. Belaunde is a superficial man, who today is taken for a thinker. His work on St. Agustine does not go beyond pure quackery, it is shell without substance. We must spread Mariátegui's thought. What have we done for the fortieth anniversary of Mariátegui? Have we studied him in depth? Have we held discussions at the base level, organize seminars and conferences on the Seven Essays? Have we attempted to try to apply what Mariátegui said and to follow his line to understand in that light, the current situation in the country? Have we picked up the lantern to be able to see where we are going? We have not done so. Concretely, here is what I propose. I think we must set forth activities to commemorate the fortieth anniversary of the Seven Essays. How do we do that? For now, at least by discussing it. Secondly, it seems to me that we have another task: the problem of defending Mariategui, who is being attacked openly, and covertly.

Mariátegui is a source of light which we cannot allow to be turned off, to be slander, we cannot allow for it to be seemed through colored lenses, so we would be forced to see black what is red, so his fundamental ideas would get twisted. We cannot allow that, we have to defend Mariátegui, because if we do not, then Mariátegui will be continued to be cast aside. We'd then be following the same policy of the reactionaries: what reaction did, was to take Mariátegui, chained and threw him in jail, and then tried to silence his ideas.

We must free Mariátegui, because if we do not, then neither can we liberate ourselves. Of course, this is not a personal problem but a problem of liberating all people. In third place, I think we must further the study of Mariátegui, I do not pretend to supersede or overcome Mariategui, I do no want to be classified in quarters of the superseders, but I think we must develop Mariátegui further, take his ideology, his method, his sources as a base, and develop these problems. For example, how we analyze the Peruvian economy of 1968, in the light of the 1928 essay? It would be magnificent thing to do the same with literature, with the problem of the land, women and other problems. I think that this is a duty and we the intellectuals, must fulfill it, and the workers as well as the peasants because we find many portions of his work which refer to them in plain and clear language. In conclusion, Mariátegui is a great example, united with other figures in our history, such as, for example, Tupac Amaru.

THE EXAMPLE OF MARIATEGUI

Mariátegui is a historic figure of our country. Even if a recent one, he already has a perfect historical dimension that excels. He is the country's ideologist. There is no other one. The reactionary ideologists are dwarfed and defeated by Mariátegui.

We must do it. How wonderful it would be if there were a few more people like him! Because I am quite convinced that individuals like Mariátegui are not born and forge every day, but every once in a while. His family name can be canned and assumed by his relatives or not. What matters here is the example. We must raise his figure as an example to follow, as guide of the revolution in our country, and our country is deeply changing and will change even more. It has been said, nobody can stop history, it may be deviated a bit for a short while, but not more. Mariátegui, therefore, is an example to us, but an example of what? Mariátegui is an example of proletarian revolutionary, not more, not less. We do not make him bigger. Mariátegui doesn't want that we exalt him nor he wants that we take away his merits. If we say he is an example of a revolutionary, then

we would be stripping him of his proletarian family name; if we take the proletarian position out of him, then Mariátegui would be just one more among many.

AN ITTY BITTY THEORETICIAN

[TNF: In Spanish "Un Teoriquito Pequeñito" or a little theoretician] And what does it mean? I study Mariategui to understand what is about, I see his work, his life, and I find in Mariátegui's work a theoretical development, a Marxist-Leninist analysis of our problems, a great theoretician of Perú and of Latin America.

We must follow that example; I am not proposing that we must be equal to him, but only that we follow his road. For instance I could make a little prologue. For instance, I could do something following his light on this level, and by doing so I would be an itty bitty theoretician, but I am on his road, and if we join together all the itty bitty truths that we may be reaching at while following the road of Mariategui, then it becomes a huge river of truth. Who is more responsible for doing this? The intellectuals. But not the plain intellectuals because our country and its development not only demand intellectuals: It demands revolutionary intellectuals. What does it mean? Mao Tse-tung answer is luminous and precise and very realistic when he says we must fuse ourselves with the exploited masses of workers and peasants. He says that very concretely. If one wants to be revolutionary intellectual then one must fuse himself with the masses, work with them, feel like they do and think like they do. But this is a process, because we must leave aside our status, our business suits, we must become revolutionary intellectuals. That is a reflection proper to all of us, which carries us to the second part. In Mariategui, we see the man of action, a doer, even when he confronted some personal problems, like his family, his health, he always put those problems behind his main task.

Mariátegui was very consistent. He sacrificed all for his work because he understood the importance of it, because he was a fighter, whoever is not a fighter, is not a Marxist-Leninist.

We must follow his road, truly, letter by letter, it will be difficult to follow his road, but we must follow it.

I think some ideas have been clarified, so try to take out all the embellishment and multitude of florid words, and retain what is essential, the synthesis, the schematic, the outline, there remain, thus, a few ideas, especially the need of enthroning the thought of

Mariategui, of defending it and following his example. The destiny of our people is at stake. Either we enthrone the thought of Mariategui, or the country does not go forward.

1970 - Latin America : People's War great victories and brilliant perspectives

Bandera Roja No. 42, May 1970

"The revolutionary war is the war of the masses, and it can only be realized by mobilizing the masses and being supported by them."

"Our principle is: The Party commands the gun, and we will not allow the gun to command the Party." Mao Tse Tung

The world political situation has entered a new era: That of Mao Tse-tung thought (today Maoism-TNF) Under this sign, we have witnessed events in the past few years that have changed the world considerably. The National Liberation struggles have advanced unstoppably, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in China has achieved great victories, the International Communist Movement has been strengthened, and the masses throughout the world, (even inside the imperialist and social-imperialist countries) have unleashed furious revolutionary storms, shaking up the entire obsolete and rotten system of exploitation of man by man.

THE FOUR CORNERS OF THE WORLD ARE ON FIRE TODAY.

The sparks of the Peoples' War set the prairies on fire. The violent conflagration of the revolution is extending, forever devouring the old world, sinking all the reactionaries in desperation and opening new and nearer hopes for all mankind.

LATIN AMERICA IS THE "BACKYARD" OF NORTH AMERICAN IMPERIALISM

By way of its semicolonial policy, imperialism has penetrated more ferociously in the Latin American countries, accelerating the exploitation and plundering of the natural resources, oppressing and ruining the masses of the people, mainly the workers and peasants.

By way of their global counterrevolutionary strategy, the imperialists have as a priority to "strengthening" their puppet and lackey regimes. Thus, strengthening the position of feudal landlords and bureaucratic

capitalists, by the centralization of the economy, the media, and the use of political chicanery by making them adopt "nationalist" and pseudo-anti-imperialist poses, by funding, training and developing the reactionary army, the modernization of its weaponry and repressive apparatus, the perfecting of its methods of assassinations, and the increase of its material reserves.

All the above is being done in order to unleash a bloody counterrevolutionary war, in which they attempt to use the "masses against the masses." Their goal is to keep in power not only weak and venal reactionary politicians, but military commanders and chiefs who are much more corrupt and savage and ready to massacre the people without blinking an eye.

In the eyes of the imperialists, fascist regimes and police states offer greater "stability" and "efficiency" in safeguarding their interests as well as in the violent repression of the Peoples' War. In the last decade, the military "corps" has been directly controlled by the imperialists and their "CIA-agents" subjecting most of the Latin American countries under fascist boots. Our Communist Party (PCP) has pointed out the preventive nature of these imperialist plans many times. The real objective of modifying certain structures is to adapt them to their semicolonial plans, assuming that they will be more "productive" to them before the explosion and proliferation of guerrilla groups, and therefore, aiming at "preventing armed struggles, to contain the stormy advance of the Peoples' War."

Violent repression has always been the main weapon used by the imperialists and reactionaries. At the least sign of guerrilla activity, they launch themselves frantically, to completely destroy them as soon as possible.

"Burn all, destroy all, and kill all" is their policy used against the masses and patriotic sectors, and against the wounded and captured guerrillas they apply the policy of "war without prisoners." Their barbaric proofs of ferociousness toward the unarmed population and captured fighters are constant, including their methods of mass murder and refined CIA techniques of torture and physical annihilation.

The reactionaries have promoted and maintain, mainly in the cities, secret groups of criminals and degenerates, who with the open support of reactionary authorities have caused the violent death of thousands of patriots and progressives.

In the Peoples' War that the peoples of Latin America will eventually have to confront, they will face extremely harsh conditions in its development. It will have to overcome the most difficult conditions ever in history. But the imperialists and reactionaries are not invincible. (Our people will contribute to bury definitively all the exploiters.)

The Soviet Social Imperialists and other revisionists, showing their treacherous and counterrevolutionary face, as principal accomplices of Yankee imperialism, deceitfully proclaim and agitate their "peaceful transition to socialism." In reality, it means submission, servility and worship to the imperialists. Because while collaborating politically and economically with the old rotten dying landlord-bureaucratic states, they call for the violent repression of the masses. Thus, under the baton of their repulsive chieftains, the revisionists of Latin America have carried out successive and permanent counterrevolutionary activities, of shameless treachery and sabotage to the revolution and the Peoples' War.

In their desperate attempts to get the "benefit" of legality, they have not hesitated to launch the most rapid attacks against the Marxist-Leninist parties and revolutionary violence. The revisionists have rendered "services," in favor of the enemy, and in the measures in which armed actions prosper. And when they are incapable of obstructing the growth of the revolutionary movement from the outside, they introduce themselves or infiltrate their ranks, after hypocritical demonstrations of support, in order to capture the leadership and use the guerrilla groups in their political negotiations for "legality."

The experience of Latin America has confirmed the counterrevolutionary actions of Trotskyism and the damaging effects of its fallacious thesis of "decisively anticapitalist" struggle. Many revolutionary [cadres and leaders] were murdered by the police "thanks" to the information provided by revisionists and Trotskyists. Only the people will judge them for the blood of these fighters.

With the victory of the armed struggle in Cuba in 1959, and the activity of the Castroist movement, Latin America has suffered an erroneous and harmful influence by part of petty-bourgeois "tercerismo."

Tercerismo is a renewed version of the vain attempts of the petty-bourgeoisie to substitute the proletariat as the leading factor in the revolution and wrest away its hegemony. The terceristas and their

"ideologues" spread their so-called "particularity" of the revolution in Latin-America, fiercely attacking Marxism-Leninism-MaoTse-tung Thought [today Maoism], preaching its obsolescence, as well as the universal laws of the People's War.

Petty-bourgeois terceristas substitute the proletarian politics by bourgeois politics. They negate the leadership of the working class and their political party, and trust the actions of the group of petty-bourgeois heroes and their bourgeois military line. They pay homage to weapons and reject the protracted and systematic political work among the masses (especially the peasantry), favoring guerrilla "focos" for the auctioning of wandering armed bands. They cultivate spontaneity, initiating the military activities without considering the political conditions and the subjective desire of the masses (acting above the conscience of the masses.)

All attempts by tercerismo have ended in defeat, as it was inevitable. Their vanguard endeavors, which pushed them to adventurism, have led them from failure to failure, and to suffer painfull losses.

All revolutionaries have the obligation and need to study and systematize the experiences accumulated [by our people] up to now. The continuation of the struggle demands it. The best recipe to murder the revolution is to collude with revisionism and Trotskyism. The best recipe to lead the revolution to failure is to lead it on the road of petty-bourgeois tercerismo. These are the lessons drawn at the cost of the blood of so many fighters.

In Venezuela, for example, petty-bourgeois terceristas, erroneously analyzing the conditions, (opposed at first) of taking the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside limited themselves to mobilize small petty-bourgeois sectors. They went ahead with urban guerrilla actions, practicing spontaneity and relying on the struggle of isolated elements. Their incapacity to link the revolutionary work to the workers and peasants movement, and the violent repression unfolded by reaction in the cities, forced them to abandon the cities. Later, some decomposed themselves going over to "legality" and accepting concessions, and others climbed the mountains to continue the fight in rural areas.

The revisionists, forced by the circumstances to join such groups, became agents of political corrosion to the fighters and ended up, as in other cases in Latin America, offering the guerrillas in their negotiations as bargain chips in exchange for their "legal" recognition. In the end, they were cowardly betraying, putting themselves in the

tail of reaction, and shouting their stupid slogans of "democratic and peaceful development," "electoral participation," and so on.

Castro's support for terceristas, as has happened in other cases in Latin America, was conditioned to their being subject to his orientations, or those of the pseudo organizations formed for that purpose, that is, external "leading centers," violating the Marxist-Leninist principle that the revolution is done by the peoples of each country, led by their major staff, the "Communist Parties."

Another example is the case of Colombia. Armed struggles emerged there in response to one of the most brutal repressions against the people ever recorded in America. Reactionary actions were personified by "violence" that systematically murdered thousands of patriots and covered Colombia with blood.

In Colombia, revisionists and terceristas played the same role as in Venezuela, the first ones by shamelessly sabotaging and betraying the revolution, and the latter, by leading the guerilla groups to failure. After the treason of Vicera and hard blows by the reactionary army, the groups disintegrated. Some degenerated in banditry, while others attempted to organize what it became to be known as the "independent republics of Marquetalia and El Pato." They were isolated from the large popular sectors, unable to extend their influence to any large degree, and unable to strengthen themselves through the mobilization of the masses. Thus, they were an easy prey of the counterrevolution.

In the last few years, the guerrilla struggle has revived in Colombia, but this time showing a greater tendency to orient the struggle to the proletarian conception of the People's War. As long as this position advances and leads the struggle in Colombia, it will achieve victories for their people. It will be a great contribution to the Latin-American revolutionary movement.

In Perú, the guerrilla groups that initiated their activity in 1965, under the noxious influence of tercerismo, spread away their forces, under the illusion that by so doing, they will disperse the forces of the enemy. They became into wandering bands, almost with no links to the peasants' masses, they made use of the golden rules of tercerismo: "constant distrust, constant security, constant vigilance," which in essence means: mistrust and contempt for the peasants' masses.

Meanwhile, the Cuzco guerrillas adopted the tactic of passive defense, of defending their territory inch by inch, rejecting active defense,

which is a consistent Marxist-Leninist concept, and the only correct guiding thought for the peoples to be victorious in their revolutionary wars. They also built their "camps" in mountain regions, isolated from the centers of large concentrations of peasants naively thinking themselves to be impregnable [to enemy fire.]

The case of Bolivian guerrillas constitutes a typical example of the activity of petty-bourgeois terceristas in Latin America, and one of the most important acts of adventurism perpetrated by Castroism. As worshipers of spontaneity, they trusted "prestige" more than the work of political mobilization of the masses, twisting the genuine concept of proletarian internationalism, and initiating their activities with their hopes in the bases of logistic support external to the guerrillas, neglecting the Marxist-Leninist line of only relying on their own efforts.

The failure of the National Liberation Army (initials in Spanish ELN) in Bolivia and the death of Che Guevara and the Peredo brothers, meant the total bankruptcy of petty-bourgeois tercerismo in Latin America. It was, besides, a clear example of the treachery of revisionists, and the false support preached by Castro.

The erroneous political orientation, and consequently, the erroneous military line, the isolation of the masses, the lack of revolutionary perspectives, and the abandonment of revolutionary work, led to some of the terceristas to terrorist activities in the cities, reducing themselves to such false methods. Others are getting closer, however, at the cost of painful and bloody experiences, to the road of the People's War, of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought [today Maoism].

The proletarians "need not only a just Marxist political line but also a just Marxist military line." Without the guidance of a correct political line, it is impossible to develop a correct military line, and without a correct military line, it is also impossible to apply and implement a correct political line.

This truth has been understood by the Marxist-Leninist [Maoist] parties of Latin America, which have made efforts to prepare themselves for the People's War and dare to carry on the People's War, following the proletarian military line of Comrade Mao Tse-tung.

Thanks to the correct orientation of the Marxist-Leninist [Maoist] parties and the powerful influence of the International Communist Movement, the idea that "power grows from the barrel of the gun," a

priceless teaching of Mao Tse-tung, that has taken deep roots in the masses, there is a greater and more profound understanding of the basic ideas of the People's War and the People's Army: the War of the People, and the Army of the People.

Understanding the road of the People's War, and under the Leadership of their Communist Parties, the Marxist-Leninists [Maoists] of Latin America have consistently gone to the rural areas to do political work among the peasants' masses, and to lay down the bases for revolutionary wars.

The leadership of the Communist Parties, the Marxist-Leninists is a very important and essential factor for the triumph of the People's War in Latin America. Only such Parties, armed with the invincible Mao Tse-tung Thought [Maoism], will be able to carry on assuredly and victoriously the revolutionary struggles until the end.

Our glorious Communist Party is a firm Marxist-Leninist [Maoist] party. Within our Party have been always struggles at every historical stage of the development of the revolution, between two diametrically opposed military lines. Our party has known how to successfully defend the proletarian military line, contributing mightily to defeat the false theories of contemporary revisionism and petty-bourgeois tercerismo.

In particular, the present internal struggle, against the liquidators, has left our Party in the best conditions and has gotten us closer to the brilliant reality of the People's War. Our Communist Party is committed to contribute to the struggle of the peoples of Latin America with the development of the struggle of the Peruvian people, maintaining itself firmly on the side of the fraternal parties in Latin America, and envisioning that the People's War in Perú will provide greater contributions to the total victory of the world communist movement.

Only by firmly struggling against revisionism, trotskyism, all revisionists including the petty-bourgeois terceristas, and by discrediting them thoroughly and completely, will we be able to fight truthfully and resolutely against imperialism and feudalism.

We must energetically destroy the bourgeois military line and eradicate its venomous influence in Latin America. We must prioritize the politics of the proletariat, which is to say Marxism- Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought [Maoism], and the thought of Jose Carlos Mariategui, and our Party's line. We must insist on arming our cadres,

militants, and the masses, with Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. The decade of the 1960's was a stage of victory for Marxism-Leninism in Latin America and the entire world and the new decade of the 1970's will bring about even greater victories for world revolution.

We have achieved great victories. Let us warmly welcome the new decade. The perspectives are brilliant.

LONG LIVE THE TRIUMPH OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR!

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT!

DOWN WITH PETTY-BOURGEOIS MILITARISM!

1973 - Marxism, Mariategui and the Women's Movement

PCP - Central Committee - April, 1975

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I. The Woman Question and Marxism

The woman question is an important question for the popular struggle and its importance is greater today because actions are intensifying which tend to mobilize women; a necessary and fruitful mobilization from the working class viewpoint and in the service of the masses of the people, but which promoted by and for the benefit of the exploiting classes, acts as an element which divides and fetters the people's struggle.

In this new period of politicization of the masses of women in which we now evolve, with its base in a greater economic participation by women in the country, it is indispensable to pay serious attention to the woman question as regards study and research, political incorporation and consistent organizing work. A task which demands keeping in mind Mariátegui's thesis which teaches that: "WOMEN, LIKE MEN, ARE REACTIONARIES, CENTRISTS OR REVOLUTIONARIES, THEY CANNOT THEREFORE ALL FIGHT THE SAME BATTLE SIDE BY SIDE. IN TODAY'S HUMAN PANORAMA CLASS DIFFERENTIATES THE INDIVIDUAL MORE THAN SEX." That way, from the beginning, the need to understand the woman question scientifically doubtlessly demands that we start from the Marxist concept of the working class

1. The theory of women as "deficient feminine nature"

Through the centuries the exploiting classes have sustained and imposed the pseudo-theory of the "deficient feminine nature," that has served to justify the oppression which up to now women experience in societies in which exploitation continues to prevail. That way, the Jewish men's prayer: "Blessed be God, our Lord and Lord of all the worlds, for not having made me a woman" and conformity by the Jewish women who pray "Blessed be the Lord who has created me according to his will," clearly express the contempt the ancient world had for the woman's condition. These ideas also predominated in Greek slave society; the famous Pythagoras said "There is a good principle which has created order, light and man and there is a bad principle which has created chaos, darkness and woman;" and even the great philosopher Aristotle pronounced: "the female is female by virtue of certain qualitative fault," and "the character of women suffers from a natural defect."

These proposals passed on to the final period of Roman slave society

and to the Middle Ages, the contempt for woman intensifying in Christian thinkers by imputing her with being the source of sin and the waiting room of hell. Tertulian claimed "Woman you are the door of the devil. You have persuaded him whom the devil did not dare to attack frontally. By your fault the son of God had to die; you should always go dressed in mourning and rags"; and Augustine of Hipona "The woman is a beast who is neither firm nor stable." While these condemned, others passed sentence on feminine inferiority and obedience; thus Paul of Tarsus, the apostle, preached "Man was not taken from woman but woman from man;" and "Just as the church is subject to Christ, let woman be submitted in all things to her husband." And hundreds of years later, in the 13th century, Thomas Aquinas followed with similar preaching: "Man is the head of the woman, just as Christ is the head of man" and "It is a fact that woman is destined to live under the authority of man and that she has no authority by herself."

The understanding of the feminine condition did not progress much with the development of capitalism, since while Candorcet pointed out its social root when he said: "It has been said that women ... lack a sense of justice, and that they obeyed their feelings rather than their conscience ... that difference has been caused by education and social existence, not by nature," and the great materialist Diderot wrote: "I feel sorry for you women" and "in all customs the cruelty of civil laws joined the cruelty of nature against women. They have been treated as imbeciles"; Rousseau, advanced ideologist of the French Revolution insisted: "All education of women must be relative to that of men .... Woman is made to yield to man and endure his injustices." This bourgeois position is carried on to the age of imperialism, becoming more reactionary as time goes on; which, joined to Christian positions, and reiterating old theses sanctioned through John 23: "God and nature have given women various chores which perfect and complement the chores entrusted to men."

That way we see how throughout time the exploiting classes have preached the "deficient feminine nature." Sustaining themselves in idealist concepts they have reiterated the existence of a "feminine nature" independent of social conditions, which is part of the anti-scientific "human nature" thesis; but this so-called "feminine nature," eternal and invariable essence, is also called "deficient" to show that the condition of women and their oppression and patronage is the result of their "natural inferiority compared to man." With this pseudo-theory it is intended to maintain and "justify" the submission of women.

Finally, it is convenient to point out that even an outstanding materialist thinker like Democritus had prejudices with respect to women ("A woman familiar with logic: a fearful thing"; "Woman is much more prone than the male to think evil"). And that the defense of women is based in metaphysical or religious arguments (Eve means life and Adam means land; created after man, woman was finished better than him). Even the bourgeoisie, when it was a revolutionary class, only conceived of women in reference to men, not as independent beings.

2. The development of capitalism and the women's movement

The development of capitalism will incorporate women into labor, providing the basis and conditions for her to develop; that way, with their incorporation into the productive process, women will have the chance of more directly joining the class struggle and combative action. Capitalism carried out the bourgeois revolutions and in this forge, the feminine masses, especially working women, advanced.

The French Revolution: the most advanced one of those led by the bourgeoisie, was a great nourishment for feminist action. Women got mobilized together with the masses, and participating in the civic clubs, they developed revolutionary actions. In these struggles they organized a "Society of Revolutionary and Republican women," and through Olimpia de Gouges, in 1789 they demanded a "Declaration of the Rights of Woman" and created newspapers like "The Impatient" to demand improvements in their condition. In the development of the revolutionary process women won the suppression of the rights of the first born male and the abolition of the masculine privileges, and they also obtained equal rights of succession with males and achieved divorce. Their militant participation rendered some fruits.

But once the great revolutionary push was halted, women were denied access to the political clubs, their politicization was suppressed and they saw themselves blamed and urged to return to the home, they were told: "Since when have women been allowed to renounce their sex and become men? Nature has told woman: be a woman. Your chores are to tend to infants, the details of the home and the diverse challenges of motherhood." Even more, with bourgeois reorganization initiated by Napoleon, with the Civil Code, a married woman returned to be subject to patronage, falling under her husband's domain in her person and goods; she is denied the questioning of paternity. Married women, like prostitutes, lose their civil rights, and they are denied

divorce and the right to transfer their properties.

In the French Revolution we can already see clearly how the advance of women and their setbacks are linked to the advances and setbacks of the people and the revolution. This is an important lesson: The identity of interests of the feminist movement and the people's struggle, how the former is part of the latter.

Also this bourgeois revolution shows how the ideas about women follow a process similar to the political process; once the revolutionary upsurge was fought and halted, reactionary ideas re-emerged about women. Bonald maintained: "Man is to woman as woman is to child"; Comte, considered the "father of sociology," proposed that femininity is a sort of continued infancy and that this biological infancy is expressed as intellectual weakness; Balzac wrote: "The destiny of women and their only glory is to make the hearts of men beat. The woman is a property acquired by contract, a mobile personal property, because the possession is worth a title; in all, speaking properly, woman is but an annex to man." All this reactionary ideology is synthesized in the following words by Napoleon: "Nature wanted for women to be our slaves .... They are our property ...; woman is but a machine to produce children"; a character for whom feminine life should be oriented by "Kitchen, Church, Children," a slogan endorsed by Hitler in this century.

The French Revolution raised its three principles of liberty, equality and fraternity and promised justice and to meet the demands of the people. Very soon it showed its limits and that its principled declarations were but formal declarations, at the same time its class interests were counterpoised to those of the masses; misery, hunger and injustice kept on prevailing, except under new forms. Against such an order of things the utopians launched themselves with a sharp and demolishing criticism although, due to historic conditions, they could not reach the root of the evil. Utopian socialists also condemned the condition of women under capitalism. Fourier, representing this position, pointed out: "The change of an historical age can always be determined by the progress of women .. the degree of emancipation of woman constitutes the natural path for general emancipation."

Confronted with this great assertion it's worth counterpoising the thought of the anarchist Proudhon about women, and keep in mind his ideas when there are attempts today to propagate anarchism to the four winds, presenting them as examples of revolutionary vision and consequence. Proudhon maintained that woman was inferior to man physically, intellectually and morally, and that represented together

numerically, women have a value of 8/27 the value of man. So for this hero a woman represents less than a third of the value of a man; which is but an expression of the petty-bourgeois thought of its author, a root common to all anarchists.

Throughout the 19th century, with their increasing incorporation into the productive process, women continued to develop their struggle for their own demands joining the workers' unions and revolutionary movements of the proletariat. An example of this participation was Luisa Michel, a fighter at the Paris Commune of 1871. But the feminist movement in general oriented itself towards suffragism, to the struggle to get the right to vote for women , in pursuit of the false idea that in getting the vote and parliamentary positions their rights would be respected; that way feminist actions were channeled towards parliamentary cretinism. However it is good to remember that the vote was not achieved for free but that during the last century and the start of this century women fought openly and determinedly to get it. The struggle for the feminine vote and its achievement show once more that, while this indeed was a conquest, it is not the means allowing a genuine transformation of the condition of women.

The 20th century implies a greater development of the feminist economic action, women workers increase massively, as well as women employees, to whom are added strong contingents of professionals; women enter into all fields of activity. In this process world wars have great importance because they incorporated millions of women into the economy to substitute for the men mobilized to the front. All this pushed the mobilization, organization and politicization of women; and starting from the 1950s the feminist struggle starts again with greater force, amplified in the 1960s with great perspectives for the future.

In conclusion, through the economic incorporation of women, capitalism set the basis for their economic autonomy; but capitalism by itself is not capable of giving formal legal equality to women; in no way can it emancipate them; this has been proven throughout the history of the bourgeoisie, a class which even in its most advanced revolution, the French Revolution of the 18th century, could not go further than a merely formal declaration of rights. Further on, the later development of the bourgeois revolutionary processes and the 20th century show not only that the bourgeoisie is incapable emancipating the masses of women, but with the development of imperialism the bourgeois concept as regards the feminine condition becomes more reactionary as time goes on and in fact confirms the social, economic, political and ideological oppression of women, even

if it disguises and paints it in myriad ways.

3. Marxism and the emancipation of women

Marxism, the ideology of the working class, conceives the human being as a set of social relations that change as a function of the social process. Thus, Marxism is absolutely opposed to the thesis of "human nature" as an eternal, immutable reality outside the frame of social conditions; this thesis belongs to idealism and reaction. The Marxist position also implies the overcoming of mechanical materialism (of the old materialists, before Marx and Engels) who were incapable of understanding the historical social character of the human being as a transformer of reality, so irrationally it had to rely on metaphysical or spiritual conditions, such as the case of Feuerbach.

Just as Marxism considers the human being as a concrete reality historically generated by society, it does not accept either the thesis of "feminine nature," which is but a complement of the so-called "human nature" and therefore a reiteration that woman has an eternal and unchanging nature; aggravated, as we saw, because what idealism and reaction understand by "feminine nature" is a "deficient and inferior nature" compared to man.

For Marxism, women, as much as men, are but a set of social relations, historically adapted and changing as a function of the changes of society in its development process. Woman then is a social product, and her transformation demands the transformation of society.

When Marxism focuses on the woman question, therefore, it does so from a materialist and dialectical viewpoint, from a scientific conception which indeed allows a complete understanding. In the study, research and understanding of women and their condition, Marxism treats the woman question with respect to property, family and State, since throughout history the condition and historical place of women is intimately linked to those three factors.

An extraordinary example of concrete analysis of the woman question, from this viewpoint, is seen in Origin of the Family, Private Property and the State, by F. Engels, who, pointing to the substitution of mother right by father right as the start of the submission of women, wrote:

"Thus, the riches, as they went on increasing, on one hand provided man with a more important position than woman in the family, and

on the other planted in him the idea of taking advantage of this importance to modify the established order of inheritance for the benefit of his children .... That revolution--one of the most profound humanity has known--had no need to touch even one of the living members of the gens. All its members could go on being what they had been up to then. It merely sufficed to say that in the future the descendants of the male line would remain in the gens, but those of the female line would leave it, going to the gens of their father. That way maternal affiliation and inheritance by mother right were abolished, replaced by masculine affiliation and inheritance by father right. We know nothing of how this revolution took place in the cultured peoples, since it took place in prehistoric times .... The overthrowing of mother right was THE GREAT HISTORIC DEFEAT OF THE FEMALE SEX THROUGHOUT THE WORLD. Man also grabbed the reigns of the house; woman saw herself degraded, turned into a servant, into the slave of man's lasciviousness, in a mere instrument of reproduction." (Our emphasis.)

This paragraph by Engels sets the fundamental thesis of Marxism about the woman question: the condition of women is sustained in property relations, in the form of ownership exercised over the means of production and in the productive relations arising from them. This thesis of Marxism is extremely important because it establishes that the oppression attached to the female condition has as its roots the formation, appearance and development of the right to ownership over the means of production, and therefore that its emancipation is linked to the destruction of said right. It is indispensable, in order to have a Marxist understanding of the woman question, to start from this great thesis, and more than ever today when supposed revolutionaries and even self-proclaimed Marxists pretend to have feminine oppression arising not from the formation and appearance of private property but from the simple division of labor as a function of sex which had attributed less important chores to women than those of men, reducing her to the sphere of the home. This proposal, despite all the propaganda and efforts to present it as revolutionary, is but the substitution for the Marxist position on the emancipation of women, with bourgeois proposals which in essence are but variations of the supposed immutable "feminine nature."

Developing this materialist dialectical starting point, Engels teaches how on this basis the monogamous family was instituted, about which he says: "It was the first form of family not based on natural but on economic conditions, and concretely on the triumph of private property over spontaneously originated, common primitive property." And: "Therefore, monogamy in no way appears in history as a

reconciliation between man and woman, and even less as a higher form of marriage. Quite the contrary, it enters the scene under the form of the enslavement of one sex by the other, as the proclamation of a war between the sexes, up to then unknown in prehistory." (Origin .... Our emphasis.)

After establishing that private property sustains the monogamous family form, which sanctions the oppression of women, Engels establishes the correspondence of the three fundamental forms of marriage with the three great stages of human evolution: savagery and marriage by groups; barbarism and pairing marriage; civilization and monogamy, "with its complements, adultery and prostitution." That way the Marxist classics developed the thesis about the historically variable social condition of woman and her place in society; pointing out how the feminine condition is intimately linked with private property, the family and the State, which is the apparatus that legalizes such relations and imposes and sustains them by force.

This scientific proposition systematized by Engels is a product of the Marxist analysis of the condition of women throughout history, and the most elementary study fully corroborates the accuracy and actuality of these proposals, which are the foundation and starting point of the working class for the understanding of the woman question. Let's make an historical recount allowing us to illustrate what Engels and the classics set forth.

In the primitive community, with a natural division of labor based on age and sex, men and women developed their lives on a spontaneous equality and participation of women in the social group decisions; later on women were surrounded with respect and consideration, a deferential and even privileged treatment. Once riches began to grow, which heightened the position of men in the family, pushing forward the substitution of father right for mother right, women began to move to the background and their position deteriorated; echoes of this reach the times of the great Greek tragic Aeschillus, who in his work Eumenida, wrote "It is not mother who engenders that which is called her son; she is only the nurse of the embryo deposited in her womb. Who engenders is the father. The woman receives the seed as a foreign depository, and she preserves it if so pleases the gods."

Thus, in Greek slave society the condition of women is that of submission, social inferiority and object of contempt. Of them it is said: "The slave absolutely lacks of the freedom to deliberate; woman has it but in a weak and inefficient manner" (Aristotle); "The best woman is that of whom men speak the least" (Pericles); and the

answer by the husband who investigates public affairs "it's not your thing. Shut up lest I hit you... Keep on weaving" (Aristophanes, Lysistrata) What reality is entailed by these words? Women in Greece were kept as perpetual minor; under the power of their tutor, whether the father, the husband, the husband's heir or the State, their lives passed under constant tutelage. They were provided a marriage dowry so they had something on which to live and did not go hungry, and in some cases they were authorized to divorce; for the rest, they were reduced to misogynism in the home and in society under the control of specialized authorities. Women could inherit when there was no direct male heir, in which case she had to marry the oldest relative within the paternal gens; that way she would not inherit directly but was merely a transferor of inheritance; all to preserve the family property.

The condition of women in Rome, also a slave society, allows a better understanding of it as derived from property, the family and the State. After the reign of Tarquinius and once patriarchal right was set up, private property and therefore the family (gens), became the basis of society: women will remain subject to patrimony and the family. She was excluded from every "virile job," and in public affairs she was "a civil minor"; she is not directly denied inheritance, but is subject to tutelage. On this point said Gaius, the Roman jurist: "Tutelage was established in the interest of the tutors themselves, so the woman of whom they are supposed heirs cannot wrest their willed inheritance from them, nor impoverish it by alienation or debts." The patrimonial root of the tutelage imposed upon women was therefore clearly exposed and established.

After the Twelve Tables, the fact that women belonged to the paternal gens and to the conjugal gens (also strictly for reasons of safeguarding property) generated conflicts which were the basis for the advancement of the Roman "legal emancipation." The "sine manu" marriage appears: her goods remain dependent on her tutors and her husband only acquires rights over her person, and at that shared with the "pater familias," who retains an absolute authority over his daughter. And the domestic tribunal appears, to resolve discrepancies which may arise between father and husband; that way the woman can appeal to her father for disagreements with her husband, and vice versa: "it no longer is the matter of the individual."

On this economic basis (her participation in the inheritance even if tutored), and the conflict between the rights of the paternal and conjugal gens for the woman and her goods, a major participation of Roman women in their society develops, despite the legal restrictions:

the "atrium" is set up, the center of the house, which governs work by the slaves, conducts education of the children and influences them until a rather advanced age. She shares the works and problems of her spouse and is considered co-proprietor of his goods. She attends parties and on the street she is given preferential crossing, even by consuls and magistrates. The weight of Roman women in their society is reflected by the figure of Cornelia, mother of the Gracchi.

With Roman social development, the State displaces the contention among the gens and assumes the disputes about women, divorce, adultery, etc., which went to be heard in public tribunals, abolishing the domestic tribunal. Later on, under imperial rule, tutelage on women will be abolished, answering to social and economic demands. Women get a fixed dowry (individual patrimony) which does not return to the agnates (parental relatives) nor belongs to the husband; that way she is given an economic base for her independence and development. By the end of the Republic mothers had been given recognized rights over their children, receiving custody of them due to the father's misconduct or his being placed under tutelage.

Under emperor Marcus Aurelius, in the year 178, a great step is taken in the process of property and family: children are declared heir to their mother in preference to agnates; that way the family is based on a link of consanguinity and the mother emerges as equal to the father before the children, the children also are recognized as children of the wife and, derived from the above, the daughter inherits just as her male siblings.

But while the State "emancipates" women from the family, it submits them to its tutelage and restricts their acts. And simultaneously to the social rise of women, an anti-feminist campaign was initiated in Rome invoking their inferiority and invoking their "imbecility and fragility of the sex" to legally reduce them.

In Rome then, socially women had it better than in Greece and acquired respect and even great influence in social life, as shown by the words of Cato: "Everywhere men govern women, and we, who govern all men, are governed by our women." Roman history has outstanding exalted women, from the Sabines, through Lucretia and Virginia to Cornelia. Criticisms of women, not as women but as contemporaries, developed by the end of the First and Second centuries of our era; in this way Juvenal reproaches them: lasciviousness, gluttony, to dedicate themselves to manly occupations and their passion for hunting and sports.

Roman society recognized some rights of women, especially the right to property, but did not open to them civil activities and much less public affairs, activities which they developed "illegally" and in a restricted way; for that reason Roman matrons ("having lost their ancient virtues") tended to seek other fields in which to employ their energies.

In the decline of slavery and the development of feudalism, to consider the feminine situation one must keep in mind the influence of Christianity and the Germanic contribution. Christianity contributed quite a bit to the oppression of women; among the fathers of the church there is a definite demeaning of women, whom they consider inferior, servants of men and sources of evil. To what has been said let's add the condemnation by St. John Chrisostomus, a saint of the Catholic Church: "No savage beast is as damaging as woman." Under this influence the advances reached under Roman legislation are at first mitigated and later on denied.

Germanic societies based on war gave women a secondary situation due to their smaller physical strength; however they were respected and had rights which made them an associate of their spouse. Let's remember that on this subject Tacitus wrote: "in peace and in war she shares his luck; she lives with him and dies with him."

Christianity and Germanicism influenced the condition of women under feudalism. Women were in a situation of absolute dependence with respect to the father and husband; by the times of king Clovis "the mundium weighs over her during all her life." Women developed their lives completely submitted to the feudal lord, although protected by the laws "as property of man and mother of children"; her value increases with fertility, being worth triple the value of a free man, a value she loses when she can no longer bear offspring: woman is a reproductive womb.

As happened in Rome, also under feudalism we see an evolution in the condition of women, in function of the curbing of feudal powers and the increase of royal powers: the mundium is transferred from the lords to the king; the mundium becomes a burden for the tutor, yet the submission by tutelage is kept.

At the convulsive times when feudalism was formed the condition of women was uncertain; since the rights to sovereignty and property, public and private, were not well specified, the condition of women was changing and heightened or lowered according to social contingencies.

First they were denied private rights, because women had no public rights. Until the 11th century force and arms impose order and sustain property directly: to jurists, a fiefdom "is a land possessed with charge of military service" and women could not have feudal right since they could not defend it with arms nor render military service. When fiefdoms turn into patrimonies and are inheritable (according to Germanic norms women could also inherit), feminine succession is admitted; but this does not improve their condition: woman is just an instrument through whom dominion is transferred, as in Greece.

Feudal property is not familial as in Rome, but of the sovereign, of the lord, and women too belong to the lord; it is him who chooses her husband. As it was written, "an heiress is a land and a castle: suitors contended to dispute that prize, and often the young woman is only 12 years old, or younger, when her father or lord gives her as prize to any baron." The woman needs a lord who "protects" her and her rights; thus a Duchess of Burgundy proclaimed to the king: "My husband has just died, but what good is mourning ...? Find me a husband who is powerful, because I much need him to defend my lands." In this form her spouse had great marital power over the woman, whom he treated without consideration, mistreating her, beating her, etc. and whose only obligation was to "punish her reasonably," the same some codes required today to correct children.

The prevailing warlike conception made the medieval knight pay more attention to his horses than to his wife, and the lords preached: "damned be the knight that seeks advice from a woman when he should participate in a tourney". While women were commanded: "get into your apartments, painted and gilded; sit in the shade, drink, eat, weave, tint the silk, but bother not of our affairs. Our affairs are to fight with sword and steel. Silence!" That is how the medieval world of the lords demeaned and cast their women away.

The 13th century saw the development of a movement of literary women, which traveling from south to north increased their prestige; the same one which was linked to chivalry, love and the intense Marianism of that era. It did not modify it deeply, as S. de Beauvoir said in The Second Sex, a book in which abundant information about the history of women is found; useful data, of course, aside from the existentialist concepts of its author, since it is not ideas which fundamentally change the condition of women, but the economic basis sustaining it. When the fiefdom goes from a right based on military service to an economic obligation, we see an improvement in the condition of women, since they are perfectly capable of fulfilling a monetary obligation; that way the seignorial right to marry his vassals

is suppressed and women's tutelage is extinguished.

In this way, whether single or widowed, women have the same rights as men; in possessing a fiefdom she governs it and fulfills its administrative duties and even commands its defense, participating in battles. But feudal society, like all those based on exploitation, requires the submission of women in marriage, and marital power survives: "the husband is the tutor of the wife," is preached; or as Beauvoir said: "As soon as marriage was consummated, the goods of one and the other are common by virtue of the marriage," justifying marital tutelage.

In feudal society, as in others ruled by exploiters, slavery or capitalism, what has been described about the condition of women has governed and governs; but we must highlight that only in the condition of poor women can we see a different and softer condition in the face of marital power; the root of this situation must be seen in the economic participation by women of the popular classes and in the absence of great riches.

The development of capitalism takes feudalism to its decomposition, a situation which impresses its marks on the condition of women, as we have seen already. It suffices to emphasize that in the beginning and development of the burgs, women took part in the election of deputies to the General States; which shows feminine political participation, as well as the existence of rights over family goods, since the husband could not alienate real properties without the consent of the wife. However, absolutist legislation will soon fetter these norms to fight off the diffusion of the bad bourgeois example.

This historical exposition exemplifies the thesis by Engels and the classics on the social roots of the condition of women and its relationship to property, family and State, it helps us to understand its certainty and see its actuality more clearly. All this carries us to a conclusion, the need to firmly adhere to the working class positions and apply them to understand the woman question, participate in its solution, and reject, constantly and decisively, the distortions of Marxist theses on the subject and the so-called superior developments which are but attempts to substitute bourgeois ideas for proletarian concepts on this front, to disorient the women's movement on the march.

Having exposed the social condition of women and the historical outline of its development linked to property, family and State, what remains is to treat the question of the emancipation of women from a

Marxist viewpoint.

Marxism fundamentally holds that the development of machinery incorporates women, as well as children, into the productive process, thereby multiplying the number of hands to be exploited, destroying the working class family, physically degenerating women and materially and morally sinking them into the miseries of exploitation.

Analyzing women and children at work Karl Marx wrote: "In so far as machinery dispenses with muscular power, it becomes a means of employing laborers of slight muscular strength, and those whose bodily development is incomplete, but whose limbs are all the more supple. The labor of women and children was, therefore, the first cry of the capitalist application of machinery. That mighty substitute for labour and labourers was forthwith changed into a means for increasing the number of wage-labourers by enrolling, under the direct sway of capital, every member of the woman's family, without distinction of age or sex. Compulsory work for the capitalist usurped the place, not only of the children's play, but also of free labour at home within moderate limits for the support of the family."

"The value of labour-power was determined, not only by labour-time necessary to maintain the individual adult laborer, but also by that necessary to maintain his family . Machinery, by throwing every member of that family on to the labour-market, spreads the values of the man's labour-power over his whole family. It thus depreciates his labour-power..." Thus we see, that machinery, while augmenting the human material that forms the principal object of capital's exploiting power, at the same time raises the degree of exploitation."

"By opening the factory doors to women and children, making them flock in great numbers to the combined ranks of the working class, machinery finally breaks down the resistance of the male worker to this, despite the despotism of capital within manufacturing." (Capital, Volume I, pp. 394-395. Economic Culture Fund, 1966. Emphasis in original.)

Continuing his masterful analysis, Marx himself describes to us how capitalism uses even the virtues and obligations of women for its advantage: "Mr. E., manufacturer, told me how in his textile mills he employed exclusively women, preferably married ones, and above all those who had at home a family living from or depending on her salary, since these were much more active and zealous than single women; besides, the need to procure sustenance to their families forced them to work harder. In this way, the virtues characterizing

women are turned against them: all the purity and sweetness of their character are turned into instruments of torture and slavery." (Note 57 of above quoted volume and edition of Capital, p. 331.)

But just as by incorporating women into production capitalism increased exploitation, simultaneously with this process it provides the material basis for women to struggle and demand their rights, and it's a starting point for the struggle for their emancipation; since as Engels taught in Origin...: "The freeing of women demands as a first condition the reincorporation of the entire female sex into social industry, which in turn requires that the individual family no longer be society's economic unite" (our emphasis). And evidently capitalism, with its own future interests, set the basis for the future emancipation of women, as well as creating the class that will destroy it as it develops: the proletariat.

On the other hand, their economic participation and the development of the class struggle pushes forward the POLITICIZATION OF WOMEN. We already highlighted how the French Revolution pushed forward the political and organizational development of women and how, by uniting them, mobilizing them and forcing them to fight, it set the basis for the feminist movement; we also saw how feminist demands were reached through the rise of revolution, and how their rights were abolished and their conquests swept away when the revolutionary process was fettered and thrown back. However, with all the positive aspects that the incorporation of women into the French Revolution had, the resulting politicization of women was but elementary, restricted and very small compared to the major advance represented by the politicization of women by the working classes. What does this politicization imply? When capitalism massively incorporates women into the economic process, it wrest them away from inside of the home, to attract them mostly to factory exploitation, making industrial workers out of them; that way women are forged and developed as an integral part of the most advanced and latest class in history; women initiate their radical process of politicization through their incorporation into the workers' union struggle (the great change implied by this is observed concretely in our country by the transformation seen in women workers, peasants and teachers of Peru, amidst the union struggle). A woman arrives at more advanced forms of organization, which goes on building her up and shaping her ideologically for the proletarian concepts, and finally she arrives at superior forms of struggle and political organization by incorporating herself, through her best representatives, into the ranks of the Party of the working class, to serve the people in all forms and fronts of struggle organized and led by the working class through its

political vanguard. This politicization process which only the proletariat is capable of producing and the new type of women fighters it generates has materialized in the many glorious women fighters whose names are recorded in history: Luisa Michel, N. Krupskaya, Rosa Luxemburg, Liu Ju-lan and others whose memory the people and the proletariat keep.

For Marxism yesterday like today the politicization of women is the key issue in her emancipation, and the classics dedicated special attention to it. Marx taught: "Anyone who knows something of history knows that the great social changes are impossible without the feminist ferment. Social progress can be measured exactly by the social position of the weak sex." (Letter to Kugelmann, 1888.) And to Lenin the participation of women was more much urgent and important to the revolution:

"The experience of all the liberation movements confirms that the success of the revolution depends on the degree in which women participate." (Our emphasis.)

Thus the development of the class struggle and its ever greater sharpening, within the specific social conditions of the revolutionary struggle under conditions of imperialism, sets forth and demands more decisively the politicization of women; that is why Lenin himself, in the middle of World War I and foreseeing future battles for the working class which required preparedness, called to fight for: "17. Abolition of any and all limitations without exception to the political rights of women in comparison to men. Explaining to the masses the special urgency of this transformation at moments in which the war and scarcity disquiet the masses of people and awaken interest in and attention to politics particularly among women." And he proposed, "it is necessary that we fully develop systematic work among these feminine masses. We must educate those women we have managed to wrest away from passivity, we must recruit them and arm them for the struggle, not just the proletarian women who work in the factories or toil in the home, but also the peasant women, the women in the various layers of the petty-bourgeoisie. They too are victims of capitalism." With those words Lenin demanded the politicization of women, the struggle for demanding their political rights, the need to explain to the masses the urgency of politically incorporating women, the need of working together with them, to educate them, organize them and prepare them for all forms of struggle; finally, he emphasized orienting themselves towards working women; but without forgetting the importance of peasant women and remembering the various classes or layers of women being exploited,

since all of them could and should be mobilized for the people's struggle.

From the above we see how the politicization of women was proposed by Marxism from its beginnings, considering women's struggles as being in solidarity with the struggles of the working class; that is why last century Bebel said that "woman and the worker have in common their condition as oppressed," and why the Socialist Congress of 1879 proclaimed the equality of the sexes and the need to struggle for it, reiterating the solidarity of the revolutionary feminist women and the working class struggle. Or as China proclaims today, following Mao Tse-tung's thesis: "The emancipation of women is an integral part of the liberation of the proletariat." (Peking Review, No. 10, 1972.)

This brings us to consider HOW CAN THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN BE ACHIEVED? Investigating capitalist society and societies in general where exploitation and oppression prevail, Engels verified that misery, inequality and submission exist among men, and emphasizing the woman question he pointed out, "The state of affairs with respect to the equality of men and women is no better than their legal inequality, which we have inherited from prior social conditions, is not the cause but the effect of the economic oppression of women." And he continued "Women cannot be emancipated unless they assume a large socially measurable role in production and are only tied insignificantly by domestic work. And this has only been possible with modern industry, which not only admits feminine labor in a large scale but fatally demands it."

This assertion by Engels, taken out of context and unrelated to similar ones from Origin... helps some people, pseudo-Marxists and distorters of Marxism, stretching his ideas, to claim that the mere participation of women in the economic process is sufficient for their emancipation. Engels proposed that the incorporation of women into production was a condition, that it is a base upon which women act in favor of their emancipation, and that this demands to socially end domestic work which absorbs and annihilates women, which to Engels implies destroying private ownership of the means of production and developing large-scale production based on the social ownership of the productive means. We repeat that it is good to be very clear about this thesis by Engels, because today some attempt to hide themselves in this classic to distort the Marxist position on the woman question and preach, for the sake of the exploiting classes, on the plain and simple participation of women in the economic process, hiding the root of women's oppression which is private ownership and sidestepping large-scale social production based on destroying private

property of the means of production.

Foreseeing this distortion, as in other cases, the classics analyzed the problem of whether the incorporation of women to the productive process, which capitalism began, was capable of making men and women truly equal. The concise and powerful answer was given once more by Mao Tse-tung in the 1950s: "TRUE EQUALITY BETWEEN MEN AND WOMEN CAN ONLY BE ACHIEVED IN THE PROCESS OF THE SOCIALIST TRANSFORMATION OF THE WHOLE OF SOCIETY."

Lenin researched the situation of women in bourgeois society and compared it with how it was under the dictatorship of the proletariat; an analysis which led him to establish: "From remote times, the representatives of all the movements of liberation in western Europe, not for decades, but during centuries, proposed the abolition of these antiquated laws and demanded the legal equality of women and men, but no democratic European State, not even the most advanced republics, have managed to achieve this, because wherever capitalism exists, wherever private ownership of the factories is maintained, wherever the power of capital is maintained, men go on enjoying privileges."

"From the first months of its existence, Soviet power, as the power of workers, realized the most decisive and radical legislative change with respect to women. In the Soviet Republic no stone was left unturned which kept women in a position of dependence. I am referring precisely to those laws which used the dependent situation of women in a special way, making her victim of the inequality of rights and often even of humiliations, that is to say laws on divorce, on natural children and on the right of women to sue the father in court to support the child." (Tasks of the Women Workers in the Soviet Republic.)

From this comparative analysis the conclusion is taken that only the revolution which places the working class in power in alliance with the peasantry is capable of sanctioning the true judicial legal equality between men and women, and even further, of enforcing it. However, as Lenin himself taught, this true legal equality initiated by the revolution is but the beginning of a protracted struggle for the full and complete equality in life of men and women: "However, the more we rid ourselves of the burden of old bourgeois laws and institutions, the more clearly we see that we have barely cleared the terrain for construction, yet construction itself has not begun."

"The woman continues to be a slave of the home, despite all the

liberating laws, because she is overburdened, oppressed, stupefied, humiliated by the menial domestic tasks, which make her a cook and a nurse, which waste her activity in an absurdly unproductive, menial, irritating, stupefying and tedious labor. The phrase emancipation of women will only begin for real in the country at the time the mass struggle begins (led by the proletariat already owning the power of the State) against this petty home economy, or more precisely, when their mass transformation begins in a large-scale socialist economy." (A Great Initiative; emphasis in original.)

Thus Lenin and Mao Tse-tung answered the anticipated opportunist distortions and pseudo-developments of Marxism which today attempts to distort the theses of Engels and confuse the working class position on the woman question.

Marxism conceives the struggle for the emancipation of women as a protracted but victorious struggle: "This is a protracted struggle, which requires a radical transformation of the social technique and of customs. But this struggle will end with the full victory of communism." (Lenin, On the Occasion of International Working Women's Day.)

The above, in essence, shows there is an identity of struggle between the revolutionary feminist movement and the working class struggle for the construction of a new society; and, besides, it helps to understand the sense of Lenin's words calling women workers to develop the institutions and means which the revolution placed at their disposal: "We say that the emancipation of workers must be the work of the workers themselves and likewise THE EMANCIPATION OF WOMEN WORKERS MUST BE THE WORK OF WOMEN WORKERS THEMSELVES." (The Tasks ....)

These are the central theses of Marxism on the emancipation, politicization and the condition of women; positions which we prefer to transcribe for the most by quotations from the classics, because these positions are not sufficiently known, and besides that because they were masterfully and concisely expressed by the authors themselves, which relieves us from the task of pretending to give them new editing, more so after seeing their full and complete actuality. On the other hand, the distortions of the Marxist positions attempted today on the woman question also demand the dissemination of the words of the classics themselves.

Finally, it is indispensable, even if only in passing, to make note that Marx, Engels, Lenin and Mao Tse-tung set forth the thesis of the

emancipation of women and not that of women's liberation, as can be appreciated from the cited quotations. On this particular, it suffices to say that the analysis of the condition of woman through history shows her as subject to tutelage and in a situation of submission with respect to the male, which makes woman a being who, while belonging to the same class as her husband or the man she has a relationship with, finds herself in a situation of inferiority with respect to him, an inferiority which the laws bless, sanctify and impose. Consistent with this situation of undervaluing throughout history we see the need to demand her rights to achieve a formal equality with man under capitalism, and how only the revolutionary struggle under the leadership of the proletariat is capable of setting up and fulfilling a genuine legal equality of men and women, though, as we saw, plentiful equality in life, as Lenin said, will develop as large-scale socialist production develops. These simple observations show the certainty of the thesis on women's emancipation conceived as part of the liberation of the proletariat. While the thesis of women's liberation historically surfaces as a bourgeois thesis, hidden at the bottom of which is the counterpoising of men and women due to sex and camouflaging the root of the oppression of women; today we see how women's liberation is exposed more each day as bourgeois feminism, which aims at dividing the people's movement by separating the feminine masses from it and seeking mainly to oppose the development of the women's movement under the leadership and guide of the working class.

II. Mariátegui and the Woman Question

50 years ago Mariátegui, with his sharp historical foresight, perceived the importance of the woman question in the country and its perspective ("The first feminist quivers are latent in Peru ..."); he devoted two of his works to this question, Woman and Politics and Feminist Demands, besides many other contributions found in his writings. It is indispensable to go back ourselves to this source, because in it we will find the position of the Peruvian working class with respect to the Woman question; even more, because this problem is a little known and researched aspect of Mariátegui's work.

José Carlos Mariátegui taught us: "In our times life in society cannot be studied without investigating and analyzing its causes: the organization of the family, the condition of the woman;" and researching the nascent Peruvian feminist movement he said: "Men who are sensible to the great emotions of our times cannot and should not feel themselves out of place or indifferent to this movement. The woman question is part of the human question."

So let's keep in mind that from the beginning of its political emergence the working class of this country paid attention to the situation of women, establishing through its great representative their position with respect to women, as well as offering fighting support to feminist struggles, as shown by the solidarity of textile workers and drivers with the women workers of A. Field Co. in 1926.

What was the feminist development which attracted such accurate attention? The condition of women in the country suffered a noticeable change especially in this century and more specifically after the two world wars. While the condition of peasant women changed more slowly, that of her sisters turned workers and professionals experienced more rapid and profound changes. Evidently the presence of women in our society has been conquering positions ever more widely.

Last century the action and literary work of Clorinda Matto de Turner, Mercedes Cabello de Carbonera and Margarita Praxedes Muñoz, highlighted the feminine presence over a background of millions of peasants, workers and other women who, while anonymous, were subject to harsh social repression of feudal roots. The Peruvian woman of the 19th Century had minimal access to education, and when she was allowed to attend secondary education, the educational norms

followed would establish for her a watered down curriculum comparable to the last primary grade for males plus some of the secondary school courses these would follow. The abandonment of feminine schooling is clearly shown by the fact that, while there were private institutions which tended or prepared students to enter the university, it was not until 1928 that the National Women's School of Lima opened its doors in Lima; up to then there was no such school of its kind in the capital city. It's good to notice how by the end of last century some women educators worried about the education of women, proposing its renewal: it demands overcoming the erroneous concept of "educating them only for marriage, which leads one to think such is their only purpose in life," that their education must not be in the hands of nuns, who having abandoned the world are not in a position of forming good women, and that we need to end the misconception that the single or married woman who works outside the home degenerates socially; at the same time they demand and create new educational centers. Teresa Gonzalez de Fanning was outstanding in this aspect.

Similarly college education was closed to them, their presence at the University is not noticed until the 1890s, and it wasn't until 1908 that women were authorized to enter and seek a degree at the University and exercise the professions. The demeaning of women and their social outcasting is thus clearly seen in education. However with the 20th century transformations, women see an increase in their possibilities to pursue studies and work as professionals, most of them finding work as teachers. Only after World War II is a diversification of women's careers seen. University graduates, whom early in the century could be counted with the fingers of the hand, almost reach the current 30% of college graduates of the country.

But what really would imply a profound, radical and far reaching change is the incorporation of women into factory production. The proletarianization of the Peruvian woman began this century hand in hand with the introduction of machinery and the development of bureaucratic capitalism. We see in our environment with its specific conditions, the situation described by Marx and which we quoted above, with the productive incorporation of women as workers, the process of proletarian politicization opens up to the feminine masses of Peru. The participation of women in worker's unions begins, women join the struggle for salaries, the eight hour workday and working conditions; they participate in people's struggles together with other workers in actions against the high cost of living and price increases, which develops their ideological understanding, and finally the women of the country amidst revolutionary combat, become political

militants of the working class.

The process of the political development of the Peruvian woman, parallel to their incorporation into labor, provided significant gains to the country's class struggle in the first third of this century, among which milestones we must highlight the struggle for the eight hour workday by agricultural workers at Huaral, Barranca, Pativilca and Huacho, in which five female workers offered their lives in 1916, sealing with their blood their adherence to their class. Just as we highlight their participation in momentous actions against rising prices and the high cost of living in May of 1919, actions in which women workers organized a Women's Committee so as to channel their supportive actions and agreed "To make a call to all women, without distinction of classes, to cooperate with their action to the defense of the rights of Peruvian women"; in this great struggle women faced police forces at their meeting on the 25th, during which, after overcoming the bloody police repression, they proclaimed the following conclusions:

"The women of Lima, surrounding towns and peasants met in great public meeting on Sunday 25 May 1919 at Neptune Park, having considered:

"That it is not possible to further tolerate the situation of misery to which the high cost of subsistence goods and residential rents and all of life's necessities have reduced the people; that Peruvian women, as well as women in all civilized countries, have understood their mission to intervene in the resolution of the economic and social problems affecting them;

Have agreed:

1. To make as their own the conclusions of the people's meeting at the Alameda de los Descalzos on May 4th.

2. In case those conclusions are not accepted, to declare a general women's strike in all branches of industry, leaving the date to the discretion of the Men's Committee for Diminishing the Cost of Subsistence" (Martinez de la Torre, Notes for the Marxist Interpretation of the Social History of Peru, Volume I, Lima 1947. Our emphasis.)

Another chapter in this history of women's struggle was waged by Socorro Rojo against the persecution, repression, imprisonment and blood politics unleashed by the dictatorship of Sanchez Cerror defending the rights and liberties of the people, especially the proletariat.

In the struggles referred to, besides the politicization of women, or more strictly, as index of a correct perspective, it must be highlighted that in them the feminine masses waged their actions intimately united to the people's interests, which are their own, and in direct unity with and support for the struggles of the working class, which is their class.

In synthesis, the road traveled by Peruvian women in this century and the final part of last century is marked by their widespread incorporation into production and under bureaucratic capitalism pushed forward by North American imperialism and by their increased access to education, especially at the university. These are the bases on which the first feminist impetuses of the country will hatch, a phenomenon which Mariátegui described as follows: "Feminism has not made its appearance in Peru artificially or arbitrarily. It has appeared as result of the new forms of intellectual and manual labor of women. The women with true feminist affiliations are those women who work, the women who study. The feminist idea prospers among women in intellectual jobs and in manual jobs: professors, university students, workers. It finds a propitious environment for its development in the university classrooms, which attract more Peruvian women every day; and in the workers' unions, where factory women enroll and organize with the same rights and the same duties as the men. Besides this, we have the feminism of dilettantes, a little pedantic and a little mundane. For feminists of this kind, feminism is a mere literary exercise, merely a fashionable sport." (Feminist Demands; our emphasis.)

It is on this basis that Mariátegui elaborated the position of the Peruvian proletariat on the woman question, by establishing the general line to follow on this matter for whomever wants to develop from a Marxist viewpoint. Let's see the basic problems from this position:

1. The Situation of Women

The starting point of the study of the woman question from the viewpoint of the Peruvian proletariat, demands to keep in mind that Mariátegui represents in the country the application of the universal

truth of Marxism-Leninism to the material conditions of a backwards and oppressed country, an application which leads him to scientifically present the semi-feudal and semi-colonial character of our society, in the midst of which a national-democratic revolution has developed since 1928 through a long and sinuous process whose higher stage is still pending. This is the substance and guidance of Mariátegui's thought; and starting from these considerations we must treat all the problems and policies he established, among them what is relevant to the woman question.

Thus Mariátegui starts from the semi-feudal and semi-colonial character of Peruvian society to judge the situation of women. This in itself rejects from the outset the obsolete theory of "feminine nature," conceiving of women in a situation or condition derived from the structure of society in which they function and emphasizing the dynamic, changing character of women's situation, he points out the transforming role work has on the condition of women with respect to social status and ideas about them. The following paragraph expresses this and other points well:

"But if bourgeois democracy has not realized feminism, it has involuntarily created the conditions and moral and material premises for its realization. It has valued women as a productive element, as an economic factor, by making more intensive and extensive use of their work each day. Work radically changes the mind and the spirit of women. Women acquire, by virtue of their work a new concept of themselves. In ancient times society destined women to marriage and idleness or menial work. Today it fates them, above all, to work. This fact has changed and elevated the position of women in life." So it remains clear, for the Peruvian proletariat, that it is society which imparts women their condition and not some mischievous nature; that the feminine condition is a changing one and that it is work which is imparting a great leap in the position and concept of women. This is the Mariáteguist starting point, at the same time it charges against the biological determinist reduction of women to simple reproducers, and goes against the rose colored myths which treacherously help to maintain their oppression: "the defense of the poetry of the home in reality is a defense of the serfdom of women. Far from ennobling and dignifying the role of women, it diminishes and reduces it. The woman is more than a mother and a female, just as man is more than a male." (The last two paragraphs belong to Feminist Demands, our emphasis.)

Developing the thesis of the social root of the feminine condition, Mariátegui sets out the difference between Latin and Saxon women,

establishing the causal connection between feudal background and temperament and differences in each woman: "The Latin woman lives more prudently, with less passion. She does not have that urge for truth. Especially the Spanish woman is very cautious and practical. Waldo Frank, precisely, defined her with admirable accuracy: "The Spanish woman--he wrote--is a pragmatist in love. She considers love as a means of creating children for heaven. Nowhere in Europe is there a less sensual, less amorous woman. As a girl she is pretty; fresh hope colors her cheeks and enlarges her black eyes. To her, marriage is the highest state to which she can aspire. Once married, this innate coquettishness of spring disappears like a season in her: in a moment she turns judicious, fat and maternal." (Signs and Works, Waldo Frank's Rahab.)

What was said about the Spanish woman naturally extends to Latin American women and among them those in this country, and it shows that the feminine mentality generated by the ancient and present feudal background is still not overcome. But besides this, analyzing the relations between imperialism and the oppressed countries of America, Mariátegui highlights the alienating mentality which Yankee domination impresses on feminine mentality: "The limeña [native of Lima--Trans.] bourgeoisie fraternizes with the Yankee capitalists, and even with their lower employees, at the Country Club, at tennis and on the streets. The Yankee can marry, without any inconvenience of race or religion, the creole señorita, and she feels no scruples of nationality or culture by preferring marriage with an individual of the invading race. And neither does the middle class girl feel any scruples in this respect. The huachafita who is able to trap a Yankee employed by the Grace Corporation or the Foundation does it with the satisfaction of having elevated her social condition." (Imperialist Viewpoint.)

Thus typifying the feminine condition in our society as serfdom of women, the semi-feudal and semi-colonial background which is its root is established, discarding all interpretation sustained by the supposed "deficient feminine nature."

On this basis Mariátegui goes on to the material analysis of Peruvian women belonging to the different classes; he masterfully depicts working women: "if the masses of youth are so cruelly exploited, proletarian women suffer equal or worse exploitation. Up to very recently the proletarian woman had her labor limited to domestic activities at home. With advancing industrialization, she enters the competition in the factory, shop, enterprise, etc. ... Thus we see her in textile factories, cracker factories, laundries, container and cardboard

box factories, soaps, etc., where she performs the same work as the male worker, from operating the machinery, to the most menial job, always earning 40% to 60% less than the male. At the same time that women train themselves to do industrial jobs, they penetrate also into the activities of the office, commercial houses, etc., always competing with men and to the great benefit of the industrial enterprises, which get a noticeable reduction in salaries and immediate increase in profits. In agriculture and mining we find proletarian women in frank competition with men, and wherever we may look we find large numbers of exploited women, rendering their services in all sorts of activities .... In the process of our social struggles, the proletariat has had to set forth specific demands for their defense. Textile unions, which up to now have shown the greatest interest in this question, though not exclusively so, have gone on strike more than once with the object of forcing compliance with regulations which, specified by law, the capitalists simply refuse to implement; we have some capitalists (such as the "friend" of the worker Mr. Tizon y Bueno) who have not hesitated to consider as an "offense" the fact that a woman worker was pregnant, for which "offense" she has been terminated so as to avoid complying with what the law stipulates. At the cracker factory, the exploitation of women is vile." (Manifesto of the General Confederation of Peruvian Workers [CGTP] to the working class of the country. The Woman Question; a document edited under Mariátegui's leadership.)

Is this a valid description? Yes; in essence the workers' situation remains the same: the widest exploitation in ever more branches of industry, which in some of them is truly horrifying; the use of female labor so as to lower salaries, based on their salaries being lower than those paid to men; non-fulfillment of laws protecting women and hidden anti-worker positions by the false "friend" of the proletariat. Also very current is the need to support the achievements of the women workers.

Similarly Mariátegui goes on to review the condition of indigenous peasant women, of whom he says that together with their children they are obligated "to render gratuitous services to the proprietors and their families, as well as to authorities"; their miserable condition and social placement has a root: latifundia and serfdom.

As regards the petty-bourgeoisie, besides pointing out the tribulations of the women of this class, the analysis of primary school teachers helps Mariátegui to establish how the social mean, the nearness to the people and their dedication to full time teaching modifies their attitude and spirits opening them up so in within can be shown "easily

the ideals of the forgers of a new social State," since: "None of their interests has anything in common with the capitalist regime. Her life, her poverty, her work, fuses her to the proletarian masses." He proposes addressing them since "in their ranks the vanguard will recruit more and better elements."

2. Historical background of the feminist struggle

As we saw, for Mariátegui industrialization incorporates woman into work and through this it transforms her condition and her spirit. He points out, like the classics, the double situation implied: "When woman advances on the road of her emancipation over a bourgeois democratic terrain, in exchange this fact provides the capitalist with cheap labor and at the same time a serious competitor to the male worker." (Above cited Manifesto.) On the other hand, pointing out that the French Revolution included some elements of the feminist movement, he vindicates the figure of Babeuf, leader of the egalitarians, whom he considers "an asserter of feminist demands" and of whom he quotes the following lucid words: "do not impose silence on this sex which does not deserve to be disdained .... If you do not count on women for anything in your republic, you will make lovers of monarchy out of them" and "this sex that the tyranny of men has always wanted to annul, this sex which has never been useless in the revolutions."

And balancing the contribution made by the French Revolution to the emancipation of women he said in Women and Politics:

"The French Revolution, however, inaugurated a regime of political equality for men, not for women. The Rights of Man could have been called rather, the Rights of Males. With the bourgeoisie women ended up much more alienated from politics than with the aristocracy. Bourgeois democracy was an exclusively male democracy. Its development had to end up, however, intensely favorable to the emancipation of women. Capitalist civilization provided women with the means of increasing their capacity and improving their position in life."

Therefore, what the bourgeois class does for women was set accurately: while it is capable of providing conditions for her development, it is incapable of emancipating her. Mariátegui knew this very well: how despite this limitation capitalism, as it develops, opens up for women the doors to various activities, including politics, very especially so in the 20th century, so much that it becomes a symbol of this. Developing this statement, Mariátegui himself

vindicates many notable women and points out and demonstrates the contributions many women have made to poetry, to the novel, to the arts in general to the struggle and politics. Thus he teaches us how to judge women of the various classes and celebrities, pointing out their merits and shortcomings and showing what is principal in each individual case and, what is more important, highlighting their contributions to women's advancement.

3. Feminist Movement

A central point and greatly important today is the Mariáteguist proposal on the general problems of women, with his theses on the feminist movement, on which subject three parts are noteworthy: feminism; politicization of women and organization.

With respect to FEMINISM, Mariátegui held that it emerges "neither artificially nor arbitrarily" among us but it corresponds with the incorporation of women into manual and intellectual work; in this viewpoint he highlights mainly that feminism thrives among women who work outside the home, and points out that the proper environments for the development of the feminist movement are the university classrooms and the labor unions. He then sets forth the directive of orienting ourselves towards those fronts so as to push forward the mobilization of women. Although it must be decided that such orientation in no way implies discounting peasant women; since we must remember that Mariátegui considered the peasant women as the most important class in our process, no doubt peasant women too are a front of mobilization and even more, the main source which the entire feminist movement as well as the proletariat want to reach.

In Feminist Demands Mariátegui proposes the essence of the feminist movement: "No one should be surprised if all women do not get together in a single feminist movement. Feminism has, necessarily, several colors, various tendencies. In feminism three fundamental tendencies can be distinguished, three substantive colors; bourgeois feminism, petty-bourgeois feminism and proletarian feminism. Each one of these feminisms formulates its own demands in a different way. The bourgeois woman unites feminism with the interests of the conservative class. The proletarian woman unifies her feminism with the faith of the revolutionary multitudes in the society of the future. The class struggle--an historical fact and not merely a theoretical assertion--is reflected on the feminist stage. Women, like men, are reactionaries, centrists or revolutionaries. They cannot, consequently, all fight the same battle side by side. In the current human panorama, class differentiates individuals more than sex."

This is the essence of our woman question, the class character of the entire feminist movement. And we must keep this very much in mind, today more than ever, since once more the organization of women is pushed forward; many groups arise, which in general are silent or hide the class character sustaining them, that is, the class which they serve, and preach a unification of women to demand their rights in opposition to men, as if to serve all women united, without distinction of class, for a supposed social transformation "humanist, Christian and in solidarity" social transformation, going through a few intermediate modalities of unclear or confused class positions. Substantially the problem is to ascertain the class root entailed by each women's group, organism, front or movement, to delimit positions and establish whom they serve, which class they serve, and if they are truly or are not on the side of the people.

These questions take us to a crucial problem: according to whose principles, which class criteria and orientation are we to build a feminist movement serving the people? Here Mariátegui's position is brilliant and concise "Feminism, as a pure idea, is essentially revolutionary." And to him, revolutionary essentially meant proletarian; that way the entire people's feminist movement which truly wants to serve the people and the revolution, has to be a feminist movement adhered to the proletariat, and today in our country adherence to the proletariat means adherence to the thinking of Mariátegui.

With respect to the POLITICIZATION OF WOMEN. The Marxist classics have always attached great importance to this point, since without it, it is impossible to develop the mobilization and organization of women, and without these women we cannot fight side by side with the proletariat for their own emancipation. Following his great example, the Peruvian working class like Mariátegui has pointed out the importance of the politicization of women, and highlighted that its deficiency or lack thereof serves reaction.

"Women, for the most part, due to their little or no political education, are not a renovating force in contemporary struggles but a reactionary force." (Figures and Aspects of Life in the World.)

This is sufficiently clear, what we must ask ourselves is this: What does this politicization mean? For the founder of the Communist Party it meant the determined and militant incorporation of women into the class struggle, their mobilization together with the people's interests, their integration into the organizations, individually learning

themselves the ideology of the working class, and all this is part of, assessed by and under the leadership of the proletariat. In synthesis, to incorporate women into politics, into class struggle, under the leadership of the working class.

With respect to the ORGANIZATION OF WOMEN. Marxism teaches that in order to face their enemies and struggle for their class interests the proletariat has no other recourse than to organize itself; this principle is applied to the people, who are strong only if organized and therefore also to women, who can only fight successfully when they are organized.

As a "convicted and confessed Marxist" Mariátegui applied these principles creatively. He paid very special attention to organizing the women workers, as is seen in the proposals in the Manifesto of the CGTP referred to above:

"All this accumulation of 'calamities' weighing on the exploited woman cannot be resolved except by immediate organization. In the same way that unions have to build their youth cadres, they must create their women's sections, where our future women militants will be educated."

Mariátegui showed the same concern when under his guidance the statute of the mentioned Confederation was getting ready to form a Permanent Women's Commission at the Executive Committee level. Unfortunately, these orientations have not been correctly put into practice; it has remained a purely bureaucratic union position, called "feminine affairs" or some similar name, when it exits at all, without organically accommodating the women's sections of the unions, thus it remains as a pending task.

Later on, in March 1930, the Communist Party approved the following motion:

"First. Creating a Provisional Secretariat to organize socialist youth, under immediate control of the Party.

Second. Creating a Provisional Secretariat to organize the working women, under the leadership and control of the Party.

Third. Both secretariats will struggle for the immediate organization of youth of both sexes, for their political and ideological education, as a preparatory stage for their admission to the Party" (Martinez de la Torre, op. cit., Vol. II; our emphasis.)

Here Mariátegui's thesis is materialized by the need to pay attention to the women's organizations, even at the most advanced political levels; and his position is expressed that the organization of women is, ultimately, the question of organizing them under the leadership and control of the working class and the Party. Such proposals lead us to ask ourselves, about each women's group, organism, front or movement: For which class, how and for what are women organized? And keep in mind that these points can only be satisfactorily resolved, that is, for the class and the people, by adhering ourselves to the working class positions.

These three questions: feminism, politicization of women and organization of women, and the theses which Mariátegui established must be studied and applied consistently, since only that way can an authentic popular feminist movement be developed.

4. The emancipation of women

In this point too, like in the classics, Mariátegui also holds that under capitalism and industrialization "women make advances on the road to their emancipation." However under this system she does not even reach full legal equality. For that reason a consistent feminist movement seeks to go further, and on this road it necessarily has to join the struggle of the proletariat. This understanding led the great proletarian thinker of our country to state: "The feminist movement appears solidly identified with the revolutionary movement;" and that although born of liberalism, only with the revolution could feminism be fulfilled:

"Born of a liberal womb, feminism has not yet been able to operate in the capitalist process. It is only now, when the historic path of democracy reaches its end, that woman acquires the political and legal rights of the male. And it was the Russian revolution which explicitly and categorically conferred on women the equality and the liberty which for more than a century, from Babeuf and the egalitarians of the French Revolution, she had in vain clamored for." (Feminist Demands)

And so it is that in parallel with the construction of a new society the new woman will be emerging who will be "substantially different from the one formed by the now declining civilization". These new women will be forged in the revolutionary crucible and will place the old type of woman deformed by the old exploitative system in the back room of history, a system which now sinks for the genuine dignifying of women.

"In the same measure as the socialist system replaces the individualist system, feminine luxuriousness and elegance will decay... Humanity will lose some luxurious mammals; but will gain instead many women. The clothing of the women of the future will be less ostentatious and expensive; but the condition of this new woman will be dignified. And the axis of feminine life will progress from the individual to the social ... A woman, in sum, will be less expensive but will be worth more." (Women and Politics.)

Besides these basic ideas Mariátegui takes care of other problems intimately linked to women in particular: divorce, marriage, love, etc.; he treats them with fine irony and takes sharply critical positions on them. However, as a good Marxist he does not center his attention on them until taking them as the principal issue. To do so is to forget the principal struggle and fundamental goal, while spreading confusion and disorienting the revolutionary struggle.

Up to this point we have presented and exposition of the central theses of Mariátegui's thought on the women question, in which we have used plentiful quotations for the same reasons we had when dealing with the Marxist positions on the subject.

III. Developing the Feminist Movement following Mariátegui

1. Current Relevance of Mariátegui

A conclusion is obvious from what has been said: the theses Mariátegui held on the woman question resulted from the consistent application of Marxism-Leninism to the specific conditions in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society like ours. On this, generally, there is no disagreement and even when there is no open adherence, at least by silence an acceptance of such conclusions is shown. However the question is not whether Mariátegui's thought was a correct application of Marxism to the country , the central issue is: how relevant is his thought to the present? This is a subject on which, while expressing an apparent recognition of Mariátegui and so as not to attack his immense and still growing prestige, some question its current relevance by mentioning that more than 40 years have elapsed and raising, erroneously and treacherously, the need to take into account "the creative development of Marxism in order to surpass it."

Analyzing this point leads us to review, if only in passing, some of the positions that have been sustained in this country on the woman question. Thus, the notable and contentious thinker don Manuel Gonzales Prada handled this question in his 1904 work "Slaves of the Church," a work now included in Hours of Struggle. There, while expressing important concepts such as: "We can't know the people well until we have studied the social and legal condition of women," "the moral elevation of man is measured by the concept he has on women: for the ignorant and brutal man, the woman is just a female; for the thinker and cultured man, she is a brain and a heart," "Just as we carry the family name of our father, we carry the moral making of our mother..." " The motive force, the great propellant of societies, does not function noisily at the plaza nor at the revolutionary circle; it works in the home," which help to center our attention on the importance of the woman; on the other hand, he expresses ideas such as "The emancipation of woman, like the freedom of the slave, is not due to Christianity but to Philosophy." "In Protestant nations feminine ascension is taking place so assuredly that complete emancipation is already foreseen," "Slaves and serfs owe their personal dignity to the efforts of noble and delicate persons, the Catholic woman will only get emancipated by the energetic action of men" and "in the battle of ideas no ally is more powerful than love."

Thus we see that the contribution of Gonzales Prada to the emancipation of women overall positive. He pointed out and denounce the oppression of women, the important role they fulfill and the necessity to resolve the problem and set forth the emancipation of women. Although for him the root of the problem is Catholicism which prevails in women, he believes that it is possible to reach emancipation under capitalism and he centers the problem in the individual; yet his ideas overall represent, a positive contribution, in this and other topics, in studying the problems of women in the country.

And these ideas turn out to be more outstanding when we see nearly 30 years later Jorge Basadre proposing: "Gregorio Marañon demanded that the essential role of women is love," while the essential role of men is work... That is why little boys prefer to play with soldiers, symbol of struggle, of effort, an urge to supremacy; while little girls prefer to play with dolls, precociously motherly... By virtue of a command of nature, the charm of the Creole woman, even when not a mestiza, is different from women of other latitudes by a proper flavor like a fruit or vegetable... While, on the other hand the highest superiority of men is in their minds and since the American mind is still determinedly influenced by Europe, the American glory is lost or lessened ... A notoriously beautiful women in America can, on the other hand, raise interest anywhere." (Peru: Problems and Possibilities, Chapter XI. Here the position is so clearly reactionary that comments are unnecessary.)

If in Basadre the ruling classes speak to us of "feminine nature" whose essence is love, they also in 1940 express themselves through Carlos Miro Quesada Laos as follows:

"The role of woman in modern life is manifold. These are no longer the times--forever gone--when work was forbidden to her. Quite the contrary. Today woman works in diverse activities... Because she has shown she can act as efficiently as man... She, therefore, has the duty to study, to prepare herself for the future. And if in these chores women share the duties with men, in others they are, and will always be, better than men. And what happens is that woman contributes to life many things which are innate to her. She has the hands of mother and nurse... That is femininity which, thanks to God, they will never lose, despite the 20th century, of wars and revolutionary theories. The word

"consolation" evokes women ... After making man, the Creator... put her at his side to be his mate, to give stimulus and sweeten his life... First she must obey her parents, then her teacher, later on her husband and always duty." (Three Conferences, Lima 1941.)

With Basadre the exploiting classes postponed the work of women; with Miro Quesada, having new requirements, they exalt and demand the work of women. But deep down both are based on "feminine nature." But not only in this field do these ideas appear; incorrect positions are also found in writings and magazines which claim to be revolutionary and even Marxist; we read in them concepts like the following: Speaking of the "sense of life," that they participate in "social change," will enable, we understand it's meant women, "to undo their existential problem, since the sense of life would then reside in the profit each individual is able to offer her/his neighbors by way of will and effort." Considering the subject "Women and Society" after attempting to outline Engels' thesis on the development of the family the following is said: "we are possessed of the myth of the inferiority of women. And from that arises the need of liberating women... her liberation can only occur when the socio-economic structure changes with the development of a new society." Thus liberation is highlighted but not its social background, which is kept ambiguous and imprecise, ending up centered on how to regulate "the relationship between sexes in answer to the new ideology. If the women is equal or must be equal to man, the bases of such relationship would be:

a) To liberate the women from religious alienation...,

b) To exercise the right to choose her mate without obeying prejudices about masculine initiative...

c) Not to understand women's liberation as a synonym for free love... and (fortunately!)

d) The woman being equal to man, she must not remain separate from politics by alleging her feminine condition... love, as a starting point for a social change, should be the stimulus for youth (men and women) to struggle to build an egalitarian world without oppression or injustice."

And in publishing the story, "The Tomb of the Unemployed," a Christmas story which handily spreads the "generosity of women" and

the "selfishness of men," a treacherous version of "feminine nature": "Later on the two ghosts became silent, each with its own thoughts. The woman in her past; the man in his future. The woman on what must be done; the man on what needs to be done for him. One with generosity and one with selfishness, always nailed to their foreheads, always wrestling in the depths of their consciences." (Magazine Mujer number 1 and 2; while having no dates they were printed in the 1960's). Evidently the ideas contained in Mujer, despite their apparent Marxist and revolutionary posturing, neatly reveal a bourgeois background, in no way do they express a proletarian position on the woman question.

What does this summary show us? The hard, cold truth that the question is by no means the time frame when the positions are presented, nor is the problem "to take into account the creative developments of Marxism," but what is central is the class position on which a proposal is based. We have seen a position prior to Mariátegui, that of Gonzalez Prada, which despite preceding Mariátegui by some 30 years entails many positive elements; as well as a position contemporaneous with Mariátegui, that of Basadre, which is openly reactionary; finally two later positions, 30 years after Mariátegui, that of Miro Quesada, which renovates some criteria but is still reactionary, and that of the magazine Mujer, under Marxist colors, which definitely adheres to bourgeois positions despite it being presented to us as revolutionary and in the service of women's emancipation.

What is the conclusion? As we said, the question is the class character on which a position is based, in this case the position on the woman question. With Mariátegui, the greatest exponent of our working class, the proletarian position on the woman question is established. He set the basis of the proletarian political line on this question and his positions are completely current, on this topic as well as on others dealing with the revolutionary politics of the proletariat in our country. Therefore, developing a people's feminist movement demands, today more than ever, a firm and consistent adherence to the thought of Mariátegui, starting from an acceptance of its current relevance.

2. Retaking Mariátegui's Road

The struggle of Peruvian women and of proletarian women has a long tradition, sealed with their blood, for over 50 years. Similarly, feminist organizations are long standing; nevertheless, the process of organizing Peruvian women began to expand in the 1960's,

forecasting a brilliant perspective, though a long and twisting one.

At present we have a multitude of organizations of varying extension and levels, and what is more important, sprouting old seeds, we already see signs pointing to a genuine people's feminist movement. Today we have a National Council of Women with fifty years of existence, nurtured by the decrepit and obsolete theory of "feminine nature", a "Women's Rights Movement" upholding a feminism aimed at liberation from dependence on men; a gamut of organizations being formed which support the current regime for the benefit of its corporativist process, under the orientation and control of Sinamos and under its concept of "participation of women," part of their "fully participatory democracy," which obscures that the root of women's oppression is private property and the subjugation of women that began with it; which, twisting our history and using a lowly and "vulgar materialism" propagandizes that "in 1968 the revolutionary process began that seeks the authentic liberation of women with political equality and active participation," concluding: "We are the ones who must create the various forms of women's organizations," saturated with the sly and underhanded bourgeois feminism. And a National People's Union of Peruvian Women, a right opportunist organization which staged, as usual, a collaborationist apparatus totally devoted to the service of the regime.

This increase and organizational strengthening of the masses of women demands a serious investigation of the woman question and a class analysis of the organizations that exist or are being formed, so the camps can define themselves in order to establish, as in other fields, the two lines on the woman question: The counterrevolutionary line commanded by imperialism and the middle bourgeois, and the revolutionary line whose command and center is the proletariat. That will help the organizational development of the people's feminist movement, which of necessity requires its construction to be unleashed amidst the two-line struggle, the expression of the class struggle and of the similar and conflicting interests of the contending classes. And of course it must not be forgotten that within each line there are variations and differences in operation according to the classes grouped around each line. From there the problem consists of establishing the two contrary lines and, within each one the variations and nuances of the line; establishing which position is in command of each line, and, depending on the class each represents, gives each of the lines in struggle a revolutionary or counterrevolutionary character.

All that's been exposed takes us therefore to the necessity of "retaking Mariátegui's road on the woman question," in order to serve the

formation and development of a PEOPLE'S FEMINIST MOVEMENT conceived as a movement generated by the proletariat among the masses of women, with the following characteristics:

1. Adherence to the thought of Mariátegui;

2. Class conscious organization of the masses;

3. Subject to democratic centralism.

The construction of such a MOVEMENT sets forth for us two problems:

1. Ideological-political construction, which necessarily implies providing it with Principles and Programme;

2. Organic construction, which we can serve by forming cores or groups of activists for carrying the Principles and Program to the masses of women--workers, peasants, professionals, university and secondary school students, etc.--They would work toward the politicization of women, mobilizing them through their struggles and organizing them to adhere to the political struggle, in harmony with the orientation and politics of the proletariat.

To conclude this contribution to the study and understanding of the woman question, it is pertinent to transcribe a Declaration of Principles and Programme which for some time has been circulating in our midst, documents which, while emphasizing their character as ongoing projects, can serve as a useful basis for discussion of the ideological-political construction of the ongoing PEOPLE'S FEMINIST MOVEMENT.

1974 - On the National Question

Speech by Chairman Gonzalo at the conference organized by the Teacher's Union of Humanga, Ayacucho-Perú, 1974

Contemporary Peruvian Society

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  The character of our society.
  The character of the revolutionary process of
Peruvian     society.
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Bureaucratic Capitalism

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   What do we mean by bureaucratic capitalism?
   Three lines within bureaucratic capitalism.
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The Contemporary Situation of the Country

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   The conditions under which the current regime
grows.
   The plans and characteristics of the regime.
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Evidently, it is very important and necessary to analyze the character of Peruvian society; because if we do not have a clear understanding of it, we cannot comprehend and explain adequately the process we are living in today. Thus, it is not possible to understand concrete problems of today and the current political situation, such as the law of education or law of mines, without understanding what the character of contemporary Peruvian society is. Unfortunately, little is known about the national question and this get worse with the gross disinformation campaign launched by the state on this matter lately.

The Character of Contemporary Peruvian Society

Peru is a semifeudal and semicolonial society. Our country became independent in the last century. More than 150 years ago, we were a colony of Spain. We lived subjugated by this metropoly and had no political independence at all. On the other hand, at the beginning of the XIX century Peru was a feudal country and our society was fundamentally based on agriculture, which was the economic base. Of course, there was trade and incipient industrial modalities, but the economic base was feudalism. The society was based on the existence of big latifundios (TNF: large farms or haciendas) that belonged to a

handful of people, and upon this kind of property, servitude existed. The peasants were cruelly exploited , and had to give personal services such as working the land of the feudal lord and others, including domestic services, in order to have a plot of land.

Our country was backward, where the norm was the practice of old forms of production and modalities of government that were totally decrepit. At the beginning of the XIX century, the country had two problems, which with certain minor modifications still persist today. First, the the land question, the problem of feudalism, of the servitude of the peasantry based on the latifundia property; and the second was the problem of national sovereignty (our nation was a colony of Spain.)

The struggle for independence raised these two problems. The issue of sovereignty was present in parliamentary debates in which it was proposed that independence could only be assured if the land was handed over to the peasants, also this is proven by the decrees of Bolivar on territorial property. However, independence only meant breaking the chains with Spain. Soon thereafter the country found itself controlled and dominated by England. This great capitalist power dominated all of Latin America. What is the importance of the domination of England in our country? Up until independence, we were a feudal and colonial country, but once we became independent although we maintained our feudal base, we achieved a certain political independence. We became a republic despite of the problems inherents to emancipation. England introduces higher modalities of development in the country, capitalist modalities, fundamentally in trade which was tied to the world market of the fertilizer guano (TNF: seabird excrement). As a result, the destruction of feudalism advanced because England brought merchandise and introduced capitalist method of production. On the other hand, England began to control the country and introduced a process of colonialization. The British domination resulted in the beginning of a change: a step toward the formation of a semifeudal and semicolonial society.

In the XX century the United States (U.S.) displaced the English domination in the Americas and becomes the master, around the 1920's. Thus, our country sees itself dominated by another world power, an imperialist power. The U.S. came when it was already an imperialist country, with a developed system of monopolies, and big corporations that concentrate the U.S.'s economy. It was already a power undergoing a colonial expansion in Latin America and even in parts of Asia.

Under the Yankee imperialist domination, our society evolves further its semifeudal character. However, it is not totally destroyed. It continues to survive. In the same manner that under English domination (especially after the war with Chile), there has been a major push toward the destruction of feudalism under the development of a form of capitalism tied to the big monopolies and dependent upon imperialism. In addition to maintaining its semifeudal character, our country continues to be a semicolony; a dominated country that even though has declared its political independence is under the domination of an imperialist power in economic, diplomatic, cutural, and military affairs. This domination turns Peru's declared political independence into a formality.

In syntheis, since the XIX century, Peruvian society has evolved from a feudal society into a semifeudal one, and from a colonial society into a semicolonial one. In this long process, three powers have dominated and exploited us: First Spain until 1821 (although it continued its dominattion for many more decades.) Then England dominated us in a more subtle way. The British even fabricated for us political parties of a bourgeois nature, and organized a better state apparatus in order to subjugate us better with its subbtle domination. It was a subtile domination but no less exploitative than the previous one. Finally, the U.S., which continues to oppress and exploit us, an imperialism that despite all that is said (about "independence,") dominates us on all levels.

When we were a colonial country we had two problems: the land problem and the national question. Under English domination we were a semifeudal and semicolonial society (less developed than the present time), and had two problems: the land and the nation. The land was concentrated in a few hands and servitude continued to exist in the country. In the XX century under U.S. dominattion, we continue to be a semifeudal and semicolonial society (undoubtedly much more evolved than before) but the basic problems of the country continue to be the two mentioned before: the land and the nation. The land question is because the feudal modalities of exploitation still survive and grip our entire society. Thus, our unscientific and superstitious mentality, our ideology in general, as well as our social and political relations, still have many feudal aspects. The national question is because we are an oppressed nation, apparently free, but at the botton, subjugated in many ways.

Therefore, the nation's history from the XIX century to today is the feudal and colonial class struggle that under the domination of English capitalism and Yankee imperialism in succession, has evolved and

transformed into a semifeudal and semicolonial society with two basic problems still unresolved: the land question and the national question.

The character of the revolutionary process of Peruvian society

In laying down the character of Peruvian society a question arises: which is the path of revolutionary transformation? Concretely, what is the character of the Peruvian revolution? We have established that today there are two problems: the land question and the national question, from whose resolution the solution of the rest of the nation's problems will derive. The entire national question is tied to the semifeudal and semicolonial character of Peruvian society. Hence, in order for Peruvian society to change, to be truly revolutionary, these two problems must be resolved:

> The land question, whose solution demands that semifeudalism be swept away, unless this is done, the land question cannot be resolved;
> The national question, whose solution demands sweeping away Yankee imperialist oppression, because if this semicolonial domination is not swept away the national question will not be resolved.

Therefore, without eliminating semifeudalism and semicolonialism it is not possible to genuinely transform Peruvian society (despite all what they'd been telling us.) Furthermore, what it (TNF: by the ruling classes) being proclaimed today is nothing new. For instance, in 1,919 we heard similar siren songs. Consequently, the two tasks that must be carry out in the process of transformation of Peruvian society, scientifically called the Peruvian revolution, is to completely destroy semifeudalism and semicolonialism. These are the two tasks of the Peruvian revolution in its first stage. This means that the Peruvian revolution is antifeudal and antiimperialist. It must destroy the feudal remnants and the imperialist domination. For this reason, the Peruvian revolution is necessarily democratic and national. Scientifically speaking the character of the Peruvian revolution is a national-democratic revolution; democratic because it will destroy the feudal relations of the nation; and national because it will destroy the Yankee imperialist oppression. Thus, in the contemporary semi-feudal and semi-colonial Peruvian society, there is only room for a national-democratic, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist revolution.

Let us analyze the character of the Peruvian revolution in relation to the concrete historical conditions. The two problems of the country (the land and the nation), during the XX century as compared to the

XIX century, have big differences. In the last century there was no imperialism like there is today, and there was no international working class capable of leading the revolution, nor was there a developed working class in our country, whereas today, we have a triumphant working class (TNF: the October revolution, China, etc.) and in our country we have a working class with a long history of struggle. These are very important differences in the revolutionary process of our country.

Until the 1920's, the bourgeoisie in our country was in the capacity of leading the process of transformation towards the solution of these two problems, but they didn't. Nevertheless, in our country, before the 1920's, there were great struggles, heroic struggles and continuous uprisings of peasants, mobilizations, and student struggles, and powerful actions of the working class. All of this generated a great process of political struggle in which the ideology of the proletariat began to be spread out and be applied to our reality. The extraordinary figure of Jos, Carlos Mari tegui emerges, whose tireless work as a "thinker and activist man" marked a milestone in history. In 1928, Mariategui founded the Communit Party, the Party of the working class in Peru. This period determined a fundamental change in our revolution through which the bourgeoisie, under the conditions of imperialist domination and the existence of a working class forged in struggle, could no longer lead the revolutionary process of our nation.

Thus, the working class has sprung forward and developed, and beyond disputing the leadership of the revolution with the bourgeosie, it is the only class capable of carrying the Peruvian revolution to its triumph. The bourgeois revolution in the country has two periods:

The old bourgeois revolution that was able to be completed towards the beginning of this century, under bourgeois leadership; and
The new bourgeois revolution or national-democratic revolution, or bourgeois revolution of a new type, under the leadership of the proletariat which is the only historical perspective for the country.

After 1928 the proletariat achieved political organization and displaced the bourgeoisie from the historical leadership of the revolutionary process, as the only class that can complete the national democratic revolution. Thus, after 1928 the revolution in the country, the destruction of feudalism and imperialist domination, can only be

completed under the leadership of the proletariat, a class that in order to fulfill its historical role must unite with the peasantry in a solid worker-peasant alliance, since the peasantry as a majority, although it does not lead the revolution, is the principal force.

We uphold the position that in the country the proletariat, with its party, must lead the movement, or else there is no national-democratic revolution. If not, let us not fool ourselves, directly or indirectly, we would be serving the enemies of the class.

To conclude, we must point out that there are other theses opposite to what we have explained. For example, there is a thesis that states that Peruvian society is capitalist. This is the most dangerous. If the country is capitalist, the revolution must be socialist, and the proletariat and not the peasantry would be the principal force. This thesis fundamentally changes the extremely important problem, which is the road of the revolution. As we have seen here, there are two revolutionary paths:

> The path of the October revolution which is from the city to the countryside, and this is the path of the capitalist countries by way of a socialist revolution, the path that old Russia took or that France would have to take today, for example; and
>
> The path of the Chinese revolution, which is from the countryside to the city, and this is the path that semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries follow by way of a national-democratic revolution, the path the Vietnam, among others, is following today. As such, the question of whether the country is semi-feudal or capitalist is not simply a Byzantine discussion, because if we err about the character of society we err on the course of the revolution, and consequently it will not triumph.

The thesis of the capitalist character of Peruvian society has been and continues to be upheld by Trotskyism and positions close to it, nevertheless such typifications begins to be upheld by revisionism in order to deepen its surrender to the regime.

Bureaucratic Capitalism

This question is important for the comprehension of Peruvian society, and ignorance of it is the root of grave political errors. The thesis of bureaucratic capitalism is found in the classics and in Mariátegui,

although he used another term.

What do we mean by bureaucratic capitalism?

This is the capitalism that imperialism promotes in a backwards country; the type of capitalism, the special form of capitalism, that is imposed by an imperialist country onto a backwards country, whether it is semi-feudal or semi-colonial. Let us analyze this historic process.

How did capitalism develop in the old European nations? Consider France; toward the end of the XVIII century it was a feudal country, with 20 to 22 million peasants while workers numbered only around 600,000 (from which we can see the feudal passage it had); it was based on servitude of various forms. Nevertheless, within the feudal entrails of France new productive forms, of manufacturing, and capitalist forms were generated, and a class, the bourgeoisie, was gaining ever more force, more economic power, including political influence. We ask: Was France a nation subjugated by another? No. France was an absolute monarchy that contested with England for global hegemony, it was not oppressed by anyone. Its socio-economic and historical conditions had made it develop that way. Did imperialism exist in that era? No. Imperialism is of this century. What existed were countries undergoing capitalist development, like England for example, and France was independently developing a capitalist society. Other countries followed the same path, and when they reached the XIX century, France, England, Belgium, Holland, etc. were capitalist countries that developed independently.

What was the situation of Latin America in the XIX century? When the emancipation of America began (1810), the nations of Europe were already powerful, whereas the Latin American ones had only recently begun to structure their nationalities, a problem that has not yet been concluded. Moreover, soon after becoming independent these nations fall under the domination of a power, namely England; thus their capitalism will develop under English domination, a kind of dependent capitalism. Thus, there is a well-known historical, economic, and political difference compared to the European process.

On another side, the bourgeoisies that develop in Latin America begin to link themselves more and more to the dominant country, in such a way that these weak bourgeoisies, instead of developing independently like the Eupopeans did, serving the national interests, they evolve as subjugated bourgeoisies, dependent, given over body and soul to the imperialist powers (England or the U.S.) to the extent they even believe in converting themselves into rich men and

developed intermediate bourgeoisies, as our history in this century shows.

This latter path is the one taken in Peru. As we have seen, in the second decade of this century Yankee imperialism surplanted English domination.

Three lines within bureaucratic capitalism

Bureaucratic capitalism develops three lines within its process: a landlord line in the countryside, a bureaucratic one in industry, and a third, also bureaucratic, in the ideological sphere. This is without pretending that that these are the only ones.

It introduces the landlord line in the countryside by way of expropiatory agrarian laws that do not aim to destroy the feudal landlord class and their property, but rather progressively evolve them by means of the purchase and payment of the land for the peasants. The bureaucratic line in industry aims at controlling and centralizing industrial production, commerce, etc., putting them ever more in the hands of monopoly with the goal of sponsoring a more rapid and systematic accumulation of capital, to the detriment of the working class and other workers, naturally, to the benefit of the biggest monopolies and consequently imperialism. In this process the forced saving which workers are subjected to plays an important role, as we can see in the industrial law. The bureaucratic line in ideology consists of the process of molding the people, by means of the massive diffusion, especially in political conceptions and ideas, that serve bureaucratic capitalism. The general law of education is a concentrated expression of this line, and one of the constants of this line is its anti-communism, its anti-Marxism, whether open or concealed.

These three lines form part of the bureaucratic path which is opposed by the DEMOCRATIC PATH, the revolutionary road of the people. If the former defends feudal property, the latter proposes its destruction, and it opposes the buying of lands with confiscation; if the former recognizes and fortifies imperialist industrial property, the latter denies it and struggles for its confiscation; if the former fights to ideologically subjugate the people, the latter strives to arm them ideologically; if the former attacks Marxism, the latter upholds that we must guide ourselves by Marxism as the only scientific instrument to understand reality. They are thus two absolutely contrary paths. The history of the country in this century is a history of struggle between these two paths: the bureaucratic path, that is capitalism submitted to

imperialism, and the democratic path, the road of the working class, the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, and under certain circumstances, the national bourgeoisie. In order to understand bureaucratic capitalism it is very useful to study and analyze the decade of the 1960's, during which the process of the destruction of feudalism advanced more; in this period industry and capitalist relations in agriculture are strengthened. From another side, the class struggle developed greatly; the trade union movement, the peasant movement, and the student movement reached higher levels. Thus a strong trade union movement developed that in a particular moment took localities and bosses as hostages; the peasant movement also had a great apogee, in the second half of 1963 it ran from the center of the country to the south like a trail of gunpowder; and the student movement rose rapidly. In synthesis, the mass struggles have lived through great experiences in this period of political struggles.

Thus, party politics had a great apogee, on the one hand the reactionary political parties entered into grave difficulties and struggles leading up to the crisis of the so-called "representative democracy" in 1967 and 1968, and on the other the left developed a vigorous political life, within which it unleashed the struggle between Marxism and revisionism, which later re-took the path of Mari tegui as a condition to develop the revolution.

Another very important deed which is not sufficiently studied is the question of the guerrillas: in 1965 there was a outbreak of guerrilla warfare, including this zona. The guerrilla movement in the country is part of the national process. It is a primary question that must be highlighted because due to sectarianism, sometimes it is considered as simply the experience of an organization and it is not seen as the experience of the Peruvian people. It is a movement intimately linked to the political process of the country, developed according to petty bourgeois conceptions; it is a great experience that needs to be analyzed from the point of view of the proletariat in order to draw fruitful lessons.

It is impossible to understand our situation and perspectiv since 1970 without understanding the concrete conditions of the 1960's. There is a good thing: in the last few years, the Peruvian intelligentsia begins to understand the necessity of studying the decade of the 1960's. Only by understanding this period will we be better armed ideologically, in order to understand the current situation.

The problem of bureaucratic capitalism is important because it allows us to understand which is the dominant path that imperialism imposes

on a backwards country, on a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country; by understanding this problem we will be armed and equipped to combat the thesis of the capitalist character of the country and its politica derivations.

In order to conclude this theme we will deal with the following: some maintain that to hold that bureaucratic capitalism is in the country is to ignore its semi-feudal and semi-colonial character; they say it proposes that the nation is capitalist in a hidden manner. This is an error ignores the laws of social development of our country and of the backwards countries; precisely because bureaucrat capitalism is no more than the path of imperialism in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country and without semi-feudal and semi-colonial conditions there would be no bureaucrat capitalism. Thus, to propose the existence of bureaucrat capitalism is to propose as a premise that the country is semi-feudal and semi-colonial.

The Contemporary Situation of the Country

Under what conditions does the current regime arise? Let us go back to the end of the 1960's. What was happening? Economic problems: in 1967 the currency devaluation, freezing of credits, etc. An economic crisis. On another side, the struggle of the masses was rising, strong worker and peasant struggles, and we saw daily that characteristics similar to those in the first year of the decade were beginning to present themselves; a future rise in the movement of the masses was within sight. In politics, confrontations and fractionalizing between and within the political organizations of the ruling classes; the famous dispute between parliament and the executive. Furthermore, the elections drew near, creating the juncture for many of the nation's problems to be illuminated, even for the parties in dispute, because in their eagerness to get votes the "dragged out their dirty laundry". Ideologically our country had passed through a profound debate of ideas and this greatly clarified what is Marxism and what is revisionism. Furthermore the path of Mari tegui began to be retaken by applying Marxism to the concrete conditions of the country. Aside from the above we must highlight two situations:

1. The economic situation of the country, which is the development of bureaucratic capitalism could no longer continue developing itself in the old way, urging its deepening. It needed to open a wider path so that this process in the form of imperialism would advance; with the previous forms it could not advance. We must not forget that for many years the agrarian problem was discussed, there were even agrarian laws: the Beltran project, the laws of P,rez Godoy and of Bela£nde.

Another question: in the industrial problem the law of the second government of Prado was now insufficient and raised again the necessity of making industrial parks, give a priority to the state role in planning, etc. There is the plan of Bela£nde of 1967 to 1970 that stated the necessity of changing the social condition of the country in order to construct a "new society, national, democratic, and Christian". In conclusion, the process of bureaucratic capitalism needed to deepen itself.

2. In the country there was the so-called "representative democracy", but parliamentarism did not satisfy the needs of the exploiters; the popular masses advanced with relative ease putting the exploiting classes in difficult, although temporary, positions. Thus, they needed to substitute the representative modality, parliamentarism. Was this a typical case that only happened in our country? No. The decade of 1960 implied the fragility of the so-called "regime of representative democracy" in Latin America, the crisis of parliamentarism, and consequently the need to substitute it for state modalities more efficient for reaction.

In synthesis, the economic necessities of deepening bureaucratic capitalism and the fagility of parliamentarism, in the conditions indicated, presented the exploiting classes and imperialism with the necessity of a new political establishment for the country. Thus, the current regime arises from economic, social, and political necessities of deepening bureaucratic capitalism.

The plans and characteristics of the regime

There now exists a socio-economic plan which is little talked about. In synthesis it establishes: the need to reinvigorate bureaucratic capitalism, by way of the efforts of workers and peasants, the former brought about by means of the industrial law and the others by means of the agrarian law. At the same time it proposes the direct and primordial action of the state to open conditions of investment for private capital; the financing of which necessarily comes from imperialism and since this financing is insufficient, it must fundamentally take root from its own resources. This plan clearly illustrates its linkage with the process of bureaucratic capitalism in the country; daily this play is linked to Bela£nde's, and with this the entire system of bureaucratic capitalism of the country.

Very deep between the economic plan and social mobilization, this is another thing that is not very clear. The regime, sanctioning its fundamental measures (in agriculture, industry, and education), has

passed to an organizational stage. Today and in the immediate future we develop within organization, mobilization, and participation that the regime is promoting. The social mobilization must be understood linked to the economic process; the same government says that without social mobilization it will not be able to complete its socio-economic plan, and proposes that the social mobilization has a basis, the participation in property ownership. Lately the representatives of the regime talk about social property: what does this serve? This property serves, behind the decoy of participation in property ownership, to mobilize the masses to the benefit of bureaucratic capitalism. For this reason the basis of social mobilization is social participation.

What does this social mobilization serve? Social mobilization is a political instrument in the hands of the regime to strengthen its conceptions and open a "neither capitalist nor communist road", that is, to spread its ideas. Upon spreading its ideas it seeks to "avoid that foreign, exotic ideas become embedded in the masses"; what ideas are they refering to? Marxism. This ideological process is to avoid that the masses learn about Marxism and thus tie them to the bureaucratic capitalist road. Thus, the mobilization is a means of organizing, starting from the property modalities, the masses and channel them into a vertical authority. This is what they mean by social mobilization; it is a masterpiece of the system at the service of their economic and political plan. One of the reasons why the economic plan doesen't advance like they hoped it would is the lack of their so-called social mobilization.

From the above, we derive: the current political situation of the country is centered around the problem of the mobilization of the masses, now and in the immediate future we move within this juncture, which is: who mobilizes and how are the masses mobilized. The government pretends to move them according to their conception; their actions prove it. The regime aims to organize the peasant masses. The law 19400 serves this end, and it aims to organize the workers with the so-called CTRP. "Nationalists, revolutionary participationists"; among the students they create organizations that are born one day and disappear the next. All of this signifies the intention to organize the worker, peasant, and student masses, and it reveals that the contention is happening on and organizational plane.

Nevertheless, despite the propaganda and efforts of the regime and their followers, the struggle of the masses is alive and develops; why? Because the living conditions of the masses worsen as a consequence of the very system. For this reason, no matter how much they scream

that it is the "ultra-left" that moves the masses and agitates them, what is certain is that the masses are mobilizing around their own interests, and defend them to the extent that they are conscious. Synthesizing, the social, economic, and political conditions lead to the sharpening of the mass struggle, and the organizational question is one of confronting the serious difficulties before the organizational offensive of the regime, the same one that is incapable of imposing its total control and will have to appeal more to systematic repression (of which there are many and rapidly growing examples).

In conclusion: the ideology and politics of the regime, including organizationally, express a fascist character. The regime's measures, as expressed by their leaders, their style of organizing, their attitudes towards the representative regime, their manner of treating civil liberties, only show one thing: the abandonment of the demo-liberal and representative system and adherence to fascism. The very chief of the sinamos [paramilitary squads set up by the Velasco regime] said that we are in a pre-revolutionary period, and that all the regimes and political organizations have become invalid in the new social conditions.

From another side, the measures applied in politics, economics, and organizationally truly prove that they are laying the foundations for a CORPORATIVIST system. The essence of this question are the organizations on different levels, in which the bosses, the workers, and the state should participate. Three parts in the organizations, which has been defined as a corporation since the last century. This is the way it has been proposed by those who have upheld corporativism since 1920 and this is the way it is upheld today in Spain and Portugal.

Thus, the current regime is a system that has an ideological orientation of a fascist bent and is laying the foundations for a CORPORATIVIST system. It will be said that here is another thesis. It is very clear. There is a thesis that says that this is not certain, some maintaining that we are dealing with a revolutionary bourgeois regime that is completing a stage of the revolution; if we recall what we have seen this is a position without a political, ideological, or economic basis. Another thesis maintains that it is a bourgeois reformist regime, that it is applying reforms. What are reforms? Reforms are the concessions that the people win with their struggles, or they are the by-product of revolution, as Lenin said. Are the agrarian, industrial, or educational laws concessions to the people? This is enough to show the inconsistencies of this thesis.

Finally: when we emancipated ourselves we had two problems, of the land and of the nation, the problem of feudalism and the problem of domination by a foreign power. Many years have passed, and our society has advanced. The people of today are not the people of yesterday. We consider that today, after so many years, we continue having two problems: the land question and the national question. From this the process of transformation in our country is scientifically called a NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION, and this can only be lead by the proletariat.

"All debates are open for those who voice opinions, not those who remain silent." J.C. Mariátegui

"Polemics are useful when they are truly set out to clarify theories and actions, and when only clear ideas and motives are introduced." J.C. Mariátegui

1975 - Let us retake Mariategui and reconstitute his Party

PCP - Central Committee - October, 1975

On the 80th anniversary of the birth of José Carlos Mariátegui and 47 years from its founding, the Communist Party pays homage to its great founder and guide by calling upon its militants, upon the working class and the people of our country to obey the call of our times and prepare ourselves to occupy our place in history, LET US RETAKE MARIATEGUI AND RECONSTITUTE HIS PARTY!

I. THE CLASS STRUGGLE GENERATED MARIATEGUI'S THOUGHT.

Mariátegui's Thought, the political expression of the Peruvian working class, was forged and developed amidst the class struggle and not outside it; thus, to understand it well, it must necessarily be linked to the struggles internationally and in our country.

The global class struggle. Mariátegui lived at a time when imperialism, according to his words, was experiencing the "capitalism of the monopolies, of finance capital, of the imperialist wars to control markets and sources of raw materials." He lived, then, and fought, when capitalism was agonizing and the class struggle was empowering the proletariat to conquer power through revolutionary violence.

From 1914 to 1918 the world was shaken by World War I, the "imperialist predatory war" which, supported by the treacherous old revisionism, launched the working classes and the peoples of some powers against those of others, so as to re-divide the world for the imperialist powers and their monopolist bourgeoisie.

However as Lenin foresaw, the war hatched the revolution and in 1917 the Bolshevik Party, through armed insurrection, overthrew the power of tsarism in old Russia. With the October Revolution a new world era opened up, for the construction of socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat led by the Communist Party. Fulfilling the scientific projections of Marx and Engels, the October Road set the general norms for the emancipation of the working class: the need for a Communist Party leading the revolution, the need for revolutionary violence to overthrow the old established order and the need to install the dictatorship of the proletariat to build socialism and march

towards the classless society of the future. What Marx and Engels taught, in a word Marxism, materialized into an undeniable reality.

The October Revolution impacted throughout the world. Europe was shaken to its foundations and the proletariat launched itself to conquer power; the struggles in Germany, Italy and Hungary are examples which Mariátegui himself popularized in his History of the World Crisis, but while the masses were ripe for revolution there was a lack of the necessary communist parties to lead them and instead fascism was generated. The October Revolution not only changed the face of Europe, the colonial anti-imperialist movement was inspired by it; the East was convulsed by the Chinese Revolution, "the most extensive and profound sign of the awakening of Asia", and our own America developed its anti-imperialist maturity. The working class generated its own communist parties and acquired political weight.

Ideologically, the crisis of bourgeois thought became more critical while within the global working class movement, revisionist opportunism was swept away, revolutionary syndicalism was improved and Marxism progressed to a new stage, that of Marxism-Leninism.

Mariátegui lived through this process directly as a working class fighter, he followed and analyzed the world class struggle to understand the revolution in our country. His accurate foresight is in the following words: "The class struggle fills the first plane of the world crisis"; "the most relevant events of the last quarter of a century surpassed all limits. Its stage has been the five continents"; "the dictatorship of the proletariat, by definition is not a dictatorship of a party but a dictatorship of the working class"; "Marxism-Leninism is the revolutionary method of the imperialist stage."

a) Class development and struggle in Peruvian society. Modern industry was developed in Peru from 1895 and completed in the decade of the 1920's, a decade demarcating the impetus of bureaucratic capitalism under Yankee domination. This industrialization took place in a semi-feudal society whose economy developed increasingly subjected to North American imperialism, which displaced English domination. That way bureaucratic capitalism implies development of our semi-colonial condition and underscores the entire development of Peruvian society. This understanding is vital to interpret the Peruvian class struggle in the 20th century.

In the former context, the Peruvian proletariat grew not just in numbers; the development of mining, textiles and other branches of

industry gave it a progressively more important place. In synthesis, it implied the appearance of a new class and a precise goal. Our proletariat fought from the onset for salary increases, to reduce the work day and for other better living conditions, and generated a workers' movement which under a trade unionist line created unions in struggle against anarcho-syndicalism until the creation of the General Confederation of Workers of Peru, a task precisely carried out under the leadership of Mariátegui. Even more, the struggle of the working class determined the founding of its Party, along with the acts and works of Mariátegui; in that way the Peruvian proletariat matured, conforming itself as an independent political party and having as its goal the "economic emancipation of the working class", initiating a new stage in the country, that of the democratic national revolution led by the proletariat through its Party.

The peasantry, continuing its old struggles, also fought hard for "land to the tillers"; they defended their lands against usurpation by feudal landowners and monopolist enterprises and their struggle, continuing and persistent, faced the "armed response" by the Peruvian State and its repressive bodies. We witness their fighting spirit in the great actions of the first two decades of this century, particularly in Puno. The petty bourgeoisie, for instance employees and students, also fought against their enemies; this just struggle and organization of employees for demands, such as the university reform, are examples of the widespread struggle by the people.

In the exploiters' camp the legal civil authorities, the expression of the "comprador bourgeoisie" at the service of Yankee imperialism, assumed power and became the axis of the economical process, displacing the "landowning aristocracy" which was more linked to England. Legalism implied remodeling Peruvian society and politics according to demo-liberal models, as can be seen in the constitutional ordering and legislation, e.g. the 1920 educational law and other measures. That way the Peruvian bourgeoisie which had emerged in the mid 19th century became a comprador bourgeoisie and axis of Peruvian social progress and leaders of the exploiting classes in the country.

The former was reflected in the ideological field. On one hand the ruling bourgeoisie struck at the system of ideas of the ruling landowners, one of whose expressions was the Villaran-Deustua dispute in the educational field early in the century; criticism was always moderate and lukewarm, also as a propagation of the North American model. But while this happened in the exploiters' camp, in the midst of the people and mainly as a result of the working class, a

system of democratic ideas was maturing which slowly set itself as an understanding of our society from the proletariat's viewpoint, precisely through the theory and practice of José Carlos Mariátegui, who reflected and systematized all these thirty odd years in Peruvian life and was able to do it through his direct and arduous participation in the class struggle.

b) Mariátegui's Thought is the political expression of Peruvian class struggle. The life of Mariátegui has a clear and precise trajectory as a man of the new type, an "actor and thinker," of a life which matured rather than changed, as he himself said, from "a declared and energetic ambition: that of attending to the creation of Peruvian socialism." In his 35 years of existence, in 1918 "nauseated by Creole politics", he said, "I oriented myself resolutely towards socialism" fighting for the working class; and returning from Europe where, unlike many, he felt and became more Peruvian, working ceaselessly to propagate Marxism-Leninism, organizing the masses, especially workers and peasants, and crowned his work by founding the Communist Party.

José Carlos Mariátegui was a fighter of the working class, a main actor of the Peruvian proletariat who in theory and in practice, with words and actions, grew and developed in the heat of the class struggle, mainly in our country; a proletarian militant who firmly adhered to Marxism and fused it with the concrete conditions of our revolutionary process, becoming the crowning point and synthesis of the Peruvian class struggle, in the political expression of our country's proletariat, who summarized more than 30 years of class struggle by our working class and our people.

In short, Mariátegui is a product of the class struggle, mainly that waged by the proletariat of which he is the highest political expression.

II. MARIATEGUI A "CONVINCED AND CONFESSED" MARXIST-LENINIST

More than 30 years ago enemies tried to deny the Marxist-Leninist position of Mariátegui and that campaign has increased by the end of the 1960's and continues to be fueled openly or covertly today. To deny his Marxist condition is to deprive his work and actions of any basis, for the purpose of undermining the struggle of the proletariat, destroy its Party and fetter the revolution. Therefore the political question is important, to reaffirm and clarify, again, the Marxist-Leninist position of Mariátegui whom, let us recall, declared himself to

be so "convinced and confessed."

How to respond to those impugning him? There is only one road, and it is known: to see the position of Mariátegui in Marxist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism; that is, to remember his theses about the three parts of Marxism because, by seeing clearly his position on these basic questions, the Marxist basis of the founder of the Communist Party will be understood.

a) Mariátegui and Marxist philosophy. He starts out with each society generating its own philosophy; in his words: "each civilization has its own intuition of the world, its own philosophy, its own mental attitude which constitutes its essence, its soul ... ideas originate in reality and later on influence it, modifying it." Thus, philosophy is a social product, it cannot be understood outside the material base generating it, but it also reacts upon that base. He conceives that the philosophical process confronts materialism or idealism and highlights the materialist basis of Marx and, that way, the materialist basis sustaining Marxism. But that is not all, to Mariátegui, as with the classics, philosophy has a class character, it is an instrument of the class struggle to conquer power or to defend what has been conquered. Even more, he conceives that philosophy follows the direction of the class generating it; that way bourgeois philosophy by necessity follows the road and development of the bourgeoisie. And, as result, to him philosophy is product of social practice.

He considers Marxist philosophy to be the product of a long development, the culmination of classical German philosophy, mainly Hegel's; he accurately points out: "but this affiliation does not imply any servitude by Marxism to Hegel or his philosophy which, according to the well known sentence, Marx set right-side up ... Marx's materialist conception is born, dialectically, as the antithesis of Hegel's idealist conception." But even reiterating many times the dialectical character of Marxist philosophy, it impinges upon the essential of dialectics as the unity and struggle of opposites without falling into mechanistic pitfalls, clearly establishing, for example, the relationship between base and superstructure, that whether one or the other will be the main aspect depends of the concrete conditions. The astute use of dialectics is, precisely, one of the hallmarks of the theory and practice of Mariátegui.

Particularly important is his position regarding historical materialism which, by the scientific development it implies, he holds to be "a method of historical interpretation of today's society"; and his proposition conceiving the base, the support of all society, as a set of

social relations of production, with the superstructure as integrated by institutions and organizations in a legal and statutory order, a superstructure culminating in a system of ideas, is key. There we see the accurate description of base and superstructure which is the same as Engels'. He considers man not as an unvarying nature but as the product of social relations and therefore historically generated in social practice, especially molded by the class struggle, as he establishes by referring to the working class. He also establishes an indivisible unity between determinism and free will, a capacity to act as a trail blazer fulfilling the necessary laws of history; therefrom his expressive words: "history wants for each one to fulfill, with maximum action, his own role. So there is no victory except for those capable of earning it with their own resources, in inexorable combat."

Finally, speaking of human beings, whom he considers as the most valuable thing on Earth and the main thing in every economic process, and when grouped in multitudes, in masses, are the great force of history; and that the masses reflected in the working class, are mobilized towards a goal, towards a modern myth, in his own words: "The proletariat has a myth: social revolution. Towards that myth it moves with a warm and active faith."

Aren't these basic proposals, perhaps, theses proposed by the classics of Marxism? And aren't these the foundation of Mariátegui's philosophical position? And isn't this dialectical materialism, isn't this Marxist philosophy? In conclusion, Mariátegui sustained himself in Marxist philosophy, to which he arrived through his direct participation in the class struggle and we find his philosophical theses, as with all great Marxists, when we judge and resolve the complex problems of the class struggle. Whomever wants to see it as abstract meditation or academic work will not find philosophy in Mariátegui, but it will be found by whomever seeks it as a weapon in the class struggle used to discover the laws of our revolution and politics guiding our people.

b) Mariátegui and political economy. He begins by relating economy and politics, aiming to establish the economic basis, teaching: "it is not possible to understand Peruvian reality without seeking and looking at the economic facts," "the economic fact entails, equally, the key to all other phases of the history of the Republic" and "economics does not explain, probably, the totality of a phenomenon and its consequences. But it explains its roots." He conceives economics, the social relations of exploitation, as root of the political processes; but he sees the economy of a country within the international economic system, not as an isolated thing. From that viewpoint, he analyzes economics in its

political function to find the laws governing the class struggle in a country; a task especially carried out in our country by analyzing the direction historically followed by our economy, the agrarian production relations, industrialization and other economic terms, all with one goal: to establish the general laws of the Peruvian revolution.

Imperialism merited special attention according to Mariátegui; but aside from its economic character he emphasized its reactionary political character, pointing out that once "the stage of monopolies and imperialism arrives, the entire liberal ideology corresponding to the free competition stage is no longer valid." This great thesis is identical to that proposed by Lenin. Concerning imperialism, he also emphasized the sharpening of the economic crises: "All this leads us to believe that during this stage of monopoly, trustification and finance capital, crises will show up with greater violence"; crises he considered as inherent to the system and not attributable to transient problems, just as today it would be an increase in the price of oil which at most acts as a triggering factor. He similarly conceived the inter-imperialist clash for the expansion of markets, saying; "The great capitalist states have entered, fatally and inevitably, into the phase of imperialism. The struggle for markets and raw materials does not allow them any Christian fraternization. Inexorably, it impels them to expansion"; and underscoring even more the contention among powers: "besides the acting empires we have, therefore, embryonic empires. Side by side with the old empires, the young imperialisms oppose world peace. These show more aggressive and odious language than the former ones." Extraordinary words whose importance is greater if we consider the current contention between the superpowers, imperialist and social-imperialist, and their ostensible policy of disarmament and detensioning in the light of these other ones: "Limiting naval weaponry, discussed at Geneva, may seem to more than one pacifist as a step towards disarmament. But historical experience shows us in an unforgettable manner how after many such steps the world would still be closer than ever to war." These theses about imperialism are, besides brilliant, very timely.

But economic matters do not end here. He also analyzed the economy of the underdeveloped nations; he astutely analyzed the semi-feudal and semi-colonial condition of the Latin America countries, especially ours. He showed how industrialization in the backwards nations is tied to and develops as a function of the imperialist powers, in the case of Peru Yankee imperialism. He saw clearly how imperialism does not allow the backwards nations to develop a national economy nor independent industrialization; how on top of their semi-feudal base monopoly capitalism is installed, linked to the feudal landowners

and generating a "mercantile bourgeoisie," a bourgeoisie controlled by imperialism for which it is the intermediate plunderer of national resources and the exploiters of the people. And he set forth the following thesis, which we must not forget, about the Latin American republics: "The economic condition of these republics is, without a doubt, semi-colonial; and to the same degree that capitalism grows, and consequently imperialist penetration, this aspect of their economy must grow even more acute." Have these theses been fulfilled? Even the most superfluous look at America factually corroborates the semi-colonial domination exerted by Yankee imperialism. For the rest, Mariátegui's theses on capitalism in the backward nations must be understood in relation with those of Mao Tse-tung, about bureaucratic capitalism and appreciate them taking into account the specific conditions of Latin America.

In treating the economy of the backward nations, he also emphasized the imperialist plans following World War I to unload their problems upon them, promoting the development of their backward economies to suit the economic and political needs of the imperialist powers. The question arises, aren't we seeing something similar today after World War II? Let's keep in mind, however, that those plans crashed and will crash against the national movement, since as Mariátegui observed, they "try to reorganize and expand the economic exploitation of the colonial countries, of the incompletely evolved countries, of the primitive countries of Africa, Asia, America, Oceania and Europe itself... So that the less civilized part of humanity toil for the more civilized part... But their plan to scientifically reorganize the exploitation of the colonial countries, to transform them into compliant providers of raw materials and abiding consumers of manufactured products, stumbles against an historical difficulty. These colonial countries are agitated to conquer their national independence." Words which the years and reality confirm, today more than ever.

Finally, on political economy, let's recall his thesis on cooperativism: "In the degree to which the advancement of syndicalism enters a country, so too enters the progress of cooperativism" and "the cooperative, within a system of free competition, and even with certain state support, is not opposed to, but on the contrary, quite useful to capitalist enterprises." Let's ask then, can cooperativism develop, as it is pretended, simultaneously with an anti-union offensive and even more so when a corporativist unionism is being promoted? In the age of imperialism, can cooperativism serve, within a regime like ours, as anything else but a complement to bureaucratic capitalism? In light of the ideas transcribed the answer obviously is:

No! And let's bear in mind that cooperativism can be of service to the working class and the people only when the proletariat has power in their hands. To finish this point, let's remember his teaching that imperialism develops the increasing state intervention in the economic process and that, representing and defending the bourgeoisie, it sees itself compelled even to carry out "nationalizations"; so the question is to see who has benefitted from the nationalizations, and that is decided by which class controls power. In light of this, who has benefitted from the nationalizations of the current government?

b) Mariátegui and scientific socialism. He starts by distinguishing between old social-democratic reformism and militant socialism, pointing out that the difference is that the former "wants to achieve socialism by collaborating politically with the bourgeoisie" while the latter ones, Marxists, "want to achieve socialism by wholly confiscating political power for the proletariat." The matter delimited, he firmly takes the position of the Communist International, of the followers of Lenin, in whom he recognizes a great leader of the international communist movement, declaring himself Marxist-Leninist.

Another point of scientific socialism important to Mariátegui is the crisis of bourgeois democracy whose symptoms could be perceived before World War I and whose causes he sees in "the parallel growth and concentration of capitalism and the proletariat"; in that way the development of monopoly, characteristic of imperialism, and the questioning of the bourgeois order by the proletariat are what causes the bourgeois democratic crisis. Deepening the problem he emphasizes that under the bourgeois regime industry developed immensely with the power of machinery, with "great industrial enterprises" having arisen, and since the political and social forms are determined by the base sustaining them he concludes: "The expansion of these new productive forces does not allow the subsistence of the old political patterns. It has transformed the structure of nations and demands the transformation of the structure of the regime. Bourgeois democracy has ceased to correspond to the organization of economic forces tremendously transformed and enlarged. That is why democracy is in crisis. The typical institution of democracy is the parliament. The crisis of democracy is a crisis of parliament."

Here we have a thesis intimately linked to Lenin's on the reactionary character of imperialism, on which Mariátegui bases his understanding of fascism as political reaction, as an international phenomenon not only Italian nor exclusively in imperialist countries but feasible also in backward nations like Spain, fascism which

typically blames "all the misfortunes of the fatherland on politics and parliamentarism"; fascism as an expression that "the ruling class does not feel itself sufficiently defended by its institutions. Universal suffrage and parliament are obstacles in its way," how "reaction which in all countries is organized to the tune of a demagogic and subversive beat. (Bavarian fascists call themselves 'national socialists.' During its tumultuous training, fascism made abundant use of an anti-capitalist prose ...)"; as "a nationalist and reactionary mysticism" which "has taught the way of dictatorship and violence" with its taking of power and repression, the use of the blackjack and castor oil but which despite its duration, "it appears inevitably destined to exacerbate the contemporary crisis, to undermine the basis of bourgeois society."

To Mariátegui, as he taught in "The Biology of Fascism" of his work The Contemporary Scene, fascism is a political process which "for many years did not want to call itself or function as a party," whose social composition is heterogeneous and in which "the national flag covers up all the contraband and equivocations in doctrine and program ... They want to monopolize patriotism." But within this "the contradictions undermining fascist unity" always develop, contradictions which first faced "two antithetic souls and two antithetic mentalities. One extremist or arch-reactionary fraction proposing the integral insertion of the fascist revolution in the Statute of the Kingdom of Italy. The neoliberal State had, in its view, to be replaced by the fascist State. While a revisionist fraction instead called for a more or less extensive political rectification"; a contradiction which, resolving itself favorably towards the first tendency, did not therefore cease to exist but continued to develop under new forms: one tendency proposing to sweep away "all opponents of the fascist regime in a Saint Bartholomew's Night," while others "more intellectual, but no less apocalyptical ... invited fascism to definitively liquidate the parliamentary regime," meanwhile "the theoreticians of integral fascism sketch the technique of the fascist State which it conceives almost as a vertical trust of workers' unions or corporations." Thus, fascism is masterfully presented, essentially analyzed even in its contradictions.

Furthermore, in his analysis of fascism Mariátegui advances to typify the "characteristic attitude of a reformist, of a democrat, however one tormented by a series of 'doubts about democracy' and of unsettled feelings respect to reform" shown by English writer H.G. Wells regarding Mussolini's regime: "Fascism appears to him a cataclysm, more than a consequence and result of the bankruptcy of bourgeois democracy and the defeat of the proletarian revolution in Italy. A confirmed evolutionist, Wells cannot conceive of fascism as a

phenomenon possible within the logic of history. He must understand it as an exceptional phenomenon." To reformism, as we can see, fascism is not the consequence of the crisis of bourgeois democracy but "an exception," "a cataclysm," which is how some see it today in our country, only and exclusively as terror on the march, not seeing it is "a phenomenon possible within the logic of history" caused by: The development of the monopolies into imperialism and the questioning of the bourgeoisie by the proletariat. Let that thesis help us to reject the reformist concepts being propagated about fascism and to have a correct and necessary understanding of history and the current situation in our country.

Other problems of scientific socialism set forth by Mariátegui are the violent revolution, the role of the proletariat and of the Party. On these he maintained: "The revolution is the painful gestation, the bloody birth of the present," "that power is conquered through violence" and "it is conserved only through dictatorship," thus pointing out the role of revolutionary violence; which "the proletariat does not enter history politically except as a social class; at the instant it discovers its mission of erecting, with the elements procured by human effort, moral or immoral, fair or unfair, a superior social order," which points out the role of the working class. Judging the political weakness of Spain: "in Russia there existed, besides the profound agitation of the people, a revolutionary Party, led by a ingenious man of action, of clear vision and goals. That is what today is lacking in Spain ... The Communist Party, too young, still does not constitute more than a force of agitation and propaganda," thus highlighting the need of the Party of the proletariat.

The theses on Marxist philosophy, political economics and scientific socialism as shown, are they Marxist positions? Can anyone say these do not substantially correspond to Marxist proposals? Can anyone prove that such positions are not the ones upheld by the classics of Marxism-Leninism? Evidently Mariátegui's theses are firmly and definitely based on the concept of the proletariat and this in no way can be distorted or denied. What is the basis of those pretending to deny the Marxist position of Mariátegui? Simply and plainly a simplistic analysis which lacks any reality, and, above all, lacks a solid class position, alienated from our reality and the application of Marxism.

The position of the founder of the Communist Party with respect to Marxist philosophy, to political economy and to scientific socialism reveals, a correct and just way of thinking from a working class position. They are based on Marxism-Leninism, showing the maturing

of Mariátegui's thought in his theoretical and practical participation in the class struggle, and that he arrived at that understanding, while, struggling against old revisionism and its European representatives and similar elements in our country.

III. MARIÁTEGUI ESTABLISHED THE GENERAL POLITICAL LINE OF THE PERUVIAN REVOLUTION.

What does it mean to say that Mariátegui established the general political line of the Peruvian revolution? In fact, he set forth the general laws of the class struggle in the country, and established the road of revolution in our country. That statement implies its validity and necessarily entails the Retaking Mariátegui's Road to carry forward the revolutionary transformation of our society under the leadership of the working class, through the organized vanguard, the only class capable of fulfilling such a leading role.

Let's analyze this substantial problem, whether openly or covertly; the destiny of our country depends on the position we take in this regard.

a) The character of Peruvian Society. Let's start from the words of the founder of the Communist Party:

"Capitalism develops within a semi-feudal country like ours; at times in which, having reached the monopoly and imperialist stage, the entire liberal ideology corresponding to the free competition stage has ceased to be valid. Imperialism does not tolerate an economic program of nationalization and industrialization in any of those semi-colonial nations it exploits as markets for its commodities and capital, and as sources of raw materials. It forces them into specialization, to monoculture (in Peru petroleum, copper, sugar, cotton), suffering a permanent crisis of manufactured products, a crisis derived from this rigid determination of national production, by factors of the capitalist world market."

In these words which belong to point III of the Party Program, the semi-feudal and semi-colonial character of our society is established. The first one, semi-feudalism, "surely must not be sought in the subsistence of institutions and political or judicial forms of the feudal order. Formally Peru is a republican and democratic bourgeois State. Feudalism or semi-feudalism survives in the structure of our agrarian economy," said Mariátegui. We see it today, despite the years elapsed, because it persists and new forms of semi-feudal roots are developed, forms of unpaid labor, family obligations and deferred salaries, personal privileges, maintenance and fusion of old latifundia and the

preponderance of gamonalismo, under cover of new conditions and high sounding words. Semi-feudalism, harshly attacked in years past has developed into a self-evident truth, since the class struggle itself, with the rural explosion we have seen so many times, the agrarian reforms and the counter-revolutionary action we have seen since the 1960's, show the semi-feudal base of Peruvian society.

With respect to semi-colonialism, Mariátegui maintained that a country can be politically independent while its economy continues to be dominated by imperialism; Furthermore, he firmly maintained that South American countries like ours are "politically independent, economically colonized." And that situation continues to develop; our economy suffers growing and diversified imperialist and social-imperialist penetration, direct and indirect. The semi-colonial situation has been questioned in recent years, by affirming without proof that Peru has become a colony, since that is what is affirmed when one typifies the country as a "neocolony"; and that affirmation reaches an extreme when it is proposed that we are a "neocolony," but ruled by "a bourgeois reformist government."

The quoted paragraph proposed that capitalism develops in Peru, but it is a capitalism subjected to the control mainly of North American imperialism, not a capitalism that allows a national economy and independent industrialization; but quite the opposite, a capitalism subservient to the imperialist metropolis which does not tolerate a true national economy serving our nation, nor independent industrialization. Thus, Mariátegui does not deny capitalist development in the country, but specifies our type of capitalism; capitalism in a semi-feudal country living in the age of monopolies and political reaction, a capitalism that while it develops it increases our semi-colonial condition; a capitalism engendering a comprador bourgeoisie linked to U.S. imperialism. In summary, a bureaucratic capitalism from the viewpoint of Mao Tse-tung.

That is the valid and current understanding Mariátegui had about the character of Peruvian society. Later studies and research only confirmed and specified the accurate theses sustained by our founder.

b) The two stages of the Peruvian revolution. Starting from the country's semi-colonial and semi-feudal condition, Mariátegui analyzed the revolutionary forces concluding that there are two basic classes: the proletariat and the peasantry. Although the latter is the main force, being the majority, and supports the weight of semi-feudalism, the former, the working class, is the leading class; further on, he noted that only with the appearance of the proletariat can the

peasantry fulfill its role: "Socialist doctrine is the only one capable of giving a modern, constructive sense to the indigenous cause, which, placed in the true social and economic arena, and elevated to the level of a realistic and creative policy, counts for the fulfillment of this enterprise with the will and discipline of a class now making its appearance in our historical political process: The proletariat."

Joining the peasantry and the proletariat is the petty-bourgeoisie, which "always played a very minor and disoriented role in Peru," put under pressure by foreign capitalism "it appears destined to assume, as its organization and orientation prospers, a revolutionary nationalist attitude." These are the driving classes of the revolution, who under certain conditions and circumstances can be joined by the national bourgeoisie, which Mariátegui calls the "left bourgeoisie." Those are the four classes who united aim at the targets of the revolution: Semi-feudalism and imperialism.

In two well known paragraphs of the Communist Party Program, written by the founder himself, the stages of the Peruvian revolution are defined and its character specified:

"The emancipation of the economy of the country is only possible through the action of the proletarian masses, in solidarity with the world's anti-imperialist struggle. Only the action of the proletariat can first stimulate and later on carry out the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution which the bourgeois regime itself is incapable of fulfilling."

"The bourgeois-democratic stage accomplished, the revolution becomes, in its objectives and doctrine, a proletarian revolution. The party of the proletariat, qualified by the struggle to exercise power and develop its own program, fulfills in this stage the tasks of organizing and defending the socialist order."

Here we see the problem of the Peruvian revolution and its stages masterfully condensed: The national-democratic or bourgeois-democratic of the new kind in the wording of Mao Tse-tung, and the proletarian revolution. Two stages, the first one which we are living in since 1928, but which still has not been fulfilled or concluded, and the future, proletarian stage; two uninterrupted stages of the same revolutionary process. Under no circumstances should their character and contents be confused. This great thesis by Mariátegui became, after broad debates and struggles, a fundamental truth of Marxist understanding of the laws of our revolution.

But if this is fundamental, then it is even more so that the working class and only the working class through its party is capable of leading the national-democratic revolution. That only by preparing and organizing within the national-democratic revolution can it develop the second, proletarian stage. Consequently, if the national-democratic revolution is not led by the working class, in no way can it be completed, much less build socialism. This is the paramount question today, since counter-revolution and social corporativism deny this great truth and assert that in our country the armed forces of the old State is fulfilling the first stage of the revolution and even, they claim, laying the foundations for socialism. This key question differentiates revolutionaries from counter-revolutionaries: The first ones, with Marxism and Mariátegui, maintain that the proletariat and only the proletariat "can first stimulate and later on fulfill the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution which the bourgeois regime is incapable to develop and fulfill." That is our position. We must uphold and fight the counter-revolutionary theses, aiming our spear against social-corporativist revisionism that preaches against the thesis of Mariátegui and is the detachment of social-imperialism in our country, whose efforts serve only its collusion and collision with the Yankee superpower for world domination.

c) The anti-feudal struggle. The land program is basic to our country and, in synthesis, it is the question of feudalism with its two elements: Latifundia and servitude; that is why, as Mariátegui said, the agrarian problem in Peru is the destruction of feudalism, whose relations taint our society from top to bottom, from the base to the superstructure. The motor of rural struggles has been and is the land question, and that the three agrarian laws of the 1960's did not destroy its base is clearly shown by today's struggles by the peasantry.

In analyzing the land question, the founder of the Party highlighted the struggle confronting community and latifundia; he showed its economic and social superiority, pointing out that the community had given the peasant majorities strength to resist the thievery by feudal landowners throughout the centuries, and that it entails the living yeast which will help socialist development in the future. Reviewing the agrarian labor regime he highlighted the existence of feudal relations of exploitation hidden behind seemingly capitalist forms. These questions do not belong to the past, but to a present which we must search well to discover its blurred semi-feudal essence hidden behind the apparent and purported "destruction of feudalism" of the so-called agrarian reform.

Considering the struggles of the Peruvian and of Latin American

peasantry generally, Mariátegui brought forward the slogan of the peasants: "Land for those who till it, expropriate them without compensation" and that their mobilization demands the "arming of workers and peasants to conquer and defend their gains." In that way, feudalism must be destroyed by confiscating the lands and only the armed workers and peasants will be able to accomplish this, since there is no other way to break up feudalism, destroy latifundia and abolish serfdom. We must not forget that Peruvian laws have been ruling agrarian relations and abolishing serfdom for over l50 years, but in reality they have maintained the underlying feudalism.

Consequently, the anti-feudal struggle is the motive of the class struggle in the countryside and the basis of our national-democratic revolution itself.

c) The anti-imperialist struggle. Peru, like the rest of the Latin American countries, is a nation in a formative stage. "It is being built over the inert indigenous strata, and the alluvial sediments of western civilization." In that way, "the problem of the Indians is the problem of four million Peruvians. It is the problem of three fourths of the population of Peru. It is the problem of the majority. It is the problem of nationality," Mariátegui observed, and he added: "A truly national policy cannot do without the Indian, it cannot ignore the Indian. The Indian is the foundation of our nationality in formation. Oppression makes the Indian an enemy of civility. It annuls them, practically, as an element of progress. Those who impoverish and depress the Indian, impoverish and depress the nation... Without the Indian, the condition of being Peruvian is not possible. This truth ought to be valid, above all, to persons of mere demo-liberal bourgeois and nationalist ideology..."

Thus, the problem of the Indian is that of the majority ignored by the policies of the Peruvian State, of the republic generally, for more than 150 years; it is the problem of acting outside the interest of four fifths of the population. As our founder said, of looking and acting with eyes aimed at the imperialist metropolis dominating us. Digging deeper into the problem, Mariátegui set forth that the Indian problem is the problem of the land; consequently, the national question is based on the land question and in no way can one be separated from the other, a proposal which follows strictly the these; of Marxism, proved by the practice of the class struggle of our own masses and expressed, incontrovertibly, in the character of our revolution.

On this basis, the founder of the Communist Party analyzed the classes and the anti-imperialist struggle in our country, and in Latin America

in general; he pointed out that the Latin American bourgeoisie "feel sure enough of their ownership of power so as not to care much about national sovereignty," as well as having common interests with imperialism, adding that: "While imperialist policy ... is not forced to resort to armed intervention, in case of military occupation they will count on the absolute collaboration of the bourgeoisie." In that way the relationship of the Peruvian "mercantile bourgeoisie" and its position with respect to imperialism was clarified. Referring to our country, when treating the subject of the united front, Mariátegui proposed the possibility of uniting "with the left liberal bourgeoisie, truly disposed to struggle against the remnants of feudalism and against imperialist penetration," defining the position of what today we call the national bourgeoisie; and he specified, besides, as we saw, that the petty-bourgeoisie will go on developing "a revolutionary nationalist position" as the foreign domination increases.

On the other hand, charging against the Apristas who had raised anti-imperialism "to the level of a program, a political attitude, a movement that is an end in itself and led spontaneously, due to what process we don't know, whether socialism or the social revolution" and exposing their thesis of "we are leftists (or socialists) because we are anti-imperialist" Mariátegui, keeping in mind that only the proletariat, together with the peasantry, can be consistently anti-imperialist, pointed out: "For us, anti-imperialism does not constitute, nor can it constitute by itself, a political program, a mass movement capable of conquering power," and he concluded: "In conclusion, we are anti-imperialists because we are socialists, because we are revolutionaries, because we counterpoise socialism as an opposite system to capitalism, destined to replace it, because in the struggle against foreign imperialism we fulfill our duties of solidarity with the revolutionary masses of the world."

Thus, the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggle intermingle as two inseparable matters and as integral parts of the national-democratic revolution which only the working class is capable of leading, provided it establishes the worker-peasant alliance as the starting point of the united front of the revolution.

d) The united front. Seeing the basic problems of the character of society and of the revolution and the anti-feudal and anti-imperialist struggles, the question arises of the instruments of social transformation, of the "three key levers of the revolution": The united front, the military problem and the Party.

"My attitude, from the time I incorporated myself to this vanguard,

was always one of a convinced, fervent propagandist of the united front," wrote Mariátegui on the occasion of the May 1st, 1924. He pointed out that "we are still too few to divide ourselves" and the many common tasks pending in the service of the class. He was a consistent defender of the united front, he demanded it as a solidarity action, concrete and practical for those who, without getting ideologically confused, "must feel themselves united by class solidarity, linked by the common struggle against the common adversary, linked by the same revolutionary will and the same renewing passion"; and after recognizing that "the variety of tendencies and the diversity of ideological shades is inevitable in that human legion called the proletariat," he demanded: "What matters is that those groups and those tendencies to know how to understand each other before the concrete reality of the day. So they do not crash like Byzantines in mutual excommunications and ex-confessions. That they do not alienate the masses from the revolution, by a big show of the dogmatic quarrels of their preachers. That they don't use their weapons or waste their time in hurting each other, but in fighting the old social order, its institutions, its injustices and its crimes."

These words resound alive today as the current order, demanding to unite so as to fulfill the common "historic duties" of developing class consciousness and the feeling of the class, of sowing and spreading and renovating class ideas, to wrest the workers away from the false institutions claiming to represent them; to fight repression and the corporativist offensive, to defend the organization, the press and the tribune of the class, to struggle for the rights and gains of the peasantry; "historical duties" in whose fulfillment our paths will meet and join."

On that basis Mariátegui proposed forming the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal front which under the leadership of the working class and based on the workers' and peasants' alliance could unite workers and peasants, the petty-bourgeoisie and, under certain conditions and circumstances, the "bourgeois left," which we now call the national bourgeoisie. The united front is a fundamental weapon of the national-democratic revolution; but it can only be developed based on the worker-peasant alliance and led by the proletariat, not by the bourgeoisie or the petty-bourgeoisie. In this front, the working class, through its Party, enters into an alliance with other classes. "But in any event it will give the proletariat ample freedom of criticism, of action, of the press and of organization." There we have the politics of the united front and the independent class politics which the Party must never abandon.

On the other hand, Mariátegui highlighted that when confronted by a revolutionary threat the bourgeoisie also forms a united front, "but only temporarily, only while a definite assault on the revolution is prepared. Afterwards each one of the bourgeois groups tries to recover its autonomy .... Within the bourgeoisie there are contrasts of ideology and interests, contrasts which no one can suppress"; that way, the bourgeois block is necessity broken by the development of its own internal contradictions and the development of the class struggle.

These theses, verified by reality, also demand overcoming sectarianism, which today is badly generalized, keeping in mind that "the masses demand unity" and keep our ears alert to these relevant and peremptory words: "The noble, lofty and sincere spirits of the revolution perceive and respect that above any theoretical barrier, the historical solidarity of their efforts and works. Sectarian egotism and the privilege of incomprehension belong to the lowly spirits without horizons or wings, to dogmatic mentalities, who want to petrify and immobilize life in a rigid formulation."

Our country lives today under a corporativist offensive, a reactionary offensive which like all of its kind employs political deceit and repression, according to its needs; while in the people's camp sectarianism and hegemonism divide and conspire against the common united action, each day more necessary and urgent. We must struggle for unification, today more than ever, since "a reactionary policy will ultimately cause the polarization of the lefts. It will provoke the fusion of all proletarian forces. The capitalist counter offensive will achieve what the instinct of the working classes has been unable to do: The united proletarian front." We are fighting against a fascist government which carries on a general corporative readjustment that, after intense demagoguery and much propagandized "humanist, libertarian and Christian socialism," it confuses understanding and surrenders wills, deceitfully using the reactionary double tactic, of repression and political deceit, generates vacillation and sharpens conciliatory rightism in the people's own ranks. In these circumstances, we must adhere and apply the following proposals by Mariátegui:

"We live in a period of open ideological belligerence. The men who represent a renewing force cannot enter into concerts with or be confused by, not even casually or fortuitously, those representing conservative or regressive forces. An historical abyss separates them. They speak diverse languages and do not have a common intuition of history."

"I think we must unite those who are alike, not those who are unlike. We must get closer to those whom history wants united. That we must support those whom history wants to be solidarity. That I think is the only possible coordination. The only intelligence with a precise and effective historical sense."

And also: "I am a revolutionary. But I think that among men of clear thinking and defined position it is easy to reach an understanding and appreciate each other, even while clashing with each other. Above all, while fighting each other. With the political sector, with which I will never reach an understanding is another thing: That of mediocre reformism, of domesticated socialism, or with the democracy of pharisees."

f) The military problem. Not much is said about Mariátegui's theses on the military problem, moreover it is believed he never expounded on such an important question; on the contrary, in his works the importance Mariátegui gave to revolutionary violence, war and military organization is notable. Already by 1921 he wrote: "there is no such thing as a measured, even, soft, serene, placid revolution"; in 1923: "power is conquered through violence ... only through dictatorship is power preserved"; in 1925: "While reaction is the instinct of conservation, the agony of the past, revolution is the painful gestation, the bloody birth of the present"; and in 1927: "if revolution demands violence, authority, discipline, I am for violence, authority, discipline. I accept them, as a whole with all their horrors without cowardly reservations." The thesis of revolutionary violence, therefore, is a constant theme of his thought, theses that are hidden by opportunism and which as Marxists we must raise firmly and consequently.

But this is not his entire understanding of the revolution, which is conceived and defined as protracted: "A revolution is not a coup d'etat, nor an insurrection, it is not one of those things here we call a revolution by the arbitrary use of that word. A revolution takes many years to be fulfilled. Frequently it has alternate periods when revolutionary forces are dominant and then when counterrevolutionary forces predominate. Just like a war is a process of offensives and counter-offensives, of victories and defeats, as long as one of the conflicting sides does not finally surrender, as long as it does not resign from the fight, it is not vanquished. Its defeat is temporary but not total. According to this interpretation of history, reaction, white terror ... are but episodes in the class struggle ... an ungrateful chapter of the revolution." Here we see the correct Marxist position before the struggle of revolution and counterrevolution, the

unchanging confidence in the necessary revolutionary triumph; here we have the theses that must guide us.

Besides, Mariátegui establishes the relationship between politics and war, he derives the weakness of the military front from the political weakness, and military strength also as a political product: "Because, that way, in this as in the rest of world war, as in the rest of its great aspects, the political factors, the morale factors, the psychological factors had more importance than purely military factors." So, war follows politics. He understood, as our founder, that revolution generates an army of the new type with its own tasks and different from the armies of the exploiters: "The red army is a new case in the world's military history, it is an army which feels its role as a revolutionary army and which does not forget that its aim is the defense of the revolution. Any specific and militarily imperialist feeling is by necessity excluded from its soul. Its discipline, its organization and its structure are revolutionary." Here we have the army of the new type which the revolution generates and which can only arise under the absolute control of the Party, as Mao Tse-tung teaches.

Finally, Mariátegui paid special attention to the Mexican Revolution in Latin America and the Chinese Revolution in Asia, highlighting in both their national-democratic character, their agrarian roots, the role of the peasantry and the vital participation of the working class, while at the same time highlighting the contrary works of imperialism and of the bourgeoisie which betrayed or trafficked with the revolution.

Starting from the basic premise of "land for those who till it," he proposed arming peasants and workers to conquer and defend it, arming the masses of peasants and workers to carry forward the national-democratic revolution. He highlighted its development as a peasant's revolution which advances from the countryside and which develops in "revolutionary actions," in montoneras [armed group of masses in the Andes--Trans.] joined together by the solidarity of soldiers and officers in "organic unity, in whose veins circulates the same blood"; in montoneras joined to the masses with the same solidarity relations existing within them: "the same relationship of body, of class, existed within the montonera and the workers and peasants masses. The montoneras simply were the most active, warlike and dynamic part of the masses." Evidently when Mariátegui wrote those words about the Soviet guerrillas which in the 1920's fought in Siberia against the reactionaries, he thought of the montoneras in our country and Latin America; and in doing so he described and revealed for us the essential relationship between guerrillas and the masses of

the people, its undetachable unity, the guerrilla condition of being "the most active, warlike and dynamic part of the masses," integral part of the masses and never an action separate from them.

These points make up Mariátegui's thought about the military problem besides his basic thesis that peasant uprisings cannot triumph on their own and if ever they triumphed it was under the leadership of the old bourgeoisie. But today, in the age of imperialism, and precisely in our America, where "the bourgeoisie has not known how or wanted to fulfill the tasks of liquidating feudalism," where "a close descendant of the Spanish conquerors, it has been impossible for it to appropriate the rights and gains of the peasant masses," it corresponds to the proletariat and only the proletariat, to lead the masses of the peasantry towards the destruction of feudalism through the protracted war of the countryside to the city in the national-democratic revolution.

g) The Party of the Proletariat. "The political struggle demands creating a class Party," says point III of the Act of Constitution of the PCP. What does that mean? Simply that the class struggle demands from the proletariat their independent organization as a political party, with their own interests for the achievement of the historical goal of the working class. In that way, the party is the result of the development of the class struggle in our country and of the appearance, development and maturity of our proletariat. It is a need of the logical development of our history, of the existence of classes, of the existence of the working class and, therefore, in no way can it be considered superfluous, quite the contrary, it is the main and indispensable instrument for the working class to conquer power and for building the new Peruvian society, necessary for as long as there are classes and while the classless society is not yet achieved.

The Communist Party "is the organized vanguard of the proletariat, the political force assuming its task of orienting and leading the struggle for the fulfillment of its class ideals," says its Program, established by Mariátegui himself; and about social composition, the "organization of the workers and peasants with a strict class character is the object of our effort and our propaganda, and the base of the struggle," says point III of the aforementioned Act. The Communist Party is the organized vanguard of the Peruvian working class, there we have its precise demarcation and adherence to Marxism-Leninism, "revolutionary method in the age of imperialism" which "it adopts as a means of struggle," as the Program says; while its social composition aims at incorporating into its ranks the best of the proletariat and the peasantry.

The Party is not and cannot be an electoral apparatus but an organization for the taking of power; while it may be able to take advantage of elections, its power is not rooted in them. Mariátegui, analyzing the German situation, clearly delimited what was happening: "The power of a Party, as shown in this case, does not depend strictly on its electoral and parliamentary strength. Universal suffrage may diminish their votes in the chamber, without touching its political influence .... The Socialist Party, which is a class Party with more than hundred and fifty parliamentary votes, are enough to assure for them organizing a cabinet, but does not authorize them to exclude from this cabinet the bankers and industrialists, unless it opts for a revolutionary road." That way, to Mariátegui the Party is not electoral nor can it follow "parliamentary cretinism," parliamentarism is a political organization of the bourgeoisie just as much as the corporativist modes of organization. Therefore, for the Party the question is to forge itself as a "system of organizations," as a war machine for the conquest of power by way of revolutionary violence to overthrow the governing social order, like our founder reminds us: "History teaches us that all new social State have been formed upon the ruins of the preceding social states. Between the birth of the one and the death of the other there was, logically, an intermediate period of crisis."

Once again, the founding of the Communist Party is the fulfillment of Mariátegui's theoretical and practical struggle and of his direct participation in the class struggle, it was his great contribution and service to the proletariat, over more than 30 years of combat in our contemporary history, which sustained the appearance and development of the PCP. In contributing to the building of our Party, Mariátegui gave it the ideological-political bases we find in the Act of Constitution, the Party Program. In its three fundamental theses: Background and Development of the Class Action, Anti-Imperialist Viewpoint, and Outline of the Indigenous Problem; as well as Mariátegui's entire works, among which we note Seven Essays, History of the World Crisis, Let's Peruvianize Peru, and others, in each one of them he sets forth and resolves problems of the revolutionary struggle. Consequently, we must understand the written work of Mariátegui as part of the construction and political-ideological foundation of the Party.

José Carlos Mariátegui, our founder, crowned his struggle for the Party with his Theses of Affiliation to the III (Third) International, an important text that must be remembered:

"The Communists of the Party adhere to the Third International and

agree to work to obtain that same adhesion from the groups which form the Party. The ideology we adopt is revolutionary and militant Marxism, a doctrine we accept in all its aspects: philosophical, political and social-economical. The methods we endorse are those of orthodox revolutionary socialism. We not only reject, but fight by all means and in all its forms the methods and tendencies of social-democracy of the Second International."

"The Party is a class Party and therefore repudiates any tendency implying fusion with political forces and organizations of the other classes. The Party recognizes that, within national conditions, reality will impose upon us pacts and alliances, usually with the revolutionary petty-bourgeoisie; but in any event it will win for the proletariat freedom of criticism, of action, of the press and of organization."

Here, we have a document edited by Mariátegui and which he himself presented to the Central Committee on 1st March 1930 and approved on following March 4th; this document is enough to topple so much anti-Party phrase-mongering which today does not deserve to be considered.

Finally, let's recall that to Mariátegui: "Parties are not born out of some academic little council" and that the Party "is not and cannot be a peaceful and unanimous academy"; but the Party is forged amidst the class struggle of the masses and advances amidst the internal two-line struggle, so its history cannot be understood outside the red line imprinted by Mariátegui and its protracted and winding struggle against the non-proletarian line which has always surfaced, openly or covertly, against Mariátegui's thought.

h) The mass line. Along with all that has been exposed we see how at the bottom of all these proposals there is a position, the mass line, a basic question in Mariátegui's thought, which is little known. It suffices to highlight here that Mariátegui considers that the presence of the masses fills contemporary times, that the multitudes, as he says, are the main actors today. The working class have a myth, a goal--social revolution, a goal which the proletariat upholds and marches towards, with "an active and vehement faith", in contrast to the bourgeois skepticism and decadence. The masses fight for "the final struggle" sure of their victory and he says: "The sentence in Eugene Portier's song (The Internationale) acquires historical relief: 'It's the final struggle!' The Russian proletariat greets this ecumenical cry of the world proletariat. The war cry and hope by the multitudes, already heard in the streets of Rome, of Milan, of Berlin, of Paris, of

Vienna and of Lima. All the emotion of an era is with them. The revolutionary multitudes believe they are waging the final struggle."

The masses, the main actors of history, today more than ever before go on defining world history the way "the professionals of intelligence are unable to find ... that the multitudes will find"; the masses formed out of anonymous heroes, the real heroes Mariátegui admired: "The anonymous hero of the factory, of the mine, of field; the unknown soldier of the social revolution." Masses whose interests are in solidarity confronting the contradictory and concurrent interests of the bourgeoisie; masses "which work to create a new order" and to which we must serve and interpret, since individuals and leaders are judged according to "how well they have been able to serve and interpret the revolutionary masses."

However, Mariátegui always emphasizes that the masses ultimately are the basic masses, the workers and peasants: "the force of the revolution always resided in the alliance between workers and agrarians, that is of the workers and peasants masses," as he says speaking of the Mexican Revolution; that before them opportunism is manifested by "trusting more the possibility of exploiting the contradictions and rivalries among chiefs than in the possibility of carrying the masses towards clear revolutionary politics," and that the Mexican struggle always crushed the counterrevolution "by way of a great mobilization of the workers and peasant revolutionary masses." These and other proposals show the definite position of Mariátegui with respect to the masses, in whose struggles he considers that Marxism is alive: "Marx lives in the struggle for the realization of socialism waged by innumerable multitudes animated by his doctrines throughout the world."

What is said does not imply the negation of the importance of leaders in the class struggle, leaders whose dimension, we reiterate, are measured by the identification with the interests of the revolutionary classes and service rendered to them, mainly to the proletariat, the class that generates a new type of "thinking and acting" person. With respect to the acts of revolutionaries, Mariátegui demanded taking into account the class struggle in the mind of the individual: "Decadence and revolution coexist in the same world and also in the same individual. The conscience ... is the fighting arena of a struggle between the two spirits, the understanding of this struggle, sometimes, almost invariably, escapes ... but finally one or the other spirit prevails. The other one remains strangled on the arena." While speaking of the hero he stated: "the hero always arrives at the goal blooded and torn: only through this price can we wholly pay for his

heroism," noticing that the struggle always leaves its marks; finally stating: "Today like yesterday a political order cannot be changed without individuals resolved to resist jail or exile" and, "to a revolutionary, a prison is merely a work-related accident.

Mariátegui's mass line meritts our attention, more so today when the basic problem becomes the arena of a battle larger and increasing each day. Let's keep in mind today, more than ever, the following: "the masses demand unity. The masses want faith. Their souls reject the corroding voice, the dissolving and pessimistic voice of those who deny and who doubt. They seek the optimist and cordial voice, youthful and fruitful, of those who affirm and who believe."

i) Other aspects of Mariátegui's line. All the above confirms the basic points of the general political line of Mariátegui about the Peruvian revolution; but that is not his entire work. The founder of the Communist Party, from the viewpoint of the working class and in function of the revolutionary transformation of our Peruvian society, set specific political lines for work in trade and industrial unions, among workers, feminist, youth, teachers and intellectual groups, and other working fronts. These specific policies are the basis to develop a class line in each front of the mass work; also the question in them is to Retake Mariátegui's Road and develop it according to the present circumstances in the class struggle.

j) Mariátegui set the general political line of the Peruvian revolution. It follows clearly that Mariátegui, systematizing the experience of struggle of the working class and the people of Peru, established through his direct theoretical and practical participation in the class struggle the general political line of the Peruvian revolution, as well as the specific political class line in the various fronts of the mass work. All this can be considered Mariátegui's Road, the road of the Peruvian Revolution, the general laws of the revolution in our country and of the action of the working class as the leading class for the conquest of power and installing the dictatorship of the proletariat allowing the building of a new society in our nation, socialism as the revolutionary transformation towards the classless society, the Communist society.

Mariátegui's Road has an axis: The Communist Party, without which there can be no revolution or genuine successes for the people. The Communist Party, the organized vanguard of the proletariat, is needed so the working class can lead, since only it, through its vanguard, is able to lead the national-democratic revolution and sustained by the worker-peasant alliance fulfill the first stage of the Peruvian Revolution so that, with the dictatorship of the proletariat, it can

develop into the second stage, that of the proletarian revolution.

So the decisive question in our revolution, today more than ever, is to Retake Mariátegui's Road and to develop it in the midst of the class struggle of the masses today to serve the working class, the people and the revolution.

IV. TO RETAKE MARIATEGUI AND RECONSTITUTE HIS PARTY SERVES THE WORKING CLASS, THE PARTY AND THE REVOLUTION.

a) Mariátegui's Road emerged and developed through struggle.

Mariátegui's Road emerged in the midst of the class struggle against the existing social order; it had to fight against the reactionary system of prevailing ideas and battle arduously with APRA, which denied the need for a Party of the Proletariat. The founding of the Communist Party was the product of a sharp struggle and sets a fundamental milestone in the process of Mariátegui's Road. However the struggle which José Carlos Mariátegui waged was not only outside the ranks of the Party, but also within its ranks where he struggled to keep it adhering to Marxism-Leninism and the Communist International.

Quite soon, almost immediately after his death, a whole opportunist line developed which treacherously began to speak about the "proletarianization" and "improvement" of Mariátegui; while outside Party ranks the "Aprista criticism" labeled Mariátegui as "intellectualized" and a "Europeanizer" with the veiled purpose of denying his line and destroying the Party. By the early 1940's, questions surfaced concerning Mariátegui's Marxist foundation, though hypocritically, they recognized its great quality. Later on Del Prado and company, while calling themselves "disciples of Mariátegui," made an "inoffensive icon" out of him, whom they enveloped in frankincense while renouncing his Road. That is how an entire period of denying and questioning Mariátegui and his Road evolved; however Mariátegui's red line kept on living embodied in the struggle of the classes, mainly of workers and peasants and in the minds and actions of communists who carried forward Mariátegui's flag and continued the struggle within the Party in search of Mariátegui's Road.

b) Retaking Mariátegui's Road. The decade of the 1960's shook the international communist world with the struggle between Marxism-Leninism and revisionism, which had repercussions in our country, mainly the great works of Comrade Mao Tse-tung and the very important struggle waged by the Communist Party of China together

with fraternal parties. Simultaneously, the 1960's in our country implied the sharpening of the class struggle and a great rise in the movement of the masses, especially of the peasantry. The country experienced the deepening of bureaucratic capitalism, still going on; the workers carried out large strike movements and increased affiliation to their unions; the peasantry spontaneously carried forward, most of the time, conquering the land with their own actions and an unending wave of land occupations shook the entire country. The petty-bourgeoisie, especially teachers and students, became more and more involved in the people's struggles. At the same time, the demo-liberal parliamentary order entered a crisis, as in other parts of America, and its political parties, its reactionary political parties entered a fierce battle to gain positions and reap privileges. This confronted reaction with the need to fulfill two tasks: To deepen bureaucratic capitalism, taking the State as the main economic leverage, and the corporate remodeling of Peruvian society so as to overcome the crisis of bourgeois parliamentarism. These are the conditions and the cause of the rise of the current fascist regime and the tasks the exploiting classes and imperialism have charged it with fulfilling, when they saw the dangers of the questioning of their order entailed by the rise in the struggles of the masses, one chapter of which was the guerrilla struggle, which contained important future lessons for the people.

In the midst of these conditions and sharpening struggle, the theoretical and practical action of the communists developed, the Peruvian Marxist-Leninists, who, taking Mao Tse-tung Thought and its wise teachings, battled to Retake Mariátegui's Road and Reconstitute his Party. In January 1964, the PCP expelled from its ranks the revisionist clique of Del Prado and company, a fact which established a milestone in the long road of the Party; that way at the IV Conference a step was given to adhere to Marxism under the guidance of Mao Tse-tung Thought. Another point of advance was the V Conference, in November 1965, which centered its attention in the understanding of our society and its revolution, getting us closer yet to Mariátegui's line. Other important moments in Retaking Mariátegui and Reconstituting His Party were the successful struggles the Communist Party waged against a right opportunist line masquerading as leftist, whose crowning point was the VI Conference, in January 1969 an event in which the Party formalized its reconstitution starting from the Basis of Party Unity, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, and Mariátegui's thought and the general political line, whose cornerstone is Mariátegui; a reconstitution which, as was sanctioned, implied reconstituting the Party for the People's War. That

is how the long period of searching for Mariátegui's Thought was fulfilled, opening up the stage of: "Retaking Mariátegui's Road," one of whose stages is the reconstitution of the Party, as a basic and necessary question.

However, the struggle did not end there but is constant. The rise of the current fascist regime and its counter-revolutionary program impacted our ranks by generating a liquidationist right opportunist line, which aimed dangerously against the life of the Party itself. This struggle had as milestones the II Plenum of the Central Committee, which characterized the struggle against liquidationist opportunism, and called to fight against it, and the III Plenum of the Central Committee "ON RECONSTITUTION" which corroborated the defeat of liquidationism and set the political, organizational and mass work basis for the function of the reconstitution of the Party. That way, an ever better perspective to the fulfillment of its historic mission opened up for the Party of Mariátegui. Finally, the VI Plenum of the PCP Central Committee, under the slogan of "FULLY RETAKE MARIATEGUI'S ROAD TO DEVELOP THE MASS WORK TAKING THE PARTY AS ITS CENTER," officially sanctioned RETAKING MARIATEGUI'S ROAD as the decisive question in the Reconstitution, in synthesis, the general political line around whose application and development we must fulfill the reconstitution of Mariátegui's Party.

Of what was said, Mariátegui's Road, that is the general political line of the Peruvian Revolution, emerged and developed itself amidst the class struggle and the two-line struggle within the Party, the proletarian red line imposed by Mariátegui and the various non-proletarian lines it has assumed along the years. Thus three moments can be distinguished in its development:

1) The emerging of Mariátegui's Road and founding of the Party;

2) The search for Mariátegui's Road;

3) The Retaking of Mariátegui's Road and Reconstitution of the Party. Three moments which imply over 40 years of our Party's history, of the history of the Peruvian proletariat and of the history of the class struggle in contemporary Peru.

c) The relevance of Mariátegui Thought. We saw how in the 1960's Mariátegui's thinking went on establishing itself more and more firmly; however in that period, in which we still live, interest for Mariátegui grows, inside and outside the country. At the same time, we see a denial of Mariátegui on two levels: Some attack and deny the

Marxist bases of Mariátegui thinking, and others deny its relevance. Those questioning its Marxist bases contend the ideological base sustaining it is irrational idealism and the concepts predominating in western philosophical thought, mainly European. Once Mariátegui's theses about Marxist philosophy, politics economics and scientific socialism are set forth, these observations need not be analyzed any further; it suffices to reiterate that the Marxist character of the bases of Mariátegui are sufficiently clear, and point out that those impugning it have a the bottom a central argument: The impossibility for Marxism to develop in a country with few industrial workers. This starting point uncovers an unacceptable mechanical position; for Marxism to appear on a world scale, the development of the working class to the level it had attained in Europe by the mid 19th century was needed, and on that material base Marx and Engels created Marxism, which from that point on develops vigorously and spreads itself through the five continents. The revolutionaries of the backwards countries, where there are immense masses of peasants and proportionally a reduced industrial working class, found in Marxism an instrument to guide their actions and taking its principles they fused them with specific revolutionary conditions; in that way, Marxism-Leninism fused with the concrete conditions of the movements of national liberation and their democratic revolutions. This was consequently shown incontrovertibly by Mao Tse-tung Thought, as it developed Marxism.

A similar case is that of the founder of the Communist Partyof Peru. Mariátegui also applied Marxism-Leninism to a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country, furthermore, he analyzed similar countries in Latin America; and participating directly in the class struggle in our country he was able to develop himself as a Marxist and to apply the universal principles creatively, therefore, there is a similarity between many of his ideas and Mao's proposals. Facts prove, as the years passed, the Marxist essence of Mariátegui's thought. What happens is that those who are unguarded get disoriented by the language he uses, which they are unfamiliar with, compounded by ignoring the conditions in our Latin America and, more fundamentally, by starting off from positions which are contrary to Marxism.

Those questioning the relevance of Mariátegui allege that, while he was indeed a Marxist and a notable thinker, his positions were left behind 40 years ago. These people forget that later studies and researches do not deny but quite the contrary confirm Mariátegui's theses; and, what is more important, that not having completed the national-bourgeois revolution and much less initiated the proletarian one, Mariátegui's thought and his Road, his general political line of

the Peruvian Revolution continue to be fully current as shown, precisely, by the four decades elapsed and even more by the need to Retake His Roads born amidst the great struggles of the 1960's and the current class struggle.

c) Retake Mariátegui and Reconstitute His Party. In reaching this point and after having seen the above on Mariátegui's thought, which is materialized politically in his Road for the Peruvian Revolution, the first thing we must reiterate is that Mariátegui is the culminating political expression of the Peruvian proletariat. On the other hand, the almost 50 years of development of Mariátegui's Road show that its flags are those of the working class, proven over long decades during which it has been clearly established that the success of the proletariat depends on holding them firmly to carry them forward, while its failure is in abandoning or underestimating them. No Peruvian class or party, except the Communist Patty, is able to show such accumulated experience, nor such lofty flags proven in the class struggle.

The key today, more than ever, is Retaking Mariátegui's Road; which implies placing the working class in command of the revolution, establishing the leadership of the only consistent revolutionary class to the process which will demolish the prevailing social order; to develop the organized vanguard of the proletariat, the Communist Party, so it can fulfill its role of chief of staff without which there cannot be a revolution; while adhering to Mariátegui as the concentrated political expression of the working class; in synthesis, it is to struggle for the leadership of the working class in the Peruvian Revolution. In that way, Mariátegui becomes the flag for the people of Peru, the basis of the unity of the exploited and broad masses and the only road to our national-democratic revolution.

To Retake Mariátegui's Road is to Reconstitute the Communist Party, his Party; to work for its ideological-political buildup, develop the foundations given by its founder and simultaneously, to fight for its organizational buildup by readjusting the organizational to the political. To Reconstitute the Party today is, in sum, promoting its reconstitution by Retaking Mariátegui and aiming at developing the People's War.

The Communist Party, sure of its road and conscious of its goal, in the 80th anniversary of its founder and 47th of its founding, raises its red proletarian flags and declares before the masses of our country, especially before the workers and peasants, that in the current counterrevolutionary offensive and the perspective of the increasing

development of the struggle of the masses, our duty is to get ready for the struggle by preparing ourselves in the midst of the storm of the class struggle of the masses under the slogan of RETAKE MARIATEGUI AND RECONSTITUTE HIS PARTY TO SERVE THE WORKING CLASS, THE PEOPLE AND THE REVOLUTION.

1976 - On the construction of the Party

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On the construction of the Party

Summarizing the experiences of 100 years of working class struggle and world revolution, in 1948, Chairman Mao Tse-tung* wrote:

"If there is to be a revolution, there must be a revolutionary Party. Without a revolutionary Party, without a revolutionary Party built on the Marxist-Leninist revolutionary theory and in Marxist Leninist revolutionary style, it is impossible to lead the working class and broad masses of the people to defeat imperialism and its running dogs. In the more than one hundred years since the birth of Marxism, it is only through the example of the Russian Bolsheviks in leading the October Revolution, in leading socialist construction and in defeating fascist aggression that revolutionary Parties of the new type were formed and developed in the world. With the birth of revolutionary parties of this type, the face of the world revolution has changed. The change has been so great that transformations utterly inconceivable to people of the older generation have come into being through fire and thunder... With the birth of the Communist Party, the face of the Chinese revolution took on an altogether new aspect. Is this fact not clear enough?" (Mao Tse-tung, Selected Works, Vol IV p. 284. The highlights are by our Party)

Here we have condensed the question of the Party; its necessity and its construction as a Party of the new type which builds and gives precise direction to the world revolution and of each country as it functions for the working class and its emancipation.

There are three questions that need to be taken into account :

1) The necessity of the Party, which is the problem of taking power for the working class;

2) The building of the Party, which is the problem of its construction in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country in which the working class, and only it through its Party, can lead the democratic-national revolution; and

3) The internal struggle, which is the problem in which the Party develops itself in the midst of the struggle with two lines in its heart, struggle around which Party unity and cohesion are sustained.

These three questions demand that we take into account: first, Marxism in theory and practice, the experience of Marxism in the

problem of Party building, the great teachings systematized by Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin and Chairman Mao Tse-Tung; second, the building of the Party in our own country; and third, the current situation in which the building of the working class Party unfolds in our country.

MARXISM AND THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PARTY

In the midst of the nineteenth century, with the appearance of Marxism, the working class arose as a new class and the last one in history. With the Manifesto of the Communist Party the proletariat was furnished with the program which would take humanity towards a new world, to a Communist society, to a classless society. This is the program and the path which all must necessarily cross under the leadership of the proletariat materialized in its Party. There is no other path for the classes, there is no other path for humanity. World history easily proves this. The October revolution, the Chinese revolution and others, the rising national liberation movement, the persistent march of the international working class and its revolutionary parties are all part of this inevitable path. A path which in the coming 50 or 100 years will decisively develop in great earth shaking struggles, as Chairman Mao Tse-tung teaches.

MARX, ENGELS AND THE BUILDING OF THE PARTY

Marx and Engels founded the concept of the working class which is Marxism. They raised solid truths which we cannot abandon such as: the principle of class struggle to understand and transform the world; violence as the midwife of history; the dictatorship of the proletariat and the necessity of the revolutionary transformation of the old society through a long historical process, among others. But also, and at times it is not emphasized enough, Marx and Engels realized their thesis on the necessity of building the working class Party as an indispensable instrument to fight for its class interests. Thus, in the midst of arduous struggle against old anarchist concepts with a profoundly bourgeois essence, they were able to establish in the statutes of the International, in 1864 and 1872:

"In its struggle against the united power of the owning classes the proletariat cannot act as a class unless it constitutes itself into a political Party distinct and opposed to all the old political parties created by the owning classes."

"This constitution of the proletariat into a political Party is indispensable to ensure the triumph of the social revolution and its ultimate goal: the abolition of the classes..."

"Given that the lords of the land and capital always use their political privileges to defend and perpetuate their economic monopolies and to subjugate labor, the conquest of political power has become the great duty of the proletariat." (Marx and Engels, Collected Works, Vol. 23 P. 243)

Marx and Engels started from the idea that the workers themselves had to struggle for their own emancipation as a class, and that the economic emancipation of the proletariat is "the great end to which every political movement ought to be subordinate as a means." They proposed the need that the working class has in organizing itself as a political Party to struggle for its own class interests, to seize power and then, consequently, reach its goal, the realization of its historic objective: the abolition of classes and the building of a new society without exploiters or oppressors.

In the same manner they set forth that the working class organize itself "into a political Party distinct from, and opposed to, all the old

political parties." This is because the working class upon organizing itself into a political Party, does so taking as its sustenance its class consciousness: Marxism. Because it has its own program, which Marx and Engels set forth in the Manifesto, which makes Communists "point out and bring to the front the common interests of the entire proletariat, independently of all nationality" and in which "the varying stages of development which the struggle of the working class and against the bourgeoisie has to pass through, they always and everywhere represent the interests of the movement as a whole." Constantly keeping hold of its class consciousness which can be summarized "in this single sentence: Abolition of private property." (Marx and Engels, Vol. 6, pp. 497-498) In this manner they proposed the building of a "distinct and opposed" Party that would serve the class unity which the revolution demanded, or, in their own words:

"To ensure the success of the revolution, the unity of thought and action is necessary. The members of the international try to create this unity through propaganda, discussion and organization..."

In addition to the development of struggle in the Party of the proletariat they conceived the stage of revolution to be connected with other oppressed classes. Marx set forth that in Germany the working class revolution would depend on backing it "with a second edition of the peasant war," while Engels maintained: "In an agrarian country, it is vulgar to rise up exclusively against the bourgeoisie in the name of the industrial proletariat without saying anything about the patriarchal 'exploitation of the stick' to which the rural workers are subjected to by the feudal nobility." As such, Lenin would state:

"While in Germany the (bourgeois) democratic revolution was not finished, Marx focused all attention on what he referred to as the socialist proletariat's tactic of pushing the peasant's democratic energy."

Finally, Marx and Engels carried out a great and intense struggle for the building of the proletariat's Party. They invested long years in struggling against anarchism until converting Marxism into the recognized conception of the working class and in support of its political organization. Marx and Engels had to confront the machinations of Bakunin and his group who "covering themselves with the most extremist Marxism, did not direct their blows against the existing governments but against the revolutionaries who did not accept their orthodoxy and their leadership" and who "infiltrate the ranks of the organization... and at the beginning try to take over the leadership; and when their plan fails, they try to disrupt it"; who

"organize... their small secret sects"; who "publicly attack in their newspapers all those elements who refuse to submit to their will"; and who "do not retreat before any means, before any disloyalty, lie, calumny, intimidation and betrayals which all serve them equally well." (Marx and Engels, Vol. 23, P. 459) In summary, against anarchism which behind all its mascarades of high sounding radical leftism, hides its rightist essence and its economism which denies the class politics of the proletariat.Later, they carried out a struggle against rightist deviations and opportunism in the midst of the social-democratic parties, especially in Germany, because of its negations of class principles and with its bourgeois deformations of the political program. This, like the previous struggle, was carried out in defense of unity demanding that "we should have the courage to renounce immediate successes on the altar of more important things." Teaching self-criticism and the serious judging of errors and what should be greatly highlighted, pointing out the root of the struggle and schism:

"As for the rest, in the past Hegel said that a Party showed its triumph by accepting and resisting schisms. The proletarian movement will necessarily go through diverse phases of development and in each one of these some people get stuck and no longer go forward. This is the only reason in which the practice of proletarian solidarity is carried out everywhere by different groups of the Party who struggle for life or death amongst themselves, like the Christian sects of the Roman empire during the period of the worst persecutions."

These are fundamental questions which Marx and Engels taught us in relation to the necessity of the Party, its construction and development in struggle. This is a very important part of scientific socialism, of the very theory of the classic founders who many times are not remembered. If Marx and Engels had not raised these issues, their gigantic task would not have had reason or basis. But, as it is very necessary to reiterate, since its appearance the scientific conception of the working class, Marxism, set forth and resolved the problem of the Party. What has happened is that, as in other fields of Marxism, this revolutionary theory and practice on the necessity of the Party, its construction and the struggle of two lines within it, has been developed, synthesizing the later great experiences of the international working class, efforts which have been accomplished at a global level by Lenin and Chairman Mao.

LENIN AND THE BUILDING OF A NEW TYPE OF PARTY

The twentieth century brought us imperialism as the last and highest phase of capitalism. Lenin reestablished the old revolutionary theories of Marx and Engels, which the old revisionists had tried to destroy, and elevated them to the level of Marxism-Leninism. What implications does this development of Marxism have for the construction of the proletariat's Party? Lenin, conscious that they had reached the stage of seizing power and of the dictatorship of the proletariat, repeated the necessity of the Party to transform society. His great point is shown:

"Give us an organization of revolutionaries and we'll shake Russia to its foundations."

For Lenin, to change the world requires a Party and this has a program which, according to his own words, "consists of the organization of the proletariat's class struggle and the leadership of this struggle whose final objective is the conquest of political power for the proletariat and the organization of socialist society."

Understanding, like no one else in his time, the necessity of the organization of the proletariat in whose organization their strength resides, Lenin set forth the following principle which no Communist can forget:

"The Proletariat, in its struggle for power, has no weapon other than organization. The proletariat, disunited by anarchic competition within the bourgeois world, crushed by forced labor at the service of capital, constantly thrown in the abyss of the most complete misery, brutality and degeneration, can only become, and will inevitably become, an invincible force when its ideological union by means of Marxist principles secures itself through the organization's material unity, which gives cohesion to the millions of workers in the army of the working class. Before this army neither the decrepit power of the Russian aristocracy nor the decaying power of international capitalism will be able to sustain itself. Each day this army will extend its ranks farther, despite all the zigzags and steps backwards, despite the opportunist phrases of the puppets of contemporary social democracy, despite the fatuous eulogies of the backward circular spirit, despite the tinsel and the intellectual's own anarchist bankruptcy." (Lenin, Collected Works, Vol. 7, p. 415)

We Communist and revolutionary Peruvians must pay attention to these words which are today more precious than ever. In them we reiterate: In the first place, the struggle for power demands the organization of the proletariat, and its importance is such that it composes its only weapon. In the second place, despite all the difficulties imposed by exploitation, if it takes Marxism as its guide and base of ideological unity and solidifies it by tightening their ranks in organization, the proletariat will be invincible. In the third place, against the organized army of the proletariat the reactionary power will be unable to stay in power in any country nor will imperialism or social imperialism on a global level. In the fourth place, the organized working class will close its ranks more and more against the sinister plots of contemporary revisionism, advancing despite the evidently decrepit group and sectarian spirit, and will march on despite the organizational renunciation and the declamatory verbiage of the "intellectual's own anarchism."

In that manner Lenin set forth the problem of the construction of the Party, of its necessity and development in struggle and of its ideological, political and organizational construction.

But this is not all. In One Step Forward, Two Steps Back, Lenin set forth the organizational theories of the Party, whose majestic summary we take from the old and great History of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the USSR by Stalin, pp. 48-49.

1) The Party is a military detachment of the working class, a part of it. But it is a vanguard detachment which goes ahead, which leads. It is a conscious detachment who knows the laws of the revolutionary process, and it is a Marxist detachment which firmly sustains itself in the working classes' revolutionary conception.

2) The Party is an organized detachment, it is a system of organizations which "as a vanguard detachment of the working class, combines the maximum organization possible and only brings within it those elements who admit, at least, a minimal level of organization" for which it has its own obligatory discipline for all its members.

3) The Party is the proletariat's "highest form of organization" called on to lead the other class organizations for which goal it counts on being composed of the best children of the class (steeped in Marxism, learned in the laws of the class struggle), and with their own experience and that of the global working class.

4) "The Party is the incarnation of the ties that unite the vanguard

detachment of the working class with the masses." As such, it will not live or develop separated from the masses and, on the contrary, its life and development demand that it "multiply its links with the masses and win the masses' trust."

5) The Party should be organized along the principle of democratic centralism, with single statutes and with an equal discipline for all and "with a single leadership organ at its head, to be known as the Party congress. And in the intervals between the congress and the central committee's congress, with the submission of the minority to the majority, of the district organizations to the central organisms, and of the inferior organizations to the superior."

6) To maintain unity in its ranks the Party requires a single discipline applicable to all, a unity which demands great attention because, as Stalin would say, "Comrade Lenin gave us the legacy to care for the unity of the Party like children care for their eyes."

This thesis and the previous ones we should bear in mind as Communists and Peruvian revolutionaries, since all of them are vital. Another problem of extraordinary importance discussed by Lenin is that of clandestinity, a question which amongst ourselves is confused with hiding, with ostrich policies. Lenin set forth the need for a clandestine Party as a system of highly centralized organizations with the goal of being able to constantly count on, in all circumstances, with a "high command" capable of leading the revolution, maintaining its flags and sticking by them despite repression and persecution. Thus clandestinity serves so that the Party becomes a "war machine" which will indomitably persevere until accomplishing its goal of taking power in order to change the world without ever separating itself from the masses. Due to the necessities of the very struggle in our country we should highlight some points on this complex problem. Here it is particularly important to have a clear idea of what the art of conspiratorial organization consists of. Lenin, in his own words, in Letter To a Comrade On Our Organizational Tasks, a booklet which is cited but whose principles are not understood much less applied, tells us:

"All art of conspiratorial organization should consist of knowing how to use everything and everyone, to give 'work for everyone' and at the same time maintain the leadership of the entire movement, not by the force of power it must be understood, but by authority, energy, greater experience and variety of knowledge and talent." (Lenin, Vol. 6, p.240)

In the same booklet, against those who understand clandestinity as something rigid and mechanical, Lenin states:

"Besides, the level of clandestinity and the organic form of the diverse circles will depend on the nature of its functions. As such it follows that the forms of organization shall be the most varied depending on the type of organization, from the 'strictest' tight and closed to the 'freest' broad, open and with little structure." (Lenin, Vol. 6, p. 245)

We consider this question to be of the utmost importance for our current revolutionary situation as there is, we reiterate, too much mechanical and non-dialectical thought in considering these problems. Lenin's theories regarding clandestine work are further set forth in The Clandestine Party and Legal Work:

"The problem of the clandestine Party and the legal work of social democracy within Russia is one of the Party's principal problems. It occupies the attention of the P.O.S.D.R. during the entire period following the revolution (he refers to 1905) and has given place to the most violent struggle within its ranks."

"It is around this problem that the struggle of the liquidationists against the anti-liquidationists has developed... The December 1908 conference... focused with clarity on a special resolution, the Party's criterion on organizational questions: the Party is composed of clandestine social democratic cells who should create 'points of support for work amongst the masses' in the form of a net, as broad and branched off as possible, of legal workers' societies." (Lenin, Vol. 18 p. 386)

And highlighting the relations between legal and clandestine work:

"The main conclusion of the appreciation which our Party has at the moment is that Revolution is necessary and getting closer. The forms of development which lead to revolution have changed, but the old tasks of the revolution continue to stand. From there we draw the following conclusions: the forms of organization should change, the 'cells' should adopt flexible forms in such a manner that their expansion will not occur at the expense of the cells themselves but rather of their legal 'periphery', etc."

"But this change of form of the clandestine organization has nothing to do with the formula of 'accommodating' the legal movement. It is something completely different! The legal organizations are the points of support which allow taking to the masses the ideas of clandestine

cells. That is to say that we modify the form of influence to the objective of which the prior influences continue in the sense of clandestine orientation."

"By the form of the organizations the clandestine 'accommodates itself' to the legal. By the content of our Party's work, legal work will 'accommodate itself' to the clandestine ideas." (Lenin, Vol. 18, p. 392)

And finally:

"The social democratic Party is clandestine 'in its entirety,' in each one of its cells and, what is of greatest substance, by the entire content of its work which proposes and prepares for the revolution. Because of this, the most open work of the most open cells cannot be had as the 'open work of the Party.'" (Lenin, Vol. 18, p. 393-4)

This citation is lengthy but we consider it to be of great importance for all revolutionary work in our country and it deserves special attention as does the preceding on clandestine work.

In our country it is common to think that clandestine work separates us from the masses. But we shall recall what Lenin said with regard to this:

"But Sverdlov, this always professional revolutionary, did not become separated from the masses for even a moment. When the conditions of czarism condemned him to carry out exclusively illegal and clandestine activities, like it did to all revolutionaries of his time, Comrade Sverdlov also knew how to always march shoulder to shoulder and hand in hand with the vanguard workers under these conditions." (Lenin, Vol. 29, p. 91)

These are Lenin's fundamental theories which we should keep in mind in the building and development of the proletariat's Party and correctly apply them in the reconstitution of Mariategui's Party.

To conclude, it is sufficient to recall that these principles of the building of the revolutionary Party of the proletariat, of the Bolshevik Party, of the Party capable of taking power, did not fall out of the sky but were established in the midst of a great and hard struggle against the Mensheviks, the right opportunism of the time in Russia. Besides carrying out the struggle for the Party's organizational principles Lenin had to do so with a precise background: a right opportunist political line. It was from there that he wisely concluded that problems of organization would not change in 24 hours nor in 24 months. To finish, we recall that Lenin established that the parties advance in the

midst of struggle, almost always under enemy fire. In his own words:

"We march together, arms linked, united, as a small group along a steep and difficult path. We are surrounded by enemies on all sides and must almost always march under fire. We have united ourselves by virtue of a freely adopted decision, precisely to struggle against enemies and not fall or stumble into the neighboring swamp whose dwellers criticize us from the beginning that we separated ourselves into another group and that we have chosen the path of struggle and not conciliation." (Lenin, Vol. 5, p. 355)

Are those theories of Lenin not important for us? Should not we revolutionaries and Communists really adhere to them? Are we doing it like we should? It is now time to set aside complacency and seriously judge our revolutionary reality.

MAO TSE-TUNG AND THE BUILDING OF THE PARTY IN THE SEMI-FEUDAL AND SEMI-COLONIAL COUNTRIES.

To conclude our topic, Marxism and the building of the Party, we will use Chairman Mao Tse-Tung's thesis on the necessity of the Party, its construction and the struggle in its midst. In this article's initial citation we precisely quoted his thesis on the necessity of the Party. It would be pointless to repeat it.

Going on to the problem of the party's construction we start out by noting that in Problems of War and Strategy, Chairman Mao sets forth the construct based on the universal principle of revolutionary violence. Thus he teaches us:

"The central task and the highest form of all revolution is the seizure of power by means of the armed struggle. That is to say, the solution of the problem by means of war. This revolutionary Marxist-Leninist principle has universal validity in China as well as in other countries." (Mao, Vol. 2, p. 219)

Starting out from this Marxist-Leninist principle and differentiating between the revolution in the capitalist countries and in China, he established in the same work:

"In China the main form of struggle is war and the main form of organization is the army. All the other forms, such as the organizations and struggles of the popular masses are also very important and absolutely indispensable, and by no means should they be left aside. The goal of all these is to serve the war: before the outbreak of a war all the organizations and struggles have the duty of preparing for it,... After the outbreak of a war, all the organizations and struggles coordinate themselves in a direct or indirect manner with the war." (Mao, Vol. 2, 221)

Developing the problem of the building of the Party, Chairman Mao Tse-Tung in Concerning the Appearance of 'The Communist' Magazine sets forth and resolves fundamental problems. There he sets forth that, in the first place, the Communist Party of China carried out great and numerous struggles in which it forged its militants, its cadres and its organizations, which obtained great victories and also suffered serious defeats. And to understand the laws of the Party's development requires an analysis of its own history and extracting from it the

solution to its problems of construction.

In the second place, in the judgment of his own Party in its relations with the bourgeoisie and its relations with the united front and the armed struggle, he establishes the following great thesis:

"Through these complicated relations with the Chinese bourgeoisie the Chinese revolution and the Communist Party of China has developed. This is a historical particularity, a characteristic of the development of revolutions in the colonies or semi colonies, a characteristic absent in history of revolution in any capitalist country." (Mao, Vol. 2, p. 286-7)

This question is basic for we Communists and Peruvian revolutionaries as our society is also semicolonial and semi-feudal from which it is derived that our revolution will also be bourgeois-democratic just like the first stage of the Chinese revolution, and in which, in consequence, "The principal target of the revolution shall be imperialism and feudalism."

In the third place, the Chinese revolution presents two particularities, in Chairman Mao's own words:

"Thus, the formation by the proletariat into a revolutionary national united front with the bourgeoisie or the forced rupture of this front in the first place, and the armed struggle as the principle form of the revolution in the second place, have become the two fundamental particularities in the course of the democratic-bourgeois revolution in China."

In the fourth place, the preceding emphasizes that the building and development of the Communist Party of China cannot be understood on the margin of these two particularities which are basic questions of the democratic revolution's political line. The same great leader teaches us:

"The defeats and successes of the Party, its retreats or advances, the reduction or growth of its ranks, its development and consolidation cannot stop being linked by the Party's relationship with the bourgeoisie and with the armed struggle. When the political line firmly resolves the questions of establishing a united front with the bourgeoisie or of the forced rupture of said united front, the Party takes a step forward... In the same manner when the Party approaches the armed revolutionary struggle in a correct form it takes a step forward... The course of the Party's construction and its Bolshevikization has thus been tightly linked to its political line, to its

correct or erroneous resolution of the united front and armed struggle questions."

In the fifth place, it unfastens the problem from a direction set in the Chinese revolution. In the cited writing the following thesis should make us think very seriously to see to what extent we are on the correct path:

"The united front, the armed struggle and the construction of the Party thus constitute three fundamental questions of our Party in the Chinese revolution. A correct understanding of these three questions and of its mutual relations then signifies an accurate direction for the entire Chinese revolution."

And finally, marking out the role of the Party he states:

"Experience... shows us that the united front and the armed struggle are the two basic weapons by which to overcome the enemy. The united front is a front united to maintain the armed struggle. And of the Party's organizations it is the heroic combatants who wield these two weapons--the united front and the armed struggle--to assault and destroy the enemy's positions. Such is the mutual relationship existing between these three factors." (Mao, Vol. 2, p. 295)

It is here, to our understanding of the ideological and political basis of the construction of the Party in a semicolonial and semifeudal country which was established by Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, that the importance of these questions cannot be obliquely slanted in any manner. Because as he himself teaches us: "the ideological and political basis must be correct, that not will decide everything."

It is on this ideological and political base that Chairman Mao Tse-tung rests his plan of the Party's organizational construction, of its tactics and principles of struggle. This problem is set forth in point 6 of his article Audaciously Expand the Anti-Japanese Forces (Volume II, Page 425). We shall analyze the problem. In the first place, it establishes the policy of organizational construction in the areas dominated by reaction:

"In the beginning (the dominated ones), our policy is to maintain the Party's organization clandestinely and make it compact, selective and efficient. To remain underground for a long period, accumulate forces and await the correct moment and not precipitate or expose ourselves."

In the second place, he establishes the tactical principle that should

guide:

"In accordance with the principle of struggling with reason, advantage and without overextending oneself, our tactic in the struggle against the recalcitrants is to fight on secure terrain and accumulate forces utilizing everything that is allowed by the laws and decrees of the Kuomintang and social customs."

In the third place, he establishes the penetration of the reactionary organization and the work of revolutionaries within the same.

In the fourth place, he states the basic policy:

"In all the areas dominated by the Kuomintang, the Party's basic policy equally consists of developing progressive forces (the organizations of the Party and mass movements), win over the intermediate forces (national bourgeoisie, sincere shensi, 'heterogeneous' troops, intermediate sectors of the Kuomintang, the intermediate sectors of the central army, the upper level of the petty bourgeoisie and the minority political groups and parties (a total of seven categories)) and isolate the recalcitrant forces with the goal of overcoming the danger of capitulation and being able to change the situation."

In the fifth place, he points out the need to prepare for contingencies:

"At the same time, we should be plainly prepared to confront any emergency situation at the local or national level."

In the sixth place, he highlights clandestinity:

"The Party organizations in the Kuomintang zones should keep themselves in the strictest clandestinity."

In the seventh place, he emphasizes the scrutiny of the committee members:

"In the southeast bureau and in all the special, provincial, district or territorial committees, each one of the staff members (from the Party secretaries to the cooks) should be subjected to a severe and minute scrutiny. It is absolutely impermissible that any person susceptible to the slightest suspicion remain in these leading organisms."

And finally:

"Much care should be given to the protection of our cadres."

All of these are true and valuable instructions on the Party's struggle and organizational life.

As to the internal struggle, it is worth remembering that it was precisely Chairman Mao Tse-Tung who has magnificently developed the understanding of the struggle within the Party as a reflection of the contradictions of the class struggle and between the old and the new in the social world. More so, he proposes that the struggle within the Party is the struggle between two lines which covers its entire process of development and if such contradictions and struggles did not take place "the life of the Party would end." In the same manner, he is the one who, for the correct development of the struggle within the Party proposed the thesis of "learning lessons from past errors to avoid them in the future and to treat the illness to save the patient." Today more than ever we must apply this great theory, remembering its content: "We must put into the open without consideration for anyone, all the errors committed and analyze and criticize in a scientific manner all the bad in the past so that in the future, work will be carried out better and more carefully." That is what he means by "learn lessons from past errors to avoid them in the future." But, in denouncing errors and criticizing defects, we do it in the same way as a doctor treating a patient with the sole goal of saving the patient, not killing him.

Chairman Mao has summarized the great historic experience of the CPC as to the two line struggle, with the following words: "We must practice Marxism and not revisionism, unite and not divide ourselves, be frank and honest and not foment intrigues or machinations." We subject ourselves to this great lesson. Nevertheless, we must never lose vigilance, as he himself taught in 1964: "We must be alert against those who foment intrigues and machinations. For example, Kao Kang, Yao Shu Shi, Peng Te-Huai, Huang Keching and others have appeared in the central committee. Everything divides into two. Some devote themselves to creating intrigue. What are we going to do if they want to act like that? Even now there are people disposed to plot. That conspirators exist is an objective fact and not a question of whether we like it or not."

But what is the struggle within the Party for? In the end it is to maintain unity and persist in Marxism, to reject schisms and repudiate revisionism because, as he himself teaches us, unity is raised over struggle and is relative while the other is absolute. Thus, in consequence, the struggle is to maintain the unity within Marxism, since unity is important. "The internal unity of the Party and the unity between the Party and the people are two weapons of incalculable

value to overcome difficulties. All Party comrades should appreciate them."

Here then are Chairman Mao's substantive theories on the necessity of the Party, its construction and the struggle within it. We should study them because they are decisive in guiding the construction of the proletariat's Party in our country.

With the foregoing, we have set forth what to our understanding are the basic themes of Marx, Engels, Lenin and Chairman Mao, on these questions which we, as we said, consider to be crucial in the construction of the Party in our actual situation: the necessity of the Party, the theory of its construction (in a semi-colonial and semi-feudal country) and the struggle between two lines within it. We maintain that the problem of the construction of the Party of the proletariat does not receive the attention it deserves and does not appreciate the complexity or the importance of such a question. We have returned to re-summarizing the fundamental theories of Marxism on the construction of the Party, at risk of reiterating things already known, for the simple reason that only by truly absorbing Marxism-Leninism-Maoism will we have a correct guide, to fuse its principles with our reality, as Mariategui would show us.

Note: transcribed from Bandera Roja, No. 46 August 1976.

1976 - The problem of the peasant and the Revolution

Bandera Roja, No. 46 August 1976

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I. The peasant problem and the problem of power

It is especially important and crucial to address the peasant question from the standpoint of how it serves to seize power; and this is what matters for the Party in the end, as the problem of power is the central question of revolution. In this way the class struggle must be led and organized as a whole with the defined goal of taking power, and in this perspective it is fundamental to clarify and resolve the problems that arise. The 5th plenum of PCP, when addressing topics such as this one, says:

"The problem of power as a central issue, the People's War as a realization of revolutionary violence, the conditions under which a Party develops in a country such as ours and the importance of peasant labour as the basis of the People's War are, perhaps, substantial issues of our line, which we must always bear in mind and which today, while we promote the reconstitution of the Party will be put increasingly on the table and have an impact on the political line and its application."

Thus, the importance of addressing a topic such as the peasant problem is prevalent: after all, the development of the peasant movement by means of armed struggle is now the crux of the problem of power.

The great teachers of the proletariat laid the basic questions about the issue. Marx puts it aptly in a letter to Engels:

"The whole course of events in Germany will depend on the ability to assist the proletarian revolution by a «second edition», meaning the peasant war."

Lenin reaffirms this idea, discussing the Russian Revolution:

"The proletariat must carry to completion the democratic revolution, by allying itself to the peasantry masses in order to crush by force the resistance of the autocracy and to paralyze the instability of the bourgeoisie" (Two Tactics of Social Democracy in the Democratic Revolution)".

He affirms in a report to the Third Congress of the International:

"The movement progresses, and the working masses, the peasants of

the colonies, despite the fact that they are still backward, will play a very great revolutionary role in the successive phases of the world revolution."

And finally Mao Tse-tung, who reached a very deep understanding of the role of the peasant movement, states:

"The current rise of the peasant movement is a great event. Soon, hundreds of millions of farmers in the provinces of Central, South and North China will rise like a storm, a hurricane, with such an impetuous and violent force that nothing, however powerful, will be able to contain it.They shall break all obstacles and shall throw themselves onto the path of liberation.They shall bury all the imperialists, warlords, military, corrupt officials, local tyrants and 'shenshi' wicked.All Parties and revolutionary comrades will be subjected to a test before the peasants and shall have to decide which side to take.To march at their head and lead them?Stay at the rear gesticulating and criticizing them?To stand in their way and fight them?Every Chinese is free to choose between these three alternatives, only that events will force him to choose quickly". (" Report on an Investigation of the Peasant Movement in Hunan).

Mariátegui, the founder of the Party, defined the basic problem in the General Political Line.Speaking of the indigenous peasants, he said: "The indigenous hope is absolutely revolutionary" and reminded the PCP that in order to organize workers and peasants with a class character, and to "stimulate first and afterwards perform the tasks of the bourgeois-democratic revolution", or to lead the agrarian revolution.

To get back on Mariategui's path, PCP has been raising its understanding of this important issue.So says the editorial of Red Flag 41:

"Without revolutionary work among the peasant masses, this is politically guided by Marxism-Leninism, led by the Communist Party, there can be no development of the armed forces nor may there be People's War, in conclusion there can be no national liberation, nor, for that reason, destruction of imperialist and feudal exploitation."

II. The peasant movement and the national democratic revolution

The peasant struggle for land, which is an anti-feudal struggle, organises the basis for the democratic-national revolution; this follows from the general laws of the class struggle of our revolution, laws codified by Mariátegui as the General Political Line.Our society has a semi-colonial and semi-feudal character, where the Peruvian people suffer exploitation and oppression of imperialism, the feudal landlords and bureaucratic capitalism; this is where the need to overthrow these classes and sweep their dominion is born, this is what the current stage of the revolution calls for, its content is bourgeois-democratic, which does not pit itself against the entire bourgeoisie but only against a part of it, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie as well as fighting the feudal landlords and imperialism.

We emphasize the role of bureaucratic capitalism, which through its development matures the final conditions for the triumph of the national-democratic revolution.Mao teaches us that this monopolistic capital associated with State power, as well as subject to and closely linked to imperialism and to the landlords forms a monopolistic, comprador and feudal state monopoly capital. In this manner it reaches the peak of its development and prepares "sufficient material conditions for the New Democratic Revolution", leaving the task of "confiscating the land of the feudal class and giving it into the hands of the peasants" and "seizing monopolists' capital".In our country, this bureaucratic capitalism increasingly deepens and employs the state monopoly capital as the lever of the economy, seeking to amass huge amounts of capital and to monopolize the vital arteries of the economy.All of which leads inevitably to the same conclusions that were made by Mao Tse-tung on the topics of National-Democratic Revolution and Peasant War.To analyze the Chinese revolution, Mao Tse-tung established the extent at which the deeply linked to one another peasant problem and the problem of war are absolute conditions of a bourgeois democratic revolution:

"Thus, the bourgeois-democratic revolution in China has two main characteristics: 1) the proletariat either establishes a revolutionary national united front with the bourgeoisie, or breaks it when it feels obliged to, and 2) armed struggle is the main form of revolution.We do not consider here the relationship between the party and the peasantry and its relationship with the urban petty bourgeoisie as a fundamental characteristic because first, these relationships are in

principle the same with all the Communist Parties of the world, and second, in China, when we talk about armed struggle, we mean at the bottom of the peasant war and the close relationship of the Party with the peasant war and its relationship with the peasantry being one and the same thing. "("the motive being the appearance of The Communist").

It is thus clear that the armed struggle that we have to carry out is an agrarian revolution, which shall be made by peasants under the leadership of the proletariat; which constitutes a constant, the natural environment of the revolution.If the war has not yet been brought into motion, everything must serve to prepare it, and, once it starts, everything must serve to develop it.

The worker-peasant alliance.Mariategui has taught us:

"The strength of the revolution always resided in the alliance of agrarian land and labour, it is the worker and peasant masses."

In agreement with this, workers and peasants will form the basic masses of the revolution, once they are mobilized and organized, the exploiters be overthrown and the revolution will triumph.Based on the alliance of millions of workers and peasants, it will also be possible to unite the urban petty bourgeoisie and, under certain conditions, the national bourgeoisie.

The peasantry is the most numerous and most oppressed class, and over it weigh heavy chains of the semi-feudal system, and therefore it is a formidable force.In the words of our founder:

"The Indian, so easily crippled by submission and cowardice, has not ceased to rebel against the semi-feudal regime that oppresses him under the republic as much as under the colony."

Supporting peasants in their struggle for land brings us to gain the greatest ally for the proletariat and in this way organise powerful fighting forces.The peasantry turns out to be the main force of the national-democratic revolution and the best ally of the proletariat.

The proletariat, the most advanced class in history has the urgent duty to lead the peasantry.Mariátegui fully synthesizes this problem in the preface to "The Amauta Atusparia"

"Farmers' claims did not succeed against feudalism in Europe, since they were not being expressed but rather in the 'jacqueries'.They succeeded with bourgeois liberal revolution that transformed them

into a program.In our Spanish America, still semi-feudal, the bourgeoisie has been unable or unwilling to carry out the tasks of the liquidation of feudalism.The following descendants of Spanish settlers had been unable to take over the claims of the peasant masses.This task consists of nearing to socialism.The socialist doctrine is the only one that can give a modern sense, constructive, to the cause of the Indigenous peoples, which, located in its true social and economic fields, and raised to the level of a creative and realistic policy, seeks to carry out the task with the will and the discipline of a class that, even today, makes its appearance in our historical process: the proletariat".

Giving proletarian leadership to the peasantry is the essence of the worker-peasant alliance, which means smelting the Party with the peasantry and their struggles, give proletarian conception to peasants, win over activists from among them and build the Party in the field. In concrete terms: mobilising, organising and arming the peasantry under the leadership of the working class represented by its Party, the Communist Party.

III. The struggle for the land

The bureaucratic path. Throughout centuries, feudal oppression has manifested itself in the fact that ownership of the land is concentrated in in the hands of a few landlords in such that millions of peasants cannot take ownership of land, or if they do, the land is very little. As such, facing this gigantesque concentration of land, misused cruelly by the feudal class, a system of serfdom, which under different modes (free labor, wages in cash…), allows the class of feudal landlords to live like a parasite in all luxury at the expense of limitless misery and oppression of the peasant, therefore sinking our people in backwardness and hunger. As such, latifundium and serfdom are maintained throughout the centuries as pillars of social, political and economic organization of Peru.

The economy of landlordship is developed though a very slow and prolonged process towards a capitalist form, which follows the bureaucratic path that consists of introducing techniques and capitalist modalities that maintain the grand agrarian property and safeguards the power of the class of the landlords. In this way, the economy of landlordship has developed internally and instead of liberating the peasant, takes advantage to the maximum of the exploitation of free labor and other feudal modalities to guarantee an accelerated accumulation of capitals. The peasant suffers painfully from this large process of transformation, which absorbs his work and his goods, and he finds himself stripped off his little land, and he is even chased outside the field. Landlordship and serfdom are maintained and shadowed under new names (Agrarian Cooperatives of Production - CAP, Agricultural Societies for Social Interest - SAIS, “Social Property”, communal work, etc.), linking themselves more closely to bureaucratic capitalism and state Power.

Mariátegui explains this process in the following words:

“Capitalism, as an economic and political system, manifests itself in Latin America, as incapable of forming an economy that would be emancipated from feudal defects. The prejudice of the inferiority of the indigenous race, grants to capitalism the maximal exploitation of the indigenous race’s labor; and is not willing to renounce this privilege, from which many profits are obtained. In agriculture, the establishments of the wage earner, the adoption of machines don’t efface the feudal character of the big property. They perfect, simply, the system of exploitation of the land and the masses of peasants.”

The peasant problem cannot be detached from the national problem. Mariátegui has already told us: “the problem of the Indians is not the problem of three-quarters of the population of Peru. It is the problem of the majority. It is the problem of nationality.” The struggle against imperialism has its livelihood in the struggles of the peasantry, in the semi-feudal struggle. Detaching the two would be to fall in a false rationalism.

“The land belongs to those who work it.” The founder of our party, in “the Scheme of the indigenous problem” says:

“The struggle of the Indians against the landlords has always rested invariably in the defense of their land against absorption and dispossession. Therefore, an instinctive and profound indigenous claim exists: the claim to the land. To give an organized, systematic and defined character to this claim is the task that we must actively fulfill”.

Mariátegui thus summarizes hundreds of years of peasant struggle; as well as the necessity to channel this peasant aspiration of “the land belongs to those who work it”, therefore only the proletariat organizing with the peasant in the struggle for the land will have a good result. The transfer of the land to the peasant after crushing the class of landowners and its state will permit the erasure of serfdom forever, emancipating thus the peasant from the feudal agrarian relations. With the peasant way in agriculture, the perceptive of a capitalist growth emerges in the best of possible conditions for the peasant. It is in the second phase of the revolution, the socialist phase that these capitalist relations are limited and restricted to give way for the collectivization of the field. As such, as a part of the democratic way, the peasants push for an agrarian reform, which would liquidate feudalism; this reform means:

Destruction of latifundium, and its repartition to the peasants Confiscation or “expropriation without compensation” Execution by force, for the peasants’ war, for the people’s power

IV. People's war is the peasants' war

War is an absolute necessity for the realization of our revolution. Mariátegui has instilled this Marxist-Leninist principal of universal validity in the Peruvian Communist Party (PCP) and in the Peruvian proletariat in the following words: "Power is conquered with violence… Power is maintained only through dictatorship". To train the vast masses to the use of revolutionary violence is key to achieving the liberation of our people, and this is even more urgent in a country lagging behind, that finds itself a semi-feudal and semi-colonial condition like ours.

War is the main form of struggle. The victory of the proletariat and of the people over their enemies is the inevitable future. The current situation of the weakness of the people and the power of the enemy is merely apparent and temporal, thus seeing things in their whole, the reaction is nothing more than a "paper tiger", while the people are an iron wall, the people are invincible. This concept of Mao Zedong is fundamental for the certainty of victory in the struggle, according to his own words:

"The enemy has a fragile basis, it is disintegrating internally, it is separated from the people and submerged in inextricably economic crises and therefore can be defeated", and at the same time "the masses, the millions and millions of men who support in all sincerity the revolution. This is the real iron wall that no force can break". Fearing the enemy as if they were omnipotent is right-leaning that halts action. In their fear of the enemy, some will come to say: "fascism is the destruction of the people's movement and its organizations" and they will opt for occultism, in the name of "doing the withdrawal" or "being made illegal".

The reactionaries have a great army but their economy finds itself in big contradictions and it undertakes a serious economic, political and ideological crisis. The enemy's strength lies in a weakness, but this weakness does not show itself overnight. Likewise, the masses are huge and strong, but their weakness consists in the fact that they are not mobilized and organized.

It is necessary therefore to undertake a prolonged war, a war until death until we destroy the enemy part by part. This way and only this way, through a long process of turns and returns, the weakness of the enemy will be rendered evident and the strength of the people will be

overwhelming.

The proletariat must forge and train in the middle of the war, they must organize and mobilize all the people, mainly the peasant according to this from of struggle. The fact of being in a semi-feudal semi-colonial country, in which the vast fields are shackled in feudal oppression, without liberty nor political rights, determines that the armed revolution has to come to face with the counter-revolution if the former wants to advance.

Mao Zedong has summarized this great truth, which valid for all the countries lagging behind, and which are of a tremendous value for building a Communist Party in these countries:

“In China, the main form of struggle is war, and the main form of organization is the army. All the other forms, like the organizations of struggle and the popular masses are also important and absolutely indispensable, and under no mode they must be left aside, but the objective of all of those is to serve the war. Before the outbreak of the war, all the organizations and struggles must have as their objective to prepare for it, … After the outbreak of the war, all the organizations and struggles must coordinate in direct and indirect ways with the war”. (“Problems of war and strategy”).

It does not suit us to engage in a long period of preparation and legality before unleashing the war as in a capitalist country. It is in the midst of war that we will gain the people and we will destroy the enemy, part by part.

Mariátegui has analyzed the role of the peasant in the revolution and sustained the necessity of arming the workers and the peasants in order to gain their claims, the first of which is the land. He remarked “the armed action of the peasant masses” in Mexico and that there “the rebellion propagated in a fast way” even though it had no plan: “its first concrete claim was the claim to the land taken by the landlords”. (“Themes of our America”). And he pointed out that it deals with a democratic-bourgeois revolution, which will only advance if the proletariat leads it. Otherwise, the revolution will march “backwards”. The hegemony of the proletariat in the national-democratic revolution, once aligned with the right path, is measured by the influence it exercises on the peasant movement. The Party must be concerned with the mobilization of the peasant and the organization of the peasant as a powerful force in the combat.

The path of the revolution is from the field to the city. Mariátegui has

taught this path when he said:

“Broken by the feudalist landlordship, urban capitalism will lack in forces to resist to the growing working class”. This path consists of encircling the cities from the countryside, to finish taking the cities. This way, advantage can be taken from the fact that the enemy is weak and that he has reduced forces in the fields and therefore the vast peasant masses are the main contingent in this war.

The revolution must develop its forces by primarily occupying large rural zones and once it is strengthened in the fields, it must go on to seize cities where the armed forces of the reactionaries are concentrated. This path of the revolution in the countries lagging behind has been systematized by Mao Zedong, who with his profound teachings, provides a valuable weapon for our own revolution:

“Given the fact that the powerful imperialists and their allied Chinese reactionaries are for a long time entrenched in the main cities of our country, revolutionary detachments , if they refuse to compromise with imperialism and its watch dogs and if they want to preserve the struggle, if they want to accumulate forces, to loosen up and avoid, while they don’t have sufficient power, a decisive battle with the powerful enemy; they have to transform the rural zones lagging behind to advanced and solid basis of support, they have to transform them to big military, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution, from which to fight the fierce enemy, who attacks the rural zones using the cities, and taking the revolution step by step to complete victory through an extended struggle”. (The Chinese revolution and the Chinese Communist Party).

We will not win over the peasantry immediately.Firstly we will build base areas in large areas and from them we will develop the People's War.We will build a base of support required to annihilate the enemy forces, mobilize the peasant masses and develop our own armed forces.In these base areas the people's power rises and land reform is carried out.The problem of base areas is cardinal for the development of people's war.

Party building and it's work in the field should be aimed at converting the peasant struggle to the armed struggle.In it's overview of the revolutionary work it is required for the party to be built in the countryside, where it has it's main weight.The Party must adequately recognize the economic and political situation of the countryside and using Marxism-Leninism must investigate classes there to define who are the friends and who are the enemies.

The Party must go to the poorest and "take root among them, mobilizing and organizing the masses in their struggle for land, this work imperceptibly leads to the armed struggle, and we should be leading this fight because toppling the reactionary power a region establishes the people's power.This is how the Party carries itself with the problems of establishing base areas, advancing in the ideological, political, organizational and military aspects.Finally, we must make the agrarian reform, confiscating the land of the feudal landlords and distributing it to the peasants.

Mariátegui was always concerned about the construction of PCP in the field.While speaking about a peasant activist of that time, he said:

"The 'new Indian' hopes.He has a goal.That is his secret and strength ...Urviola represents the first spark of fire that is to come.It was the Indian revolutionary, socialist Indian ... today, Sierra is full of spartans.

Another important problem of warfare is the people's army which is the main form of organization and one of the three instruments of the revolution.Mariátegui defines the role of this military of a new type and says:

"The Red Army is a new occurrence in the military history of the world.It is an army that feels its role as a revolutionary army and does not forget that its purpose is to defend the revolution. "And, highlighting the guerrillas, he said that "the same form of body, class, existed between the Montoneras and the worker and peasant masses.Montoneras were simply the most active, warlike and dynamic part of the masses. "The problem of war and its general laws should be studied thoroughly by the entire Party to resolutely fulfill the role that the history has shows us.

V. Road of the reaction

In our country the reaction develops a bureaucratic path that essentially unfolds the imperialist and feudal rule, and on these two pillars bureaucratic capitalism develops.

From the beginning, it has found itself with the firm opposition among the people, and it has presented itself as a difficult task to advance. In the 60s, the peasantry rose up and dragged the entire people to a revolutionary upsurge that has put serious strain on the reaction and questioned its power.Hence the reaction came to two conclusions: I) deepen bureaucratic capitalism and 2) corporatize Peruvian society.

In the spirit of those events, the fascist regime arose with a preventive plan oriented to crush the People's War.One of the key measures that it gave was the agrarian law that consists of maintenance and development of large estates based on new forms of free labor.It is the bureaucratic way in the countryside and not the "socialization" as they say.

Given the difficulties that these measures encountered due to the opposition of the peasantry, general corporate readjustment was undertaken two years ago by the fascist regime, to secure its objectives through "bring capitalism to the countryside", and through a frantic exploitation of the peasants to achieve their cherished "accelerated accumulation of capital".In the 7th.anniversary of the Land Law (June 1976), the agriculture minister announced that "all institutions, both public and private sectors, should attend this great mobilization to transform the Peruvian countryside in the fastest and most powerful path which will be a step towards developing our country. "

Actually, with these measures of bureaucratic capitalism in the countryside, the path towards the revolution will be madeEngels had made this problem clear long time ago: " Transformation of all the small rural house owners into industrial domestic workers; the destruction of the old isolation and with it the destruction of the political insignificance of the small peasants who would be dragged into the "social whirlpool"; the extension of the industrial revolution over the rural areas and thus the transformation of the most stable and conservative class of the population into a revolutionary hotbed; and, as the culmination of the whole process, the expropriation by machinery of the peasants engaged in home industry, driving them

forcibly into insurrection."

VI. Road for the people

The Peruvian people have a unique way towards liberation, this is the path of Mariátegui.This road tells us about the urgency of knowing that the national-democratic revolution will go forward only if we use "rifles, program and doctrine" as Mariátegui literally said, what is now known as the 3 instruments of the revolution: Party, Army and the United Front.

Currently, the main trend of the development of the masses is that in which the free people increase their struggles and develop all aspects of life: ideological, political and organizationalThe deepest and the most backward masses of the country live through this situation intensely , with discontent spreading in them as they prepare to unleash great revolutionary storms.

This foremost tendency necessarily lead to a rise of the masses.Let us recall the experience of the 60s: the rise of the masses firstly means the rise of the peasantry, at that time the peasants took the land and, unknown to the courts, came the violent confrontation with the reaction. Certainly we live in such a situation that, as Mao Tsetung said, "A single spark can start a prairie fire" in which all contradictions are sharpened and the most sound people appear out a colossal and self-powered mass.

Mariátegui masterfully analyzes a situation similar to ours, that of Mexico in the moments before it's revolution:

"But the people that have fought so persistently for their right for the possession of the land, could not bring themselves to this feudal regime and give up their claims. In addition to the growth of the factories it created an industrial proletariat to which the foreign immigration brought the pollen of new social ideas. A new core of unionists and socialists appeared. And, above all, it created the sour revolutionary mood in the countryside.A leader, a skirmish, anything could burn the country." (Issues of Our America, p.39). In this intense situation PCP was driven towards reconstitution and merging with the masses, mainly farmers.Let us conclude with the full confidence in these wise words of Mao Tsetung:

"The correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line decides everything.When the Party's line is correct, we have everything.If we don't have men, we will have them; if we don't have guns, we will get them; and if we don't have the power, we will

conquer it.If the line is incorrect, we will lose what we have already achieved."

1976 - Eternal Glory to President Mao Tse-Tung! The great leader of the International Proletariat, the Oppressed Peoples and the World Revolution

Message of the Central Committee of PCP to Central Committee of CPC - September 10, 1976

To the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China

With profound grief and deep sentiments, we express our great regret to the Central Committee of the Communist Party of China and through it to the working class and the people of China for this immense and irreparable loss, which is the death of President Mao Tse-tung, founder and guiding light of the PCCH, wise and unwavering leader of the Chinese revolution and the great teacher of the international proletariat, the oppressed peoples and the world revolution.

The working class and the international communist movement in its great history of struggle, has had moments of tremendous loss and deep sorrow at the disappearance of its great founders, teachers and leaders; like Marx and Engels, Lenin and Stalin, which clearly affected the course of history. Today, we are also facing one of these serious and painful trances, and just like yesterday, we must lift higher up the invincible flags of how we raise higher yesterday invincible banners of Marxism so that the Program of the working class that Marx, Lenin and Mao launched would reach more and target more efficiently its goal: the emancipation of the working class and the final construction of the classless society, the goal of all humankind.

In the great whirlwind of class struggle of the Chinese revolution, Chairman Mao Tse-tung, believing in the indispensable leadership of the proletariat, established the strategy of searching for cities from which the struggle could be lead, as he built support bases and gradually unleashed a heroic People's War. Under the direction of the Communist Party of China, by means of a Protracted People's War with setbacks and victories, a united front based on a worker-peasant

alliance was forged, an armed struggle was waged that, in turn, created a large People's Army and constantly strove for the construction of the Party. In 1949 the working class and the Chinese people led the New Democratic Revolution. The main laws of the revolution that Chairman Mao Tse-tung accepted remained consecrated in the same manner as the path that must be traveled by those who continue struggling against the dominion of imperialism and feudalism.

More than his extraordinary collection of works, Chairman Mao Tse-tung is a major influence through the conduction of the socialist revolution in Chinese People's Republic that he himself created. He determined the fundamental line of socialism based on the principle of class struggle, stating that classes and class struggle define socialism, and by synthesizing the global experience, he developed the Marxist theory of the continuous revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat, driving the most colossal mass mobilization in history, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, as the continuation of the revolution that protects against capitalist restoration and serves the development and construction of socialism. In this manner, Chairman Mao has led the way toward the communist future, calling the masses to fight under the great devise of "Rebellion is justified *and "proletarian philosophy is the philosophy of struggle" in order to sweep the monsters that every so often escape from the cage and are expressed by the supporters of the bourgeois capitalist road within the Party itself. All in order to strengthen the proletarian dictatorship, the instrument indispensable in the march toward the fulfillment of the historical means of the working class.*

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, in more than 60 years of fighting in the centre of the Chinese revolution and the international proletariat, adhered to Marxism and developed it by fusing it with the reality of his country: Marxist philosophy, political economy and scientific socialism have been stamped by his nonperishable contributions. The defense of Marxism led him to fight against Khrushchev's revisionism that was eventually unmasked before the world as a denial of Marxism, as a bourgeois monster that must be beaten in order for the revolution to advance. Through the great polemic and an international-level struggle, the campaign against the social-imperialism of Brezhnev and his revisionist clique, which represented the actual source of war, was steadily propelled and directed. In this way, Chairman Mao Tse-tung inherited, defended and developed Marxism-Leninism, raising it to its present condition - a living soul among the working class and the hope of humanity: Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought; so today, being Marxist-Leninist means adhering to Mao Tse-tung Thought.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung founded the Communist Party of China and wisely led it through more than 50 years of struggle: in its historical beginnings as the vanguard of the Chinese working class, on the difficult roads of the Northern Expedition, in the epic of the Agrarian War and the Long March, in the tireless and heroic Japanese War of Resistance, in the sweeping and victorious War of National Liberation, in the construction of socialism and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. Chairman Mao Tse-tung led his party, educating it in the two-line struggle, against the rightism and leftism that intended to force it off its path; and, in recent years, especially against the revisionism that took on a right wind stream and a counter-revolutionary character through Liu Shao-chi, Lin Piao and, today, Deng Hsiao-ping. In the great class struggle of the Chinese revolution and the contemporary world, and in the struggle of the two lines in their own ranks, Chairman Mao Tse-tung has led the Communist Party of China to the point of making it the "great, glorious and correct" Party, which the working class and the world admire and respect. The greatest revolutionary of China was forged in this melting pot, the masterful hereditary of the great leaders of the international working class, the glorious militant Communist, who advanced Marx and Lenin, the extraordinary man whose life beat to an end with the undying light of Marxism with powerful creative force of the masses and the spirit of serving the people.

As Chairman Mao himself has said, the next 50 to 100 years will shake the world to change it, we will be living; thus, and unraveling at a crucial time for the working class, the people and the entire humanity. The great revolutionary storm will light up the face of the earth, many new problems will have to be solved and between victories there will be setbacks and failures. The revolution is the main current of history, but it will have to flow past rocks and counter-currents; thus, we will be sure that the revolution will prevail. "In one word, the prospects are bright, but the road is winding."

The founder of our Party, José Carlos Mariátegui, taught us, "It is not possible to remain indifferent to the fate of a nation that occupies such an important position in time and space. China is a heavyweight in human history, so why are we not attracted by its deeds and its men?". If we were told this about Old China, what are we to say about New China? So, for our Party, for the Peruvian communists and people the historical perspective demand nowadays more than ever, in this great painful trance for the working class and the world revolution, to adhere to Marxism, to consider the philosophy of struggle, convert grief into strength, and to pull the strings around the red line of the Communist Party of China that holds high the flag of the undefeated

Chairman Mao Tse-tung, to advance with the parties faithful to Marxism, with the working class and the peoples of the world, solemnly promising to march under the red and victorious flags of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tse-tung.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung died, but his ideology and actions live on in the working class, among the oppressed peoples and the masses of the world; and wherever the revolution leads the struggle, Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-Tung Thought will live eternally.

Eternal glory to President Mao Tse-tung, great teacher of the international proletariat, the oppressed peoples and the world revolution!

1976 - Eternal Glory to Chairman Mao Tsetung!

Coordinating Committee

Organizations Adhered to Mariategui

VP. No.6, Dec.76

Lima, Sept. 18th, 1976

In thousands of years of incessant struggle to pass through the kingdom of necessity to the one of liberty, humanity generated the working class and this class, with its inexhaustible and growing strenght, has given Marxism-Leninism, synthesized in Marx and Engels, in Lenin and Stalin. Thus, since the appearance of Marxism the working class, the oppressed peoples and the whole humanity have a goal and a hope: to construct the new society, the communist society toward which they march "with vehemance and active faith."

In the epoch of imperialism or monopolist, parasitary and agonizing capitalism, epoch in which the working class by means of their strength rising up in arms conquer political power, and in which the increasing and furious imperialist oppression, the Chinese revolution is developed that teaches and astonishes the world. In this historical crucible the international working class was concreted in Chairman Mao Tsetung, who in 1921 founded the Communist Party of China, the organized vanguard that conducted the new democratic revolution triumphantly culminated with the foundation of the People's Republic of China, the Party that today through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution develops the Socialist Revolution and strenghtens the proletariat's dictatorship.

Thus Mao Tsetung Thought emerged. In this manner Marxism-Leninism found the path in order to guide and to incorporate the oppressed peoples to the unrestrainable torrent of the world revolution. In this way Marxism-Leninims found the path in order to develop uninterruptedly the Socialist Revolution and to march toward its future inexorable goal, the communist society.

In the grandiose frame of class struggle, in his great country and in the world, Chairman Mao Tsetung inherited defended and developed

Marxism-Leninism. He defended it against the revisionism that today, unmasked as Soviet socialimperialism, is the main source of war at the present time. And he developed it in all the fields raising it to his present situation of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Thus Marxism, in the flames of class struggle and the action of the great masters of the proletariat, became Marxism-Leninism and this in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought. Therefore, today, to be a Marxist is to adhere to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought.

Chairman Mao Tsetung has died! His great heart has ceased to beat, his pulse has stopped and his life, has gone. A deep sorrow, dense and heavy, falls upon the working class and the oppressed peoples of the Earth, and the red banners at half-staff toll in universal mourning. The great master of the international proletariat has passed away and his unsoundable absence is felt in the whole world; it is the great absence that Marx left us, it is the great absence that Lenin left us, but yesterday as well as today the working class and people's masses, turning their sorrow into strength and through the storm, will continue towards its luminous goal, hoisting always the unconquered banners of Marx, Lenin and Mao Tsetung.

The Organizations Adhered to Mariategui, in this hour of sorrow, express to the Chinese people, to the Chinese working class and to the great, glorious and correct Communist Party of China their most profound sorrow for the decease of Chairman Mao Tsetung, great master of the international working class, of the oppressed peoples of the world and of the world revolution, whose thought iliuminates the world and will always illuminate it

ETERNAL GLORY TO CHAIRMAN MAO TSETUNG!

1977 - To be a Marxist is to adhere to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought

Chairperson Mao Tsetung, on the basis of Marxism-Leninism, has systematized the development of world revolution and has established fundamental theses that develop Marxism, and that we must bear in mind in order to orient ourselves in the understanding of the present international situation. In his great work, “On New Democracy,” he emphasized that with the First World War and with the October Revolution, history had entered a new era, “of the new world revolution: the proletarian socialist world revolution” and that, in consequence, “every revolution undertaken by a colony or semi-colony against imperialism, that is, against the bourgeoisie or international capitalism, will no more belong to the old category of world democratic bourgeois revolution, but to the new category.”

Thus, he conceived that the powerful revolutionary movement of colonies and semi-colonies was a part of the revolution that the international proletariat leads on a world level. He emphasized, after the Second World War, that the peoples of Latin America “are not submissive slaves of the U.S. imperialists,” that in the whole of Asia “a great national liberation movement” had come forth, and, calling the Asian countries to combat imperialism and the internal reactionaries, having as their goal the emancipation of the oppressed of Asia, he said, “We must take our destiny entirely into our own hands. We must extirpate from our ranks any idea which is an expression of weakness or impotence. Any point of view which overestimates the strength of the enemy and underestimates that of the people is wrong. . . . We live in a historical epoch in which capitalism and imperialism in the entire world hasten towards ruin, and socialism and democracy in the entire world march towards victory.”

Condensing the forthcoming struggle, he characterized the present epoch: “The next 50 to 100 years from now, more or less, will be a great epoch of radical change in the social system in the world, an epoch which will shake the Earth, an epoch with which no epoch before it will be able to compare itself. Living in an epoch like this, one must be ready to wage a great struggle whose forms will have many characteristics different from the past epochs.”

Analyzing this epoch of the proletarian revolution, Chairperson Mao Tsetung established his great thesis on the reactionaries: “All the reactionaries are paper tigers. In appearance, the reactionaries are terrifying, but in reality they are not so powerful. From a long-term point of view it is not the reactionaries but the people who are really powerful.” In “Talk with Anna Louise Strong,” where the above quotation is found, analyzing the contradictions and the distribution of social forces, he also stated: “The United States and the Soviet Union are separated by a vast zone which includes many capitalist, colonial and semi- colonial countries in Europe, Asia and Africa. Before the U.S. reactionaries have subjugated these countries, an attack on the Soviet Union is out of the question.” To these statements of 1946, the following of Chairperson Mao’s analyses on the contradictions among the imperialists themselves and between the imperialists and the oppressed nations and contending forces must be added: “Above all, the contradiction that has to do with the scramble among the imperialist countries and their dispute for the colonies stands out. What they are doing is to take as an excuse the contradictions that they have with us in order to cover up their own contradictions.” “In this conflict (the Suez Canal event) that is occurring there, two types of contradictions and three different forces converge. These two types of contradictions are: first, the inter-imperialist contradictions, that is, the contradictions between the United States and England and between the United States and France, and second, the ones that exist between the imperialist powers and the oppressed nations. Of the three forces involved, the first is the United States, which is the major imperialist power; the second is England and France, imperialist countries of a second order, and the third is the oppressed nations.”

In January of 1964, Chairperson Mao pronounced a declaration in support of the people of Panama; in it, after emphasizing that U.S. imperialism “has continued oppressing the peoples of Latin America, pillaging them and repressing in those countries the revolutionary national democratic struggle;” after denouncing that “it has converted . . . parts of Korea and Vietnam into its colonies, keeps Japan under its control and semi-military occupation. . . and intervenes and assaults other Asiatic countries;” after pointing out that in Africa, U.S. imperialism continues intensifying its neo-colonialist policy, “tries by all means to replace the old colonialists, loots and enslaves the peoples of Africa, undermines and suffocates the national liberation movements;” asking for vigilance against the Yankee’s . . . aggression and war “intends firmly to put into practice its policy of ‘peaceful evolution’ in the the socialist countries;” and that “even with their

West European North American and Oceanian allies, the U.S. imperialists are applying the policy of 'the law of the jungle,' and constantly try to step on them;" he concludes calling: "the peoples of the countries of the socialist camp should unite; the peoples of the different countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America should unite; all the peoples of the different continents should unite; all the peace-loving countries and all the countries submitted to the aggression, control, intervention and humiliation of the United States should unite. All of them should form the widest united front of opposition to the U.S. imperialists' policy of aggression and war, in order to safeguard world peace."

In this way, he denounces U.S. imperialism, calling us to combat it. But the revisionists usurped power in the Soviet Union, restoring capitalism and converting it into a social- imperialist country, which, as such, extended its penetration, subversion, control and domination, contending with Yankee imperialism for world domination.

Focussing on the referred to intermediate zone, Chairperson Mao declaimed: "The Soviet Union is at present under a bourgeois dictatorship, a grand bourgeois dictatorship, a German fascist type dictatorship, a Hitlerian type dictatorship." And calling for the struggle against the two superpowers, he put down the following important theses: "The United States is a paper tiger. You shouldn't believe in it. It can be pierced by one stroke. The revisionist Soviet Union is also a paper tiger." "Soviet revisionism and U.S. imperialism, entering into conspiracy themselves, have perpetrated so much wickedness and infamy that the revolutionary peoples of the whole world will not let them go unpunished. The people of all the countries are rising up. A new historical period of struggle against U.S. imperialism and Soviet revisionism has begun." "Peoples of all the world, let us unite and oppose the war of aggression that any imperialism or social-imperialism might unleash; let us oppose especially a war of aggression in which atomic bombs are used as weapons. If such a war explodes, the peoples of the whole world must eliminate it with a revolutionary war, and we must get ready right now!"

So was fixed the period of struggle that has opened against the two superpowers, the United States and the Soviet Union, and, within this perspective, reiterating the role of the peoples of the world, he made his famous statement in May 1970: "every time when the people of a small country dare to rise up in struggle, venture to grasp weapons and hold in their hands the destiny of their own country, they will unfailingly be able to defeat the aggression of a big country. This is a

law of history." Chairperson Mao Tsetung always gave a lot of attention to tactical principles. With regard to this, his work "On policy" is of the greatest importance; there he set down the fundamental policy: "In the relations with the different classes of the country, apply the fundamental policy of developing the progressive forces, win over the intermediate ones, and isolate the anticommunist die-hards;" to have a revolutionary dual policy against the die-hards, and in order to combat them apply: "In the struggle against the anticommunist die-hards, our policy is to make use of contradictions, win over the many, oppose the few and crush our enemies one by one, and to wage struggle on just grounds, to our advantage, and with restraint."

These criteria, first established for the struggle in China, are applicable to the struggle against the imperialists. In the year 1957, Chairperson Mao summed up the strategical and tactical ideas in the struggle against the enemy: "We have developed a concept over a long period for the struggle against the enemy, namely, strategically we should despise all our enemies, but tactically we should take them all seriously. In other words, with regard to the whole we must despise the enemy, but with regard to each specific problem we must take him/her seriously. If we do not despise him/her with regard to the whole, we shall commit opportunist errors. Marx and Engels were but two individuals, and yet in those early days they already declared that capitalism would be overthrown throughout the world. But with regard to specific problems and specific enemies, if we do not take them seriously, we shall commit adventurist errors. In war, battles can only be fought one by one and the enemy forces can only be destroyed one part at a time. Factories can only be built one by one. Peasants can only plough the land plot by plot.

The same is even true of eating a meal. Strategically, we take the eating of a meal lightly; we are sure to manage it. But when it comes to the actual eating, it must be done mouthful by mouthful. You cannot swallow an entire banquet at one gulp. This is called the piecemeal solution and is known in military writings as destroying the enemy forces one by one."

Up to here we have the fundamental problems on the historical period in which we are living, the contradictions and the developing forces and the tactics, all substantive problems of strategy and tactics; but furthermore, Chairperson Mao Tsetung also devoted himself to sum up the experience of the socialist revolution, setting forth his great theory and practice of the continuation of the revolution under proletarian dictatorship.

He also found the adequate form of developing it through the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. In the beginnings and development of this great revolution he set down the following theses: “A great disorder under the heavens leads to a great order under the heavens, and the same happens all over again every seven or eight years. The monsters and demons will come out by themselves to the palaestra. As their own class nature determines it, they cannot behave otherwise.” “In the past we waged struggles in the rural areas, in the factories, in the cultural circles, and we carried out the movement of socialist education. Nevertheless, all this could not solve the problem, because we had not found a form, a means of mobilizing vast masses in an open way, in all areas and from below upwards, in order to expose our bad side.” “In fact, those elements with power, followers of the capitalist-road within the Party, who support the petty tyrants of bourgeois acadamies, and those representatives of the bourgeoisie infiltrated in the Party who protect these petty tyrants, are in fact big petty tyrants in the Party who do not read books or newspapers, who do not keep in touch with the masses or possess any knowledge, and who rely only on ‘acting in an arbitrary form and repressing the people with their authority,’ and usurp the name of the Party.”

“The bourgeois representatives who have infiltrated inside the Party, the government, the army and the different cultural sectors, are a group of counterrevolutionary revisionists who will seize power and will convert the dictatorship of the proletariat into a dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, if they have the chance. Some of these persons, we have already seen through; but not yet others. And in some of them we still trust and we prepare them to be our successors. For example, persons of the Khruschev type still dwell at our side.”

“The main target of the present movement are those elements with power, followers of the capitalist-road within the Party.” “What will you do if revisionism appears in the CC? This is very probable, this is the greatest danger. “The proletariat must exercise an all-embracing dictatorship over the bourgeoisie in the superstructure, including the different domains of culture.” “The present Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is completely necessary and very timely to consolidate the proletariat’s dictatorship, prevent the restoration of capitalism and build socialism.”

“The present Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is only the first one, and in the future undoubtedly there will be many more. In a revolution, the problem of who will defeat whom will only be solved in a long historical period. If things are not adequately solved, there will be a possibility in any moment for a capitalist restoration.” “It is

just to rebel against the reactionaries." "Proletarian revolutionaries, unite to snatch power from the handful of leaders inside the Party who are followers of the capitalist-road!" The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution hit the counterrevolutionary bourgeois headquarters headed by Liu Shaoqi, the Chinese Khruschev, whose deputy is Deng Xiaoping, "another top element with power following the capitalist-road within the Party;" and it also crushed the counterrevolutionary conspirator headquarters headed by Lin Biao.

Thus, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was developed in order to consolidate the proletariat's dictatorship, to prevent the restoration of capitalism and to build socialism; and whose summation was made in the IX Congress of the CP China, which was a great landmark in the history of the CP China and the international communist movement.

The development of class struggle, in China, the struggle between capitalism and socialism, between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat and between Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Though and counterrevolutionary and capitulationist revisionism, was manifested in the great campaign of criticism against Confucius and Lin Biao, which discussed the problem of restoration and counterrevolution, the long process of consolidation of a power-holding class which implies preventing its reseizure by the reactionaries and the resultant restoration, and if power is lost, to strive for reconquering it, a problem which was raised in the beginnings of the debate against Khruschev-Brezhnev revisionism.

Later, the struggle centered on the decisive question and on the very essence of power, the problem of the proletarian dictatorship. Chairperson Mao said: "Why did Lenin talk about the need of exercising a dictatorship over the bourgeoisie? It is necessary to have this question clear. Lack of clarity with regard to this will lead to revisionism. All the nation must be made aware of it." "In one word, China is a socialist country. Before Liberation it did not differ much from capitalism. Now it still practices a salary system of eight grades, distribution to each one according to his work, and exchange through money, all of which is hardly different from the old society. The difference lays in that the property system has changed.

"Our country now practices a commodities system, a salary system which is also unequal, like that of the eight grades, and things of that type. This, under the proletariat's dictatorship, only can be restricted. Because of this, it will be very easy for persons like Lin Biao to set up a capitalist system if they climb to power. For this reason, we must

study more Marxist-Leninist works." "Lenin said: 'Small size production engenders capitalism and the bourgeoisie continuously, every day, every hour, spontaneously and in big volumes.'

This also occurs with a part of the working class, and a part of Party members. Both among the proletarians and the officials of public enterprises, there are those who indulge in bourgeois lifestyle. "Lenin spoke about a bourgeois state without capitalists, built in order to protect the bourgeois law. We have ourselves built a state like that one, in which things do not differ much from those of the old society, because there is still a hierarchy — an eight grade salary system, a distribution according to work and the exchange of things of equal value still prevail."

These theses and the former ones are, evidently, the continuation and development of the basic principles of Marxism-Leninism. Chairperson Mao Tsetung reiterates the standing of Marx's and Lenin's statements concerning the long revolutionary transformation of the old society; the need of the proletariat's dictatorship and its strengthening, the unceasing class struggle within socialism and of its utmost sharpening in certain circumstances, the persistance of bourgeois right and its necessary restriction, the constant generation of capitalism and the bourgeoisie, and the possibility of the restoration of capitalism through climbing to power . . . He establishes, furthermore, the need of aiming against the capitalist-roaders within the Party, and of continuing the revolution under the proletariat's dictatorship by means of the cultural revolution.

In January 1975, Deng Xiaoping became Vice-Chairperson of the Central Committee, which he had joined in the X Congress. In September the same year, the "unfolding of criticism against 'On the Water's Margin'" was called for. Chairperson Mao called for paying attention to capitulation, which is an essential issue in revisionism; he says:

"The merit of the narrative 'On the Water's Margin' lays precisely in the description of capitulation. Serving as a teaching material in the negative sense, it helps the people to know the capitulationists." "'On the Water's Margin' opposes only the corrupt officials, but not the emperor. It excludes Chao Kai of the Hundred and Eight. Sung Chiang capitulates, practices revisionism, changes the name of Chu Yi Parlour, given by Chao Kai, into that of Chung Yi Parlour, and accepts the offer of amnesty and enrolment. The struggle between Sung Chiang and Kao Chiu is a struggle waged by a fraction against another among the landlord class.Sung Chiang capitulates and then goes to combat Fang

La." (Chao Kai: founder of the peasant rebel army, in the narrative; the 108: the rebel captains; Sung Chiang: a character who usurps the rebel army's leadership; Chu Yi Parlour means to get together and to rise up in rebellion and so the rebel leader gave that name to the parlour where they met; Chung Yi Parlour means to profess loyalty to the emperor, an evil trick employed by the usurper).

Let us emphasize that capitulationism implies class capitulation before the bourgeoisie in the country, and capitulation of the nation before imperialism on an international level, and that capitulationism is revisionism. In these circumstances, the struggle is waged against the restorationist, anti-Cultural Revolution rightist wind.

In it Chairperson Mao states: "After the democratic revolution, the workers, the poor peasants and the low middle peasants have not stopped and want to make the revolution. Contrariwise, a part of the militants of the Party are reluctant to continue forward, and some have gone backwards and have placed themselves against the revolution. Why? Because they, as high officials that they have come to be, try to protect the interests of the high officials."

"It so happens that the socialist revolution falls on their own heads, and in this way during the agricultural cooperativization there were already those in the Party who opposed it and when bourgeois right is criticized, their feeling is that of rejection. The socialist revolution is being carried ahead; however, it is not well understood where the bourgeoisie is. It is exactly in the Communist Party, the leaders following the capitalist-road in the Party. The capitalist-roaders still follow their road."

"To revoke just verdicts goes against the will of the people." "It is impossible to advance without struggle." "Being 800 million people, can we do without struggle?!" "What is that about 'take the three instructions as the key link point!' Stability and unity do not mean renouncing the class struggle. Class struggle is the key link of the net and all the rest are mails."

"This person does not persist in class struggle; he has never mentioned this key link. He still continues with his 'white cat or black cat' making no distinction between imperialism and Marxism." In this way, the struggle centered against Deng Xiaoping, against him who, following the Chinese Khruschev, Liu Shaoqi, held the theory of the extinction of class struggle; against who, in 1956, in his report on the statutes' modification in the VIII Congress of the CP China, held that classes were extinct, especially the bourgeoisie, that the socialist

revolution had already fulfilled the greater part of its tasks, and they should not emphasize the class struggle, but the tasks of construction; against him who, in the same report, followed Liu Shaoqi's theory of the masses in order to oppose Chairman Mao's thesis on the Party; against him who upheld the Soviet Union's XX Party Congress, in which Khruschev attacked the proletariat's dictatorship camouflaging himself under the so-called struggle against the "cult of personality," considering the congress of possessing "important merits," precisely for him "one of the most important merits" is that "struggle against divinization" which he used to combat Chairperson Mao Tsetung.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution's campaign to counterattack the (revoking) revisionist wind centered against Deng Xiaoping. Against the tenacious defender of Peng Dehuai, the climber and conspirator military chief sanctioned in 1959 and defended by Liu Shaoqi and his reactionary headquarters; it aimed against Deng who, forming a gang with the Chinese Khruschev in the difficult years 1959-1961, attacked the three red banners: the general line, the great leap forward and the people's commune.

Against him who advocated the increase of lands for private use, free markets, enterprises responsible for their own profits and losses, and agricultural production shares based on each family, unleashing a revisionist wind of individualistic agricultural labor. Against him who held: "Be it black or white, if a cat hunts mice, it is a good cat."

This the Deng Xiaoping of the 1950s and 60s, "another leading element with power, capitalist-roader within the party" as he was typified, Liu Shaoqi's lieutenant, who performed as secretary general and whom the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution overthrew. The struggle that Chairperson Mao led in order to counterattack the reactionary revisionist wind aimed at Deng Xiaoping, who since the 50s held a counterrevolutionary programme and who, like others, as soon as he returned to leading posts continued his old road unfolding anew an opposing programme based on "take the three instructions as the key point," aiming at "conquer the ideological stand as a means to form public opinion," "take into account first of all, the leading bodies," in order to take hold of organizational positions, "they rectified in all aspects."

It was a programme oriented at revoking the GPCR, usurping the leadership in order to promote restoration, undermining the proletariat's dictatorship, divulging the extinction of class struggle and centering in the development of the productive forces. It was a programme that fought the GPCR imputing that it "injured" the

“experienced cadres” and served to “overthrow” “good cadres of the Party,” typifying it as “ultraleftist” for combating the capitalist-roaders.

This struggle to counterstrike the revoking wind led to “Deng Xiaoping’s removal from all his posts inside and outside the Party,” a resolution taken “according to the proposal of the great leader Chairperson Mao Tsetung.” Chairperson Mao Tsetung’s decease, as the death of all the proletariat’s great leaders, has generated deep commotions and wide repercussions in China and in the world; and, in the conditions in which the struggle developed in China. It propitiated the circumstances for the rightists staging a coup d’etat, usurping the power of the proletariat’s dictatorship.

It helped them undermine the conquests of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution and open the doors to capitalist restoration, to capitulation and to revisionism. Class struggle in China between revolution and counterrevolution, between Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought and revisionism, between Chairperson Mao’s proletarian line and the revisionist bourgeois counterrevolutionary and capitulationist line, headed by Deng Xiaoping, has entered into crucial, complex and difficult moments; strange and surprising methods are resorted to in the dealing with problems and the struggle; important and vast changes in the leadership and in the organizations mainly of the Party, were produced; at the same time, the criticism campaign against Deng Xiaoping’s revisionist revoking wind is suspended; the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is openly questioned; capitulation is developed, especially national capitulation, and Deng’s counterrevolutionary programme is hoisted as a banner.

All this is nothing but a rightist coup in the sharp two-line struggle in the period of the continuation of the revolution taking advantage of the circumstances and the repercussions of Chairman Mao Tsetung’s death. The situation that arose in China is not an unimportant problem.

It is, on the contrary, a transcendant problem for revolutionaries and communists of the world and we all must give it a very special attention, because from the usurpation of power derives the general change of the line, both in the development of socialism and in the international policy. The key question of Marxism is the proletariat’s dictatorship; it is its essence, and a rightist coup and its usurpation is a problem of the utmost seriousness and importance; and it is not a question in China alone; it is a question for all communists since its repercussions have to do with world revolution.

The experience of restoration and of usurpation of power in the USSR are recent lessons that we cannot forget. Mariategui has taught us: “It is not possible to be uninterested in the destiny of a nation that occupies such a principal place in time and space. China weighs too much in human history for us not to be attracted by its deeds and men.” This great truth continues to be valid today more than ever for all communists and revolutionaries in the country.

But although the events in China, especially after Chairperson’s Mao Tsetung’s death move us to a just concern and to the duty of defending the banners of Marxism, precisely to be able to defend them let us guide ourselves by his own forecasts. “If the rightists carry forward an anti-communist coup d’etat in China, I am sure that it will not know peace either, and very probably its domination will be short-lived, because it will not be tolerated by any of the revolutionaries who represent the people’s interests, more than 90 percent of the population.

“Let it be in China or in other countries of the world, broadly speaking, more than ninety percent of the population will finally support Marxism-Leninism; many persons who, owing to the deceit of social-democracy, revisionism, imperialism and all the reactionaries, have not taken yet political consciousness. But in any way they will gradually wake up and will support Marxism-Leninism. The truth of Marxism-Leninism is irresistible. The masses will invariably rise up in revolution. The world revolution will inexorably triumph.”

(Bandera Roja Nos. 47/48, October 1977, redistributed in 1987 by the CP Peru)

1978 - Against constitutional illusions, for the state of the New Democracy

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Against constitutional illusions, for the state of the New Democracy

While Peruvian society faces itself in an extremely acute crisis, it has entered a transcendental period. In periods like this one, important political situations are defined, and the parties set positions and initiate actions which may lay out their future for many decades. Under these conditions the third restructuring of the Peruvian State in this century is developing, and as part of it, the elections for a Constituent Assembly, as well as, in the following years, the approval of a new constitutional charter to replace that of the 1933 and general elections, according to the timetables of the regime's Tupac Amaru Plan. For this reason, it is necessary to analyze the current process in the country and be able to guide ourselves with certainty and decisiveness, since, today more than ever, we must navigate in turbulent waters toward our unavoidable goal: the Peruvian Revolution, whose road was established by Mariátegui, and after fifty years, it has been proven to be right.

I. FUNDAMENTAL QUESTIONS: THE STATE, VIOLENCE AND ELECTIONS

The analysis of the current situation must be based on the fundamental problems of the working class, which through its Party and in the light of Marxism, have been established and proven in our country.

ON THE STATE

The Peruvian State is a landowning-bureaucratic State. It is a dictatorship of the feudal landowners and the big bourgeoisie under the command of Yankee imperialism, a dictatorship which has developed in this century in the shape of representative democracy and within it, in crucial moments, under military regimes to defend or develop the ruling order of exploitation. Starting in the decade of the 1920's, the Peruvian State was led by the comprador bourgeoisie, and after 1968, by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie: both factions of the big bourgeoisie. The Peruvian State is a type of State most commonly found in semi-feudal and semi-colonial societies, in which it exerts a joint dictatorship of two classes: feudal landowners and big bourgeoisies (comprador or bureaucratic, as the case may be), under the leadership of the latter, but within the domain of imperialism or, lately inroads of social-imperialism. It is a dictatorship which, whatever its system of government (representative democracy or corporativism) and the politics guiding it (demoliberal or fascist) exploits and oppresses the people.

ON VIOLENCE

Violence with respect to weapons, the army, police and repressive actions like that at Cobriza in 1971 , Andahuaylas in 1974 or Lima on February of 1975, to mention some examples, or military actions like the anti guerrilla actions in 1965 to remember the most important one, in addition to the daily activities of the repressive forces, the persecutions, jailing, suspension of constitutional guarantees, state of emergencies, curfews, etc., enable the exploiting classes, amidst their dictatorship, their State, to maintain its order, defend and develop it. Violence in our country helps and sustains the landowning-bureaucratic State unleashing it against the people; especially against the proletariat and the peasantry, who are well aware of it, as they have experienced it as part of their daily struggle.

However, violence is not only reactionary. There is also revolutionary violence, from the people, which mobilizing peasants under the leadership of the proletariat generates a people's army led by the Communist Party. It is the violence that rises in the countryside and develops a war of masses to destroy the old State of landowners and big bourgeoisies in order to build the new democracy. Violence is a universal law. It is the transformation of the old world through guns, the glorious road of President Mao Tse-tung.

Violence is written at the bottom of our history. The conquerors used it to submit these lands and subject them to colonial rule. Tupac Amaru unleashed violence to defend the rights and demands (reinvindicaciones) which mobilized hundreds of thousands of indigenous peasants. Violence of yesterday and today, is the usual means of the struggle the peasants have in their hands in their unfinished struggle for the "land to the tiller." Violence is part of our society's centuries of history, mainly of the peasantry, that continues to confront the landowning-bureaucratic State, especially against gamonalism which is the old State's base and sustenance.

But revolutionary violence in our history has reached a new dimension under the proletariat, resumed in Mariátegui and his Party. In this way, since the last fifty years, in which the PCP was founded, the old bourgeois revolution became a revolution of a new democracy. It became an anti-imperialist and anti-feudal revolution which only the proletariat through its Party is able to lead. Revolutionary violence manifests itself as a peasant war led by the Party, to follow the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside. This is the only road to

follow and which has been conclusively proven, even by the heroic guerrilla of 1965, whose defeat did not negate Mao Tse-tung's theory of the People's War nor the road of Mariátegui. On the contrary, it demands from us its accomplishment, putting in command the correct general political line established by Mariátegui with tenacity and firmness, and following the development of the class struggle in more than fifty years, especially the great lessons of the 1960's.

ON ELECTIONS

Marx pointed out: "Every so many years the oppressed are authorized to decide which members of the oppressor class will represent them and crush them in Parliament!" And that is still more valid when it comes to elections to approve constitutional charters. That way, if the elections are the regular order of renewing the bourgeois dictatorship of capitalist societies (including the most democratic ones), one could imagine the normal course of its political functioning for the preservation and development of capitalism. In the landowning-bureaucratic States, like those of Latin America, in which they have accomplished their role of changing governments, and in the circumstances when they have respected the norms of the demoliberal bourgeois system, elections have only been the tools at the service of the feudal landowners and big capitalists, whether it is a periodic renewal, as is being done lately in Colombia, or the end of a military government, as in Argentina for example.

The above is easily verifiable in the country. With important interruptions by the military governments during the periodic electoral processes, especially interruptions linked on the one hand to the development of the people's struggle, and on the other, to the contradictions between feudal landowners and between the comprador bourgeoisie, and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, it is important to note that the military regimes themselves have been instrumental in implementing elections, be it to normalize their own situation, end their rule, or to guarantee them. Elections in Peru have undoubtedly served to preserve or develop the old Peruvian State, the formal republic, the dictatorship of feudal landowners and the big bourgeoisie. Therefore, elections have been (and it could not have been any other way within the context of the ruling social order) tools in the hands of the comprador bourgeoisie first, and then a tool of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. This has been the most important aspect of the electoral processes of the Peruvian State in this century and it's what has determined the class character of elections in the country.These fundamental questions are summarized as follows:

The Peruvian State is landowning and bureaucratic. It is a dictatorship of feudal landowners and big bourgeois, under the control of Yankee imperialism. Against this, the people's struggle must destroy the old existing order in order to build a State of new democracy. The Peruvian State, like every State, sustains, defends and develops itself using violence; it faces what the people need, which is revolutionary

violence following the road surrounding the cities from the countryside. Elections are means of domination by landowners and big bourgeois capitalists. They are not tools of transformation for the people nor a means to overthrow the power of those who are ruling. Therefore, the correct orientation for us is to use elections when it comes only for purposes of agitation and propaganda II. THE CURRENT PERIOD

This problem requires the analysis of two issues: The economic situation and crisis in the country, and the third restructuring of the Peruvian State.

THE ECONOMIC SITUATION AND CRISIS

After the Second World War, the development of bureaucratic capitalism was increased. This type of capitalism can be traced to the end of the last century. The expansion of bureaucratic capitalism is more considerable in the 1960's, especially after October of 1968, with the current regime which is based on the problem of the peasantry. To this end, it carried out the more extensive and profound evolution of feudal landowning property. As a result, there is a greater concentration of the property land, the preservation of servile forms of exploitation, bureaucratic management systems and direct control by the State over territorial rents. Thus, the State lays the roots for bureaucratic capitalism in the countryside.

In synthesis, the expansion of bureaucratic capitalism aims at the process of industrialization and generates, an industry more dependent on imperialism (mainly Yankee), as well as greater participation by the State, especially in those industries which are considered basic and extractive. Thus, the State becomes the motor that sustains the economic process, and plays a principal role in banking, finance, including trade.

In this manner, the expansion of bureaucratic capitalism is the continuation of the capitalist process already pointed out by Mariategui: a capitalism subject to the domination of Yankee imperialism, and linked to feudalism. It is this process and expansion (profundizacion) that have generated the current crisis Peruvian society is going through, which is aggravated by the world crisis.

The crisis, in essence, is the result of the expansion of the capitalist development in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial country. It is not the result of the destruction of semifeudalism but of its evolution, and it is not the result of freeing the country from imperialist domination, mainly Yankee, but the development of semi-colonialism. Therefore, after three years of economic measures aimed at ending the crisis, we now see ourselves in the midst of a deep crisis whose end is not foreseen or expected in 1980. The following data helps us visualize the economic situation:

Land Distribution, Comparison Between 1961-1972 Area in hectares (Has.)

Total Units (1961)

Total Units (1972)

1 hectare = 2.47 acres

% of farms

% of Has.

% of farms

% of Has

A less than 5 Has.

83.2

5.5

77.9

6.6

less than 1

34.2

0.6

34.7

0.8

1-5

49.0

4.9

43.2

5.8

B 5-20

12.6

4.7

16.7

8.7

C 20-100

2.9

5.2

4.3

9.3

D more than 100

1.3

84.6

1.1

75.4

100-500

0.9

8.7

0.8

9.1

500-1000

0.2

6.2

0.1

4.6

1000-2500

0.1

8.8

0.1

7.4

more than 2500

0.1

60.9

1.1

54.3

A = very small properties (minifundio) B = family units C = medium size properties D = large and very large properties (latifundio)

If we add the agrarian debt of tens of thousands of soles, 68% of which total is payable to the landowners, 24% of which is payment for credits due to the bankers, and 8% of which is bureaucratic expense; and if we bear in mind that the State has extracted 6.473 billion soles for real estate taxes from the production of agrarian cooperatives in the five-year period 1971-1975, of which 3,639 billion, more than 50% was taken in 1975, can anyone then speak of the old semi-feudal system as having been destroyed? Can anyone really claim to have broken the backbone of the "oligarchy?" Isn't it clear who benefits and who is protected by the agrarian law? But let's see other data:

1974

1975

1976

1977

Rate of Growth (GNP)

6.9

3.3

3.0

-0.2

% increase of prices in Lima

16.9

23.6

33.5

39.0

Government Deficit (billion of soles)

-14.09

-30.591

-48.432

-38.2

GNP = Gross National Product

On these tables, recession and inflation are seen very clearly. They also show the diminished production and rise in prices that whip the Peruvian economy, as well as the serious situation of the State budget. But let's point out, that while wages were multiplied by four from 1968 to 1976, profits for enterprises or businesses were multiplied by seven in the same period. And if we add the evolution of wages and salaries, based on the indices of actual remuneration for metropolitan Lima (since there are no other), wages were 100 soles in 1968, by December of 1977, had been reduced to 72.23 soles, and it is foreseen that by December of 1978 they will be reduced to 52.29 soles, whereas the salaries that was 100 soles in 1968, in December of 1977 was reduced to 86.95, and it is predicted that by December of 1978 they will be reduced to 60.70 soles. These figures are enough to see the situation in which the economic production develops, who benefits from it and whom it hits, and the above does not take into consideration the bankruptcies, factory closings, layoffs, etc.; which added onto the above show the serious crisis and the ongoing process of greater concentration of capital for the benefit of the landowners, the big capitalists and imperialism.

To complete this trend, let's see the problem of the foreign debt and

the real value of the sol, which shows clearly, the domain of imperialism and the dispute between the superpowers. Remember that in September of 1975 exchange was established at 45 soles to a dollar, in June of 1976 it went down to 65, then came the minidevaluations that ended in 80 soles to a dollar by September of 1977; and from October of that year came on floating, which raised the exchange to 130, in December, and now, to speculation paying 180 soles per dollar in money order certificates, although the official exchange value did not vary; a situation intimately linked to the International Monetary Fund controlled by the United States. According to official figures, in 1968, the country's foreign debt was 737 million dollars, but by 1977 it was 4.17 billion dollars, a sum that forced the use of up to 41% of exports to cancel off interest payments of the debt in 1977. The foreign debt is one of the hottest problems today and from this we can see how the superpowers contend in our country, as can also be seen by the Yankee concern that their loans are not used to pay the Soviet Social Imperialist creditors to our country, especially for the sale of weapons; as well as for Soviet maneuvers on the renegotiation of the debt with Peru, and using it as leverage to take positions. This is clearly seen in the campaign of the revisionist newspaper "Unidad" and others who exalt the Soviet social-imperialist "kindness" and "understanding."

These facts, on the agrarian problem, especially the industrial economic production and the rule of imperialism and the quarrel of the superpowers, are stunning proof of the expansion (profundizacion) of bureaucratic capitalism, the evolution of semi-feudalism and the development of our semi-colonial condition; of serious crisis the first one throws us in, and shows the current situation and the perspective which forces the specialized economic publication to say that, "the forecasts for this year, 1978, are even more nefarious."

In 10 years, what economic direction has the government followed? In general lines, in 1969 and 1970 they prepared conditions for their plans. Then they applied the 1971-75 economic-social plan aiming at accumulating capital. This was canceled in its last year because the difficulties had already begun, the 1975-78 plan was approved aimed of a greater accumulation of capital. It was a plan that in its first two years sought the control of the crisis but without achieving it. In 1977, the Tupac Amaru Plan was approved, which applied the modifications proposed by the President in March of 1976, a plan to extend until 1980, on which date the crisis was supposed to be over. During this period the State fulfilled a main role, as the driving force in the economic process, and developed the State's monopoly. However, in the last few years, the need to reinvigorate the private economic

activity was proposed, and in the imperialist order within which our country and the State operate, it prepares conditions for future development of the monopoly production of imperialism and the big bourgeoisie associated with it.

What is being proposed today for the country's economic process? Concretely, that the non State monopoly, or private sector, is the motor reinvigorating the economy, so that the expropriation, or "privatization," of the great means of production which the State has been managing and concentrating, especially in the last ten years, and the greater concentration of property derived from the crisis; as well as the establishing of new forms incrementing the exploitation of the labor forces, to restrict or cancel the benefits, rights and conquests of the masses, as usually happens in every economic crisis, and it is a condition to contain and overcome the crisis. This the economic period in which we now evolve, a period that in the short term benefits imperialism, the exploiting classes and their government in two important problems:

The financial problem, now centered in the foreign debt. This will demand to take other measures besides the ones already taken; the economic problem, taken as the productive process, which demands an economic plan which has already been announced and is closely linked to the ongoing electoral process and to the "social pact for the national salvation" that is being elaborated; between these two questions, the second one is more important, since the first for the most part has already been defined, while the second is more complex and has a long term effect in perspective. ABOUT THE THIRD RESTRUCTURING OF THE PERUVIAN STATE The bureaucratic bourgeoisie was developed during the Second World War and it aims at leading the State. Its presence was notorious in the governments of Bustamante and Belaunde, especially the latter; however, only recently, in October of 68 it was when it assumed the leadership of the State, that is it assumed the reigns of government through the armed forces, displacing the comprador bourgeoisie, who since the 1920's had been enthroned as the leading class in the reactionary camp.

Under what conditions did this promotion take place? It takes place amidst the crisis of the so-called representative democracy. The Peruvian State was organized as a formal bourgeois democracy, systematically, with the Constitution of 1920, under the leadership of the comprador or "mercantile" bourgeoisie, as Mariategui called it. This helped develop bureaucratic capitalism, which is a process that consolidating its Power through the "Oncenio" de Leguia , under the

mantle of Yankee imperialism. However, the 1929-1934 crisis and the development of the class struggle, mainly by the proletariat, with the founding of the Communist Party, generated a period of upheaval in our contemporary history. Also, during this period the elections of 1931 took place, which drafted the current Constitution still force (at least in words.)

The constitution of 1933 has the characteristics that Karl Marx masterfully pointed out:

while it recognizes the demo-bourgeois type rights and liberties, each article sanctioning them contains its own contradiction, that is, the same time that rights and freedoms are stipulated, they are lawfully restricted. The following samples suffice and it's precisely one of the examples given by Marx, Art. 62 reads: "All persons have the right to assemble peacefully and without weapons, without compromising the public order. The law will regulate the exercise of the right to assemble." It shows the contradiction between the Executive Power and the Legislative Power, and while in its words, the latter attempts to tie down the former, in the legislative facts the Executive has been imposing itself more and more, reflecting the development process of the bourgeois State, which inevitably strengthens the Executive Power as well as its principal support, the army. Finally, it was born under the protection of the bayonets which brought to the world to it, and questioned its current validity whenever the interests of the State demanded it. As these matters are foreseen, they will be found again in the new Constitution and its debates, but on the base of the contradiction between representative democracy and corporativism. After 1945, all these constitutional contradictions sharpened with the struggle between the comprador bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and more by the increasing development of the force of the people and of the working class. During the government of Bustamante, the contradiction Parliament-Executive sharpened, and the President himself had to propose the need for a new Constitution. The problem surfaced again during the Belaunde government and there were many disputes about a referendum and reform of the Constitution, which in 1965 took Action Popular to draft and introduced a bill about the functional Senate, a corporativist modality established by article 89 of the Constitution, but never implemented up to this day, since even the Action Popular's bill was rejected by the APRA-Odria coalition. This direction, on the base of deepening bureaucratic capitalism, and the contradiction in the midst of the big bourgeoisie between the comprador and bureaucratic factions and, above all, the development of the proletariat (its return to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism-Mao Tse-tung Thought and the Road of Mariategui),

and the upsurge of the people's movement, mainly the great surge of the peasants movement which shook Peruvian society profoundly, and the 1965 guerrilla struggles, which provoked the crisis of representative democracy (a similar problem occurring in contemporary Latin America).

Under these circumstances the armed forces took over the leadership of the State in function, mainly the interests of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, with two tasks to fulfill: the first one, to carry forward the expansion of bureaucratic capitalism and, second, to reorganize Peruvian society. That is how the current regime began, guided by a fascist political conception, developing the corporativization of the Peruvian Society, which is a process that is taking place through the following three phases:

1. Bases and development of the corporativization, in which all past practices are questioned, labeled as the old "pre-revolutionary" order, the bases of organization are set and the so-called "ideological bases" are established. This lasted all the way to 1975.

2. General corporative readjustment, and evaluation of its successes and problems so as to consolidate positions and advance toward the Corporative State, presented as a "social democracy with full participation." That began with the replacement of Velasco by Morales Bermudez, August 1975.

3. Third restructuring of the Peruvian State, from July 1977 to the present, and the establishing of a political timetable with elections for a Constituent Assembly, approval of a constitutional charter which must "institutionalize the structural transformations carried on since October 3, 1968" and must carry out the general elections, according to the Tupac Amaru Plan, until 1980.

So here we have, in general terms, the corporativization followed in ten years. How has the contradiction between bureaucratic bourgeoisies and the proletariat developed in this decade? The bureaucratic bourgeoisie heads the counterrevolutionary camp, and it commands the feudal landowners and the comprador bourgeoisie, and it is linked to imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism, although in the last decade social-imperialism began its penetration, and established links precisely with the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. The people's camp has a center: the proletariat, the only class capable of leading them, provided it can develop its vanguard and in fact lead the armed struggle. Thus, it will be able to forge the worker-peasant alliance as its great ally, to win over the petty-bourgeoisie as a sure

ally and, under certain conditions and circumstances, to unite even with the national bourgeoisie.

In the first stage of corporativization, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie managed to isolate the proletariat, and even to partially tie it down, presenting itself as a progressive force and as a "revolutionary" with the support of opportunism, mainly the social-corporativist revisionism of "Unidad"

In the second stage, the general readjustment of corporativism, the influence of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie in State affairs began to decrease, its mask fell and it shed its disguises making it more difficult for opportunism to tie down the proletariat to the tail of its enemy.

The third stage of corporativization was the restructuring of the State, in which the contradiction between bureaucratic bourgeoisie and proletariat became sharper again in its antagonism. Both contending classes began to polarize its positions more, one against the other, and consequently the proletariat acquires a greater dimension, as the only leading class of the revolution of new democracy.

What is the period that we now live? Since 1977, we live in a political period which will last four or five years characterized by the third restructuring of the Peruvian State in the 20th century, and by the development of the struggle of the popular masses in preparation for the launching of the armed struggle. This is a period that occurred in the second moment of the contemporary history of the country, that is, from the Second World War to the present; a period in which bureaucratic capitalism deepens and the corporativization develops under the leadership of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie; a moment in which, on the other hand, the conditions for the democratic revolution mature and this begins to define it by the force of arms in order to create a State of new democracy.

But, what is the immediate situation of the political period that we now live in? To imperialism, to the exploiting classes and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie leading the process, two matters arise: first, to carry on elections for the Constituent Assembly, and second, to open up the road to materialize the third restructuring of the Peruvian State. The second, is the principal one because it is more complex and has future implications, and from which the bureaucratic bourgeoisie expects to consolidate its leadership role. On the other hand, the first task has the support of most of the political parties, who see in the Constituent their revival and perspective. To the people, the ones exploited and the proletariat, what is being proposed is that they do

not allow themselves to be tied to the electioneering process, which opens the door to the restructuring of the State, and to develop the growing popular protest to mobilize, to politicize and to organize the masses, especially the peasantry. This second aspect is the most important one.

III. POLITICAL SITUATION AND THE PEOPLE'S ROAD

In order to analyze the elections and orient ourselves correctly, we need to keep in mind the fundamental issues arisen from it, and the current situation. If not, we run the risk of sliding toward the opportunist swamp. We reiterate, the Constituent Assembly elections are the real beginning of the third restructuring of the Peruvian State by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, and the ones who will struggle most to carry the corporatization forward as much they are able to, aiming at establishing themselves as the leading class of the exploiters. The ongoing State restructuring is a consequence of the expansion of bureaucratic capitalism and the corporatization of Peruvian society and the elections are in fact its beginnings. They are a preamble to "institutionalize the structural transformations" whose consequences for the people are in sight. Well then, the Constituent Assembly elections help first and foremost the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. That is our main concern. This is the starting point in taking a position with regards to the ongoing electoral process; and in doing it that way, we, and those who follow Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, those who really follow the road of Mariategui and who are at the service of the proletariat and the people, cannot fail to take into account this basic question and must judge it from the position of the working class, in function of the Peruvian revolution. Let's analyze briefly some of these problems.

ON THE CONVERGENCE OF CLASSES; FACTIONS AND PARTIES IN THE REACTIONARY CAMP

For years, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and more specifically the armed forces, in its name, have wanted to exercise leadership of the State and do away with the comprador bourgeoisie and the feudal landowners, outside the margin ordered by the Constitution and conform themselves to their own statutes, concentrating all State powers, postponing the political organizations and even casting aside civilians for the benefit not just of the military in active service, but even the retired military. This contradiction does not mean that it has not represented and kept in mind the interests of its allies, the comprador bourgeoisie and the landowners, but that the need to assume the leadership of State Power took the bureaucratic bourgeoisie (during the crisis of the representative democracy) to appeal to the armed forces as sustenance of power itself, which was the institution in a position of power to advance its interests.

But ten years have elapsed and today their main purpose is the restructuring of the State, which will generate the convergence of the exploiting classes, its factions and its parties. Is this anything strange? No, as Marx demonstrated. Thus, the restructuring of the State will cause a convergence of the two factions of the big bourgeoisie, the comprador and the bureaucratic factions, and especially of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie with the feudal landowners. However, this convergence does not exclude their discrepancies but, the need of restructuring the State and the situation of crisis in which this develops, enlivens those endeavors, both for the landowners and for the comprador bourgeoisie, to recover positions and to defend their interests. In that way, the need to restructure the State benefits the exploiting classes, and what takes them to a convergence, because they must restructure the State order which enables them to preserve and develop their exploitation and rule and provides them with a constitutional order allowing a normal and periodic process of renewal of the powers of the State. But at the same time, the endeavors to have the interests of their class or faction prevail, and above all their contention for the leadership of the State enlivens their divergences. The historical tendency of the exploiters under the rule of imperialism, mainly Yankee, is the development of the process of corporativization, which at this time, is the convergence in order to restructure the State. Their proposals on the "social pact" is a good

example, but this convergence or collusion of interests develops amidst sharp contradictions which become more intense as the people's struggle develops.

In the context of the collusion and collision between the two factions of the big bourgeoisie, we are able to understand the positions and actions of their political parties. These parties are grouped in two: those of demo-bourgeois roots, among them the Peruvian Democratic Movement (MDP), Popular Christian Party (PPC), Accion Popular (AP), principally APRA. Those of corporativist tendencies, among them Popular Socialist Action (APS), Christian Democracy (DC), Socialist Revolutionary Party (PSR) and mainly the social-corporativist revisionism of "Unidad." Those of demoliberal roots, more are linked to the comprador bourgeoisie, generally support representative democracy and differ among themselves in those wanting to strengthen the Executive, such as APRA; facing the current political timetable, some demand immediate general elections, such as PPC and AP, others support the fulfillment of the Constituent Assembly, such as APRA.

Those of a corporativist tendency, who are more linked to the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, generally support the corporative organization of society, although differing in form but not in substance. Some propose a "socialist society" such as PSR, and "Unidad" while others such as Christian Democratic Party speak about a "comminatory society." They differ, then, PSR proposes supposedly "Peruvian socialism" while "Unidad" preaches the pro-Soviet revisionist "socialism." Those of corporatist tendencies, all support, the current political timetable. Some such as DC (Christian Democrats) labeled it as "rushing" the call for a Constituent Assembly, taking time to decide whether or not to participate; similarly, facing the Constituent, if all were for the "participation" of the grass roots organizations, PSR was against it.

In conclusion, we must bear in mind the collusion and collisions taking place in the camp of reaction among its classes, its factions and its parties. This enables us to understand the particular decisions and positions of each one and, furthermore, this will enable us to analyze and orient ourselves in the correlation of forces now emerging and which will define them during and after the June elections.

ON THE OPPORTUNIST LINE IN ELECTIONS

Right opportunism has a long electoralist tradition in the country, which is intimately linked to Del Prado and company and revisionism which has as its voice "Unidad." In the general elections of 1936, 1939, 1945 and 1963, opportunism tied down the people and the working class to the band wagon of the big bourgeoisie, of the comprador bourgeoisie before World War II and of the bureaucratic one afterwards. The essence of this electoral line and of parliamentary cretinism is synthesized in the following proposals which sustained the 1945 elections: "the workers as a whole have the historical task of struggling for an alliance with the bourgeoisie"; "we no longer launch candidates with the aim of agitation and propaganda. Now we launch to make representatives out of them," proposals which were accompanied by these statements: "we will only resort to the present strike when the employers show such intransigence that a peaceful solution is not possible . . . But before we go on striking we must exhaust the lawful and peaceful means"; "instead of strikes as a tactic, which must be used only as a last resort --which corresponds to other concrete situations-- the working classes must propitiate compromises and peaceful solutions of the problems by way of state organisms." These are the right opportunist theses which accompanied the following with regards to the peasantry: "we must take into our hands the slogan of making conscious voters out the thousands of peasants and indigenous individuals."

And essentially these theses are the ones which once more, at a higher level and with more actualized rationalizations, guide the corporatist revisionism of "Unidad" in the greatest capitulation of its dark history. But is this happening only with "Unidad?" No. These are also seen on the magazine "Marka," that with increasing persistence is calling the people and the working class to be tied down to the tail of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. But the problems do not end here, and what is more serious is that electioneering is impacting the people's own ranks, through the position of revolutionaries who despite the "reasons" they invoke, they are supporting the third restructuring of the State, a position which has taken them, in an open renunciation of their principles, to join on one-side the revisionism of those having as their voice "Mayoria," as is the case of UDP, and on the other, of the Trotskyites in Focep

ON THE ROAD OF THE PEOPLE

All this takes us to propose to ourselves the position of the proletariat and the people in the face of the elections, to draw the fences clearly and sharply, more so if there are organizations that do not compromise and openly reject the capitulation and, even more, if we have the obligation of serving the people and cooperate in the development of their class conscience.

Having placed the elections for the Constituent Assembly within the period of the third restructuring of the State and forging the beginning of the armed struggle, nowadays that the crisis becomes harsher on the people and the people's protests develop, and participating in elections does not support the proletariat, nor the people, nor the revolution, but only the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, the exploiters and imperialism. To participate in the elections for the Constituent Assembly is to deviate the revolution from its road, is to put it into a swamp; since it would sow constitutional illusions in the masses, to cause hopes in their laws, in the Constitution, and ultimately in the elections. It is, in synthesis, to want to take the people by the old electoral road of right opportunism, of which the hardened champion is the revisionism of "Unidad" commanded by Del Prado and Company.

Facing the Constituent Assembly elections, the only correct position is the non participation, the boycott. What is needed is to apply the teachings of the great Lenin. Lenin applied the boycott precisely against a Duma, a "representative organization," which would elaborate a Constitution to the service of the prevailing order in Tsarist Russia, and to reach this conclusion he relied on two bases: first, participation would deviate the revolution from its road and, second, an increasing revolutionary process was developing. We must analyze and apply this thesis in accordance with our concrete conditions. Objectively, in our country the political period which we develop is, on one side, the third restructuring of the State which is led by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie aiming at completing the corporatization of society. On the other, the development of the masses takes us to the task of initiating the armed struggle, which the proletariat must carry on under the leadership of its Party. That is the first question Lenin had in mind. The second one, is the ascending people's struggle ending up in armed struggle. In our country the road is not that of the insurrection in the city, but of an armed struggle in the countryside, of surrounding the cities from the countryside

through a protracted People's War; among us the uprising is, essentially, the uprising of the peasants movement, and it is out of this that the armed struggle will come, the history of the country and the decade of the 1960's prove that convincingly; that is how we must understand, in our case, the problem of the ascension of the masses which Lenin had in mind.

To uphold the non participation in the Constituent Assembly elections, the call for the boycott, the generating of a movement of rejection of the elections, is condemned as a "left-wing infantile disorder." However, that is only a label that tries to cover the facts with a shower of words; because what is being debated here is not the infantilism or senility of anyone. What is being debated is the real, objective situation of the class struggle in our country; what is being debated is on which period we are now in, and what is its characteristics and its perspective. What is being debated is whether or not the mass movement in our country, mainly the peasantry, leads us or not to the armed struggle. What is in debate is if it is appropriate to sow electoral illusions, to propagate electoralism, if that is any help to the proletariat, to the people, to the democratic revolution. That is what is being debated, and we have the obligation to debate; only by defining these questions we will be able to ascertain which position is the correct one, then toil to implement it in deeds not only in words. Any other attitude and even those who want to silence with words, with labels and mountains of paper, are old and obsolete maneuvers of right opportunism, here and everywhere else. This is the position of the Road of the people, of the Road of Mariategui, confronting today the ongoing electoral process and facing the restructuring of the State. This is a road which today demands from us, more insistently than yesterday, that we struggle to mobilize, to politicize and to organize the masses of the workers, and especially the peasantry as the principal force of our revolution, and the proletariat as the leading force whose direction is synthesized in its organized vanguard, by its Communist Party, the Party of Mariategui whose reconstitution is about to be crowned. Let's guide ourselves by the words of President Mao Tse-tung: "Only when the workers and peasants, who constitute 90 percent of the population, have been mobilized, will be possible to overthrow imperialism and feudalism." Let's apply the order of Mariategui: "The organization of workers and peasants on a strict class consciousness character is the objective of our effort and our propaganda."

AGAINST THE CONSTITUTIONALIST ILLUSIONS, FOR THE STATE OF NEW DEMOCRACY!

LET'S RETAKE MARIATEGUI AND RECONSTITUTE HIS PARTY!

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO TSE-TUNG THOUGHT!

1979 - For the New Flag

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The Flag

Many are called but few are chosen. We are not the only ones. We are all subjected to the storm; the wind blows away the leaves, but the seeds remain. In 1927, a great storm led to the birth of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP). The Party has entered a great storm; everything will be set ablaze. For a long time, we have sought to become a polar center. Now is the time. The path we are undertaking is correct, and all the problems we face will be resolved.

Today is the day of pledging to the flag, but ours is the Red Flag, a distinct one, with the hammer and sickle. Our flag is absolutely red; all those who rebel have red flags.

The Ninth Symphony is long and beautiful, it is the expression of the bourgeois victory, the song of the triumphant bourgeoisie. Its author loved liberty, he struggled for it. He wrote the Third symphony for Napoleon, but when his idol trampled upon freedom, he stated that it was no longer for him, but for liberty.

The Ninth Symphony has one characteristic, a slight rumbling sound which rises into a crescendo until bursting into a musical explosion. In the human voice, the voices of the choir, is the earth that is converted into music. Above the background of the choir, four individuals sing; the masses generate those voices that sing higher, but there is one voice that reaches even higher still. Never before was anyone able to sing it. Never before was this pitch reached, but in this century, after many efforts, what was nearly impossible to attain was finally achieved. There is nothing that man cannot accomplish!

They were the flags of the bourgeoisie in their highest epoch, which has passed away. Now comes the new humanity, the humanity of joy, the proletariat, the only blaze that will never be extinguished! We are one of its sparks. We are a small part of this immense bonfire, it is our turn to set them on fire. The sparks are fanned by storm winds. Let everyone fulfill their journey and allow the proletariat to carry out its historical tasks. The working class will define its path itself, nothing will prevail against it, it will destroy all obstacles and a world full of light will inevitably come. Who will be able to contain us? What are we? Sparks! What can we fear? Can muffles silence the fury of the cannons? Can a spark arise against the bonfire? Can the old foam survive in the storm? Much scum will rot in the stagnant sea.

How can silence calm the thunder? The sparks cannot contain the flames, the upheavals are born in the vortex of fire and nothing can detain them. The hammer is brandished by the working classes, the anvil is the struggle; everyone will fulfill their tasks. It is foolish to try to destroy the matter.

Silence can occur to people but not for the class. The class gives birth to the Party and the Party rises and begins to walk, it is the child of the revolution. The Party can never be crushed or destroyed. The Party will inevitably triumph. This Party forged itself, Mariategui is its founder. It is done. How can history be repeated? The Reconstitution came and the deed was done, it cannot be turned back. Our eyes turn towards other dawns, other things arise, why look back? A fact is a fact, it cannot be redone. Are we going to repeal time, our acts that are sealed in matter? Our struggle should be taken towards other paths since we are already concluding our summit.

There is an old song:

"Who is that who has her sights like the sunrises, beautiful as the moon, illuminating as the sun, imposing like the armies of waving flags?"

Why look backwards when the decision has already been taken; we need to look forward to see the dawn and what arises out of the fire of the revolution. We will carry out the armed struggle and that is what we must do. We repeat: that is what we must do, and we must do it! It will be carried out because it is necessary and nothing can detain us, absolutely nothing can detain us. How can the grain detain the wheels of the mill? It would be converted into dust.

Another chapter in history should begin, our vision should be turned towards it. We must begin to climb slopes of another mountain in order to scale more brilliant summits, this is how it shall be. Far from me, away from all pessimism, let us develop optimism in its place. If we have some pessimism it is the result of the injustice of this world.

Behind everything I say is our flag. A flag that is the source of hope, a red flag unfurled to the wind. For a long time some wanted to strike our political line on two flanks but we stated that we would pass through the middle. We accomplished this with our heads held high, beating drums and our vision dreaming of a distant future. The deeds go on hammering you and your mind opens, generating the idea. We are not abandoning banners like some foolish person would think because our hands were not made for dropping the flag but for

unfurling it.

For a long time our flag has fluttered over the summit. We need to leap into the unknown but not for self-destruction. We have commenced the leap, the flag is firmly planted in the highest summit. A fog interposes but our armed hands will rise up with the masses.

The flag has already been placed on another higher summit, once again it has been unfurled, the drums begin to beat and the wind is agitated. The red flag is a beautiful cry, it calls all of us. We shall heed the message. The red flag flutters much higher and towards a new summit, there is where we must go and when we arrive we must raise the flag to an even higher peak; we can do no more. The revolution cannot be detained, that is a law, our destiny. Why our silence? They are fragile drops, particles, muffled voices in opposition and somber sparks that want to negate the bonfire. Why are the sparks going to reveal themselves against the bonfire? Because some have little faith, hope and charity while our spirits should be great. We have taken three theological virtues in order to interpret them. Paul stated: man of faith, hope, and charity. One is worth nothing, the masses are worth everything. If we desire to be part of something it should be part of the masses. What's the use of talking about individual glories? Our love, faith and hopes are collective and achievable, all three in one flag.

We had one small storm butt and Marxism swept it away. There are eyes that don't see, deaf ears and closed hearts, that you yourselves close. What do you want to preserve? Silence? Aging scum? Here there is only one thing to uphold, the flag of the Party that has been placed on another summit. If we are part of the Left, we have to be consumed with passion because that fervor will bring about the destruction of the forces so much talked about. The bonfire is ablaze. We should burn our old idols, burn everything we adored and extol what we degraded. What else can we do? Do we want to become arrogant bubbles, telling the cosmos "I will develop?" Imagine its roar of laughter!

They say that this part of the cosmos structured itself as Earth over 15 billion years, billions of years in order to develop Communism. How long does one man last, much less the simple twinkling of a dream? We are nothing more than a pale shadow which pretends to rise up against all this process of matter. We will be its dream at its conclusion. Arrogant bubbles, is this what we want to be? An infinitesimal part that wants to rise up against 15 billion years. What arrogance, what rot! Old, aging seas, rotten by time, feudal, bourgeois

and imperialist periods, sewage in decomposition. What else is it? Ridiculous stench. Let us be materialists! Communists! Let us demonstrate it, it is necessary and no one can oppose necessity.

Marx understood the new road to traverse; Lenin assumed responsibility for starting the bonfire. Mao is Mao because he soared like no other, he had a historical vision, he foresaw the centuries, he showed us thousands of years in brief pages and he completed his mission and role. He stated: I have made the revolution by overthrowing Chiang Kai-shek and creating the Great Cultural Revolution, I have served nothing else and our advancement is small in comparison to where it should be. I wanted to reach a more definitive summit but I failed. He tells Chiang Ching: you can do it, if you fail you will be hurled off the heights, and if you fall then the guerrilla war must begin.

As Communists in formation, what path do we want to follow? Who are we? We are nothing except Communists.

It is necessary to define the problem today. We face the same problems faced by the Right Opportunist Line, but we are the Left. Here the right is subsidiary, our problem is not with them, if they want to fulfill their role, let them adopt self-criticism. The problem is with us, the left, because it is the Party, the salt of the earth, the living tree; the others are parasites. The Left should burn the futile, it should wash itself, cleanse itself, remaining clean. It should clean its stable and shed the old crust in a frank, truthful and honest way. Each of us responds to what happens to the other, we are children of the same cause. It is easy for us because we are the Left. Let everyone demonstrate his/her condition as a Communist. We made the Party and that is what we are. The masses are ready, they are awaiting us. They want light not shadows, swords not butter, fire not ice. The Left should fulfill its role. The problem is simple, even for those with a hard spirit. The problem is to open your hearts with resolution, it is easy to do. The revolution demands it. Enough of the sewage of individualism.

In this new epoch we must wash our souls and wash them well. Think of the revolution and the Party which implies the people and the class, necessity demands it. Let us go to the root of our problems but without involving our egos. Let us go to the root of our positions in order to nail our spirits definitively to the flag of the Party.

Some see only themselves, they live in a house of mirrors; you are Communists, raise your fists, strike out and once again the blood will

boil to tear down the wall. That is what must be done.

The problem is having two flags in the soul, one black and the other red. We are leftists, let us make a holocaust with the black flag, it is easy for everyone to do so. If not the rest will do it.

The Red Flag will prevail, the black flag will be uprooted. Let everyone demonstrate his or her condition as Communist. The flag flutters on a higher summit, many already recognize this, other winds are blowing in our country and everyone analyzes their problems within their line and muddies their worn flags. Something helps us: our Flag is much higher. How can we not fulfill our role! I hope we can complete it. I hope.

(IX PLENARY SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, June 7, 1979)

CONCERNING THREE CHAPTERS OF OUR HISTORY

We have been saying for a few days that we wanted to talk on certain issues. There are moments when men resort to talking in symbols, metaphors or in less intellectual forms. But we would prefer that our group of Communists speak for us in a direct and broad manner.

We want to briefly talk about how the history of today will be seen decades from now. We place ourselves in a plan of revolutionary imagination and look backwards from the future, this is useful and also serves to fortify the spirit. We have clear minds, resolute wills and inextinguishable passions, a revolutionary imagination will increase them even more. Let us think about it and allow our imagination to speak to us from the future. Let us place ourselves decades ahead in the future, in the second part of the coming century.

We are in the final part of the XX Century, very soon we will see the years going by and they will pass even faster as we advance towards the transformation of our society in the third millennium of humanity. The end of the 1990's means the end of one millennium and the beginning of another in which Communism will be definitively stamped on history and humanity will take a leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of liberty.

We should think of the second half of the next Century. History will be written by us and those who will follow are us, the future Communists, because we are an inexhaustible force. When children begin to read and men begin to remember, they will have a history to read and it will recount:

I. How Darkness Prevailed.

In this society, there was a time in which darkness prevailed. It does not imply that everything was dark, but it means that darkness prevailed. In our country, in our America, there is an old and long tradition and a slow history which should be known. We need to search for the profound roots of who we are, not because we are nationalists, but because we have historical particularities and nobody can make revolution if they do not have historical roots. We are an old society.

Some twenty thousand years ago, man arrived in these lands in a very primitive state; ten thousand years passed. In about four to six thousand years they began to develop agriculture and basic shelter to protect themselves from extreme weather conditions and they also started sewing covers to protect their bodies. Two thousand years later we already had very productive agriculture and became a great agrarian system. The community develops and the Ayllu starts to be forged: a specific agrarian communal expression of our people. Thereafter, a surplus was generated along with the creation of class differences, property and the State.

Approximately 700 hundred years ago the State began to develop and expand, and as the State grew, exploitation came into existence generating oppression. Thus, the people were divided between the oppressors and the oppressed. Also, these lands were divided into small regions, big confederations and kingdoms: Huari is an example. Time passed and the Incan empire was formed. Then came Inca Pachacutec who brought more imperial order and reorganized the State, making it stronger. This shows that in ancient Peru there were nations that exploited others. The existence of classes was evident, there were the exploited and exploiters. However, such a petrified kingdom did not last long. Strange men came and destroyed the existing agrarian order. But it is not true that the people of the Americas fell on their knees. People resisted and defended the system of exploitation that they had created, but it was a rotten system based on exploitation, and it collapsed when confronted with a superior order.

Thus, in our country the system collapsed and a long and vicious process of feudal exploitation began. Our people were taken to the mines, their blood was transformed into gold and silver for Europe. We view the development of European capitalism as the product of

the flesh and blood of our ancestors.

Centuries passed and a system of mestizaje develops. There were rebellions, especially the mobilization and uprisings of the peasants in the XVIII Century, which rocked the system to its foundations. The worldwide actions of capitalism prosper along with the spirit of emancipation of the masses; and since classes are not eliminated and the problems of land and sovereignty are unresolved, these two old problems continue to persist.

The XIX Century involved the transformation of the feudal order to a semi-feudal order, and from a colonial order to a semi-colonial one. We changed masters from one group of Europeans to another, from Spanish hands into English ones. The new exploiters were enthroned and they were more cruel and sinister than the previous ones, but the people always rose up to fight without truce in an arduous class struggle although with periods of greater upsurges in which the system was shaken up.

In the latter part of the last Century a new imperialist order surged, the United States of America. It arrived early in these lands, and in the 1920's its domination was consolidated. Hence, at that stage of our history, darkness prevailed in our lands. At the same time, a new class emerged, the proletariat, and a new chapter begins.

II. How the Light Emerged and the Steel Was Forged.

The working class emerged, a new class was born. It was the working class and the international proletariat that was also expressed as the proletariat in our country. That is who we are. The proletariat begins to illuminate the darkness, it is the class that is represented here. This light was transformed into steel.

From 1885 to 1919 there were nearly 30 years of intense class struggle in which the Peruvian proletariat begins to develop and their presence showed a definitive change in our country. The class struggle, international actions, and the struggles of the proletariat and peasants allowed the forging of Marxism and Još Carlos Mariıtegui, who fought like few others in these lands of the Americas. Our people are not frivolous, as some ignorant people say, we have produced many great people. Mariıtegui is one of the few men in these lands who applied Marxism-Leninism to the special conditions and our people begin to find a new untraveled road. A new and more pure light emerges, a shining light. That light we carry in our hearts and souls. That light was founded with the land and that soil became steel. From light, soil, and steel springs the founding of the Party in 1928. The steel was forged, that is what we are. That is the problem of how the light emerged and the steel forged.

In 1928 we were founded and we have never fallen into the criterion of forming another Party. We have come to an agreement that here the class and mass struggle gave birth to a Još Carlos Mariıtegui who founded the Party, he gave us light and steel and led us on our own way. Since then there has been light and steel in our country. No matter what they say we can never go back.

It is impossible to turn back while there are still classes. That light will not go out while there are still classes; the steel will not melt while there are still classes. But we had a possibility which came apart when the life of our founder was cut short. Although it was negated, distorted and concealed, the unaccomplished task of Mariategui remained as our Program and Plan, the class embodied it, it continued beating in the class, the combative people and the Communists. We cannot deny that the actions of the class and Communists who fought tirelessly has allowed us to reach this stage.

Time passed. The Second World War came, the most extensive one in

history, which marked us and created a more profound bureaucratic capitalist system and a more intense class struggle. The working class kept advancing but never in peace, always in the midst of torments and storms; it was forged with more light, more steel, more strength and invincibility.

Our people were illuminated by a more intense light, Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought. We were at first dazzled by the eruption of this unending light, light and nothing else; but little by little our retinas began to comprehend this light, we saw our country, Mariıtegui and our reality and we found our perspective: the Reconstitution of the Party. Thus, the chapter on how the light emerged and the steel was forged begins to end.

III. How the Walls Collapsed and the Dawn Unfolded.

Today begins a new chapter: how the walls collapse and a new dawn unfolds. It will be said that our Party, forged with the strongest light and purest steel had a decisive moment. This moment generates the Plan of National Construction, and the Party which was a piece of the flag unfurled to the wind, spreads out in order to illuminate our country. The Communists from all parts of the country were called and a national system was set in motion. Communists rose up and the land reverberated. With the rumbling of the land, the Communists advanced. For this purpose, a landmark conference was held, political bases were established and a course to follow was set.

A flag was planted, a very high flag for a new epoch and with a new objective: Initiate the Armed Struggle. Men struggled hard and the few Communists that existed were gathered from various points and in the end they committed themselves by making a decision: to forge with deeds the First Company of the First Division of the People's Army. In this manner, they began to clear out the darkness in a definitive form. The walls shook and were breached and with clenched fists, the dawn broke out. The key was the First National Conference, a milestone marking the beginning of a new chapter. The spirits were joyful and our eyes glistened with light. One chapter will say: we carried a heavy burden, we gave our quota, and in difficult moments we buried our dead, we dried our tears, but continued fighting. This is how it happened, and the People's Republic was proclaimed, a national holiday. Once again the work was recovered bringing joy among us. The countryside became more productive and freedom began to palpitate in our people, with the red banner guiding us forever. Our America will shine. It is already a free world which has extended itself to other parts of the Earth. Today old empires sink. They are dirty waters and poisoned ashes which are being swept away. Work is redeemed and the fields flourish in the Red Republic.

They will ask, what are we going to do today? Today we will advance, conspiring so that the shadows will not return and the working class never loses power. This is what history will say. We head towards the inevitable arrival of Communism in order to reach full and absolute light. The blood of our fallen comrades cries out: "light! light! We will reach Communism!" That will be written someday, it will be history.

Today we have made a historical decision. We have expressed with

our clenched fist held high to give our lives. Rising to our feet with our fists in the air we have offered our lives. In this moment the crumbling of the walls and the breaking of the new dawn begins.

As you have all pledged, I too pledge: before the banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought, before the effigy of our founder, before the line of our Party and the unconquered banners of our Party: I too am committed to fight and struggle to topple the walls of the old order, I too am a combatant of the First Company of the First Division of the People's Army. I only have one aspiration, like all of you: to serve my people, base myself in the masses who are our support and to struggle for proletarian internationalism. In the International Communist Movement we have only one flag: Marx unfurled it, then Lenin and Mao raised it higher; it is the light that will never be extinguished. We have stood up, and I will fulfill what I must. What matters to me is to complete my journey well. We Communists expect nothing, only to serve Communism. My decision is the same as yours. I too will be a simple combatant of the First Company, I will do what must be done, I will do what is right, expecting nothing except to serve the cause of Communism. This is also my pledge: my decision is yours your decision is mine, because we are united. The toppling of the walls and the unfolding of a new dawn begins.

(From the General National Conference, December 3, 1979)

> "History has shown us that a just military and political line does not emerge nor develop in a spontaneous and gentle form, but in the struggle against the opportunism of the 'Left' on the one hand, and against the opportunism of the 'Right' on the other. Without combating and transforming these pernicious deviations that undermine the revolution and the revolutionary war, it will be impossible to elaborate a just line and achieve victory in the revolutionary war."
>
> MAO TSE-TUNG.

WE BEGIN TO TOPPLE THE WALLS AND UNFOLD A NEW DAWN

I. The Masses Clamor to Organize the Rebellion.

Since ancient times, the masses have been subjected to exploitation and oppression. They have always rebelled, it is a long and inexhaustible history. The class struggle is constant. It cannot be suppressed. For ages, since they began struggling, the masses have clamored to organize the rebellion, to be armed, to rise up, to be led. It has always been this way and will continue to be. Even afterwards, in the new world, there will be struggle but in different forms.

Misery exists together with fabulous riches. Even the utopians knew that both are linked: enormous wealth tied to condemnable and flagrant poverty. It is like this because exploitation exists. Exploitation is tied to oppression and this too exists, killing the masses, consuming them with hunger, shackling and garrotting them. But the masses are not sheep. They are people grouped into classes who organize themselves, develop their parties and the latter its leaders.

The leadership should listen to the most minor murmur of the masses, listen to their movement, try to scan the future from a distance and stand firmly on the ground in order to record the faintest tremor of the masses. A leader that does not do this is not a leader.

We are Communists, Marx taught us that as revolutionaries we have the professional obligation to organize misery in order to topple the old order. Our obligation is to carry it out scientifically in accordance with the laws of class struggle and with awareness of the goal towards which the class and people march. That is our obligation, we have come here in order to organize the clamor of the masses, to organize and arm them. In this way the disorganized power of the masses expresses its strength, its invincible power, and the masses become the creators of new orders, thereby undermining and boisterously toppling the strongest walls.

We can not call ourselves Communists if we do not act in such a

manner. There can be no leaders who are deaf to the clamor of the masses, blind to their strength, harsh or indifferent. This is unacceptable. Nevertheless, what have we seen? Blind, harsh, indifferent and deaf leaders; are they losing their status as Communists? The souls of Communists should tremble like the souls of the masses tremble, should become happy with what brings them joy, be hurt by what hurts them, become impassioned by what impassions them, uplifted by what uplifts the masses. If not, the militant's character becomes a mere formality, an insignia, a rubber stamp, a kind of etiquette.

There can be no Communists, much less leaders, that dare to lose confidence in the masses; that is to lose confidence in the only force of history. The "reasons" could be very elaborate ones but they would be hollow, an unacceptable emptiness. The Party cannot continue to allow those militants, and the leaders who deny the role of the masses. We cannot permit that. While the bourgeoisie sees the waves of strikes and the reawakening of the peasants, the Communists deny what their eyes see, and what their hands make. It makes no sense and cannot be permitted for the Communist to deny the masses.

More and more we must be advisors, we should see things in perspective, have sensitive ears to hear what the masses have to say, a penetrating insight, a sharp and piercing talent to discover the transformation of the masses. Without this, we cannot accomplish our mission. Should we follow the road of the old opportunism? Do we have the callous hearts of reaction? From those comrades who act that way what can we expect tomorrow? They are dark and sinister opportunists who traffick with the masses. Never again shall we allow such a thing to occur, much less with our leaders.

There is a powerful reality in this country of ours, it is the masses. They have a magnificent history that is often ignored; but each time the masses speak up the land trembles, and each time the peasant masses rise-up the foundations of the old system rocks, Reactionaries worry in a thousand ways when they rebel but only with blood and fire have they placated the masses. Reaction is helped by its cunning opportunists who misdirect and obstruct the struggle; but they can only appease the masses, never contain them.

Engels taught us that there are two forces in the world, the armed force of reaction and the disorganized masses. If we organize the powerful force of the masses, their potential develops into actions, what was a possibility becomes a reality. What is a law and a necessity becomes forceful deeds which sweep away all that is

believed to be firm. Nothing is permanent. Everything is a house of cards, if it is not sustained by the masses. And when the masses speak up everything shudders, the order begins to tremble, the high summits stoop and the stars change their course, because the masses are capable of anything.

If this conviction begins to falter within us, the Communist spirit commences to fall apart. We must be vigilant and what we have lived through in this Plenary Session should be a warning to us: it must never happen again. If a Party has leaders who are deaf to the masses, its days are numbered! If it occurs, our duty is to crush and destroy such a bureaucratic machine since it is not a Party any longer, but a monster that must be dismantled. What did Chairman Mao tell us on this matter? He said, we atheists have only one divinity, the masses; we invoke those Gods in order for them to hear us so when that happens exploitation will be eliminated. We must forge our militants with this view today more than ever, and even more so tomorrow.

The masses clamor to organize the rebellion. Therefore, the Party, its leaders, cadres and militants have an urgent obligation and destiny: to organize the disorganized force of the masses and this will only be accomplished with arms in hands. The masses must be armed gradually, part by part, until the arming of the entire people and when this comes about there will be no more exploitation on Earth.

II. Let the Actions Speak.

The II Plenary Session of the Central Committee has already a timbre of glory, a timbre that characterized it with the decision to develop the militarization of the Party through actions.

The Communists have paid dearly through their violent struggle to establish a new flag: initiate the armed struggle. We are all witnesses to the tough ideological struggle to conclude the development of our line: Initiate the Armed Struggle (ILA).

We have taken firm and decisive steps in as much as we are sure of what we want and where we go. Let us remember Lenin: we will triumph because we know what we want.

It is good to pause for a few minutes and ask ourselves. How have we arrived at this great determination to develop the militarization of the Party through actions? It has been in the midst of an intense struggle, perhaps it has not been as strident as others, but it is deeper, more turbulent and it has a very wide perspective.

Two positions have been in clear contention. Those of us who since the VI Plenum have inculcated the idea of converting words into actions, today convert the verb into armed actions. That is a decisive materialization and transcendental development. What we have agreed upon is to develop military actions, which ring in our minds, palpitate in our hearts, clamor in our heads and agitates our wills when we speak about action.

Some of us have struggled for agreement on passing over to the language of military actions and others have obstinately opposed this with sophisticated maneuvers and even slyness. But this decision has been imposed on us and determined because our country demands determination, because our people demand actions. Our people clamor and we respond to that cry, to their demand, we feel what they feel and want what they want, they want their hands to speak the precise and convincing language of armed deeds. Yes! Developing actions are always the deeds of the masses, of the people: when the trench is dug it is the action that speaks, when the anvil is forged it is the action that speaks, when men investigate they derive laws, it is the action that speaks and when armed hands are raised it is the people who fight. First comes the deed and then the idea, and that idea will carry you to higher levels of action each time. We are sure and just reflections of our reality. We have preached extensively, called to

arms for the armed struggle. Our voices have not fallen in the desert, the seed fell in a good furrow and has begun to sprout. The voices we launch are very powerful and with growing echoes that will thunder throughout our land. Those who we called upon to stand up, to rise up in arms, to sow with their wills, respond: we are here ready, lead us, organize us, let us act together! And each day we will continue to progress and do more. Either we fulfill our promises or we will become the laughing stock and unfaithful traitors. And surely we are not these.

If we have planted, preached and organized and all this bears fruit, then our obligation is to lead, because the march has begun. Let the armed actions confirm our words. May our blood be joined with the blood of those who must shed it, we don't have the right to let that blood shiver alone, let its frigidity mix with the warmth of our own, or else we are not what we are.

In an almost insensible form we became Communists. It is like a long trail, like walking. Moving with one foot demands you step with the other, and if you get tired, it is not to straggle but to take a smooth and calm rest, and then continue climbing. Tomorrow matter will take us in with its belligerent peace, there we can rest definitively.

That is why we have been formed as Communists, for this reason Marx, Lenin and Mao came forward to teach the rest, to teach them to fulfill their responsibilities, in order to assemble others, organize them, and raise them up; for this reason the class generated us.

What have we seen here? Some comrades and leaders have opposed the Party's most decisive step of its history "to initiate the armed struggle." On what grounds? Because of the supposed "lack of conditions?" And in their trembling voices who speaks? It was the black gullet of oppression and exploitation, the black gullets filled with bile and blood. Don't forget, that reaction needs to shed torrents of blood in order to pacify and subdue the people, it is their dream of fire and steel, but that sinister dream is the most obvious proof that it is in decomposition.

And when comrades and leaders want to steal our souls and minds, should we permit it? No. Their "arguments" went up in smoke, their threadbare "considerations" and their paper "steadfastness" are rotting in the sun.

Never again in our Party should we have to listen to those sinister voices among Communists and even less so among leaders. And all

those daring to stand up, crush and destroy them like they deserve. Today this is much more urgent, this is less permissible now because it is undermining and destroying the hopes of the masses, the labor of five years, and precisely when the masses begin to express themselves concretely in reality. In these times these pacifists are shameful.

Many lessons are obtained for all of us from these meetings, for some there should be deafening warnings and forceful calls to our attention. Never again. We have a clear and definite orientation: let actions speak. To Develop the Militarization of the Party through actions. To convert this into reality is an urgent task. It is a call to order, the class, history and the people demand it. We cannot work in any other way. It is a necessity. What we have accomplished in the past has brought us here. The road is defined and the actions are established: let us carry them out. We have no other right. This is the order of the day: let actions speak.

III. We Begin the Toppling of the Walls.

We have already agreed to the Development of the Militarization of the Party through actions. What shall we do next? We should commence to topple the walls. Now is the time, at once.

There are those who have opposed, resisted, and even someone who fled in cowardice, deserting for a second time, and who has been defended. Will it be useful for our Party to defend cowardice and betrayal? Think of those who have committed such acts. Remember "Prometheus", the Oceanids and Hermes: we ask for everything except cowardice and betrayal. Like 2,500 years ago, Communists in the XX Century in a Communist Party that strives for the launching of armed struggle, debating its development through armed actions, we heard leaders who praised, supported, nourished, and protected betrayal. Will this political behavior be of any use to us? No. Let us root out the poisonous weeds. It is pure poison, a cancer which corrodes and we must not permit this. It is a sinister and decaying pus that we must never allow within our ranks, much less now. Let us remove these sinister, harmful vipers. We can permit neither cowardice nor betrayal; they are asps. It is impossible to tolerate this. It manifests itself within us and in our leaders. This is unacceptable, condemnable and marked for fire. We must begin to root out that poison. We must forge ourselves in another temperament and with another spirit. Let us root out and burn the leeches, otherwise the poison will be general. If we don't destroy it, the vigor of the Party's healthy body will dissipate.

It is urgent and pressing to finish with this. We must not leave a trace, a purge should serve this purpose, clarified with facts. Those who have exhibited that behavior should be the first ones to leave. It will be a sign of our advancement. In order to topple the walls, we should sweep away the debris and eliminate poisons. In order to begin the toppling of the walls, we need to fortify ourselves and this fortification is to sweep away the rot of rightism in general. Let us take this challenge very seriously so that we can accomplish our tasks with the highest vigilance. We must preserve the Left, and those with difficulties will advance. That will be the sign of our actions, our commitment.

We will go to our bases. We will transmit to them our message to raise actions. Having unleashed the struggle against a beheaded Right is a great and magnificent step forward. We along with those with problems will exemplify our determination and assurance as part of

the Left and be ever vigilant. It is essential to do this in order to advance, and fortify ourselves and become powerful.

There is no need to call those with problems powerless. Power will come from actions. Action is the toppling of the walls. Let us carry out military actions. We will be tempered by them. From the novices we are we will become experienced combatants.

Thus, by applying the development of the militarization of the Party through actions, the walls will be profoundly undermined and their toppling will begin. The keys to this are the armed groups, the armed groups without arms. May your unarmed hands snatch away the arms of those who own them with creativity, then utilize them shrewdly and with clear ideas.

Let us expand the groups, let us act in boycotts, harvests, land seizures, sabotage, terrorism and principally with guerilla actions. This is our desire and destiny. We have all pledged: let the violence flourish as elaborated in the initiation of the armed struggle (ILA), we will carry it forward with armed groups, beginning with unarmed groups, and from those ardent seeds will sprout forth ardent sunflowers. We have a sun that will illuminate us, Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought, we have a fertile land that will fortify us: the increase of the class struggle of the masses.

What do we lack? The sprouting and flourishing of armed groups without arms! From those humble seeds and blossoms, monuments of the class capable of toppling the walls will grow. That's the way the dawn will appear in our country.

The key to our success: the groups; of vital importance: our decision; the base: the masses.

May the armed groups without arms flourish! That is the order of the day.

IV. Unfurl Optimism and Overflow with Enthusiasm.

We are Communists of a distinct temperament and special material, we are Communists ready for everything and we know what needs to be fought. We have already fought it and will fight it again tomorrow.

What will be confronted tomorrow will be the child of the present, it will be harder but by then we will be tempered by the past and as we forge ourselves today. We will temper our souls in the revolution, this is the only flame capable of forging us.

We need a great deal of optimism and there is a reason for it. We are the makers of tomorrow, we are guides, the garrison of the invincible triumph of the class. This is why we are optimists.

We are enthusiastic by nature. We are nurtured by the ideology of our class: Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought. We live the life of the class. We participate in its heroic deeds. The blood of our people flow and burns within us.

We are like a powerful and palpitating blood. Let us take the unbendable iron and steel, the class, and mix it together with the unwithering light of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought. Enthusiasm means to participate in the force of the Gods, therefore, we are full of enthusiasm. We participate in the divinities of the real world: The masses, the class, Marxism and the revolution. That is why we have inexhaustible enthusiasm. That is why we have strength, optimism, and a vigorous spirit overflowing with enthusiasm.

And what have we seen here? Militants and leaders without optimism. Dead spirits and deciduous wills with fleeting passions. This is unacceptable. We know well their roots: Their support is not Marxism, the class, nor the masses, rather it is the corrosive individualism, the reactionary rot that makes them fearful, the sewage mold of the old order, the expression of the dying world, the lethal swamp gasses of reaction. This is why their spirits are broken, their hearts tremble, their thoughts forsake them, their nerves are destroyed, and their actions disturbed.

This has to be uprooted, it can not nest among us. It is unacceptable, inadmissible, let us burn it and blast it. This cannot be allowed in the Party, much less prevail. What have we seen in this moment? Leaders

with these positions and attitudes. It is despicable. Never again should this happen. And precisely today, when we need to unfurl optimism and enthusiasm, now? That is unacceptable. It is corrosion, pure gangrene, and it should never have taken place, today it is much more unacceptable.

If the comrades don't uproot these weaknesses what type of cadres are they going to form? What kind of militants are they going to form? Apply the following: a company always reflects its leadership. To lead a company without optimism results in a company without optimism. A pusillanimous leadership makes a pusillanimous company. It will be defeated and broken before it engages in battle.

We need to unfurl optimism and overflow enthusiasm. Our powerful ideology, incisive line and Communist will must be manifested above all in the leaders.

The order of the day is: Unfurl optimism and overflow enthusiasm! May it be shared with others, with our cadres and bases not present in this meeting. May this enthusiasm manifest itself in action and motivate us in order to eliminate the crust that impedes our advance and serve to others as an example to uproot these weaknesses. May the optimism shine, and manifest in us a powerful enthusiasm. It is practical and necessary in as much as we carry it out.

No one can deny that this is a struggle between positions. We have recorded right here and the summary will be the expression of what we have seen. But in the first place, what was important in our Party? What is important now? What will be important tomorrow? It is the Left. Who cries about its defeat? The Right. They should understand that its cry is useless. They must burn their old idols, burn the old and decrepit, and place their spirits up to the these times.

The spirit of the times is owned by the Left. It is consistent with the needs of our country, our people clamor for revolution. We cannot fail. If our blood and lives are claimed, our response is: we carry our lives in our hands to give them up, we put them at the service of the greatest and most just cause.

Our death for the good cause should be the seal of our revolutionary action. The constant and firm actions for our cause will be the hallmark of our lives as Communist combatants. This is what we have understood the best. That is why the positive weighs so much more in us.

We have advanced, but some think that their weaknesses have been overcome. That is a loss of vigilance, there could be a thousand "reasons", but it is only sewage. Elevate your vigilance and sweep away the errors with determination, destroy the old and decrepit through armed actions which will be the real and effective seal.

Perhaps some people think that we should only speak about the positive, but there exists light and shadow, a contradiction. We should summarize and learn lessons. This meeting is a great lesson. We will not forget it. We have an obligation to preserve the Left so that the Party can meet its objective. With the actions we are undertaking and with this excellent meeting, we begin to topple the walls and unfurl a new dawn.

We can summarize this in four voices, in order:

1. The masses clamor to organize the rebellion.

2. Let the actions speak.

3. We begin the toppling of the walls.

4. Unfurl optimism and display enthusiasm.

This Central Committee is strong and will become more stronger if we all carry out our responsibilities, mainly the "Development of the Militarization of the Party through actions."

Let the comrades speak and express their optimism and enthusiasm. It will be a sign of their determination. Do not let my words become a pretext to some comrades for losing optimism and a retreating of enthusiasm. I believe we have reached the moment of overcoming the old defects of 50 years.

Another world is opening up for us. We have begun to define it ourselves, this meeting is one of definition. Let every thought, word, action, feeling, and will of ours affirms this. It is feasible, indispensable and necessary. We can and must do it. And we will, because we know what we want.

This meeting is very good, it has united and bonded us even more. We have unanimously agreed to uphold the military line and its realization: "Develop the Militarization of the Party through actions." From now on, let everything express our taught willingness to carry out what we have agreed upon.

[From the II Plenary Session of the Central Committee, March 28, 1980]

"In the history of the world there have been no wars that began and ended with a continuous victorious offensive. If there were, they were an exception. That is true even in common wars. But when the fate of a class is at stake, when the alternative is capitalism or socialism, is there a basis or logic to suppose that a nation which confronts this problem for the first time can immediately discover the correct method, free of errors? What reasons are there to suppose this? None! Experience teach us the contrary. None of the problems we faced could be resolved at once, but only after repeated attempts. To suffer a defeat, commence anew, redoing everything. To discover the method for the approximate solution--a definitive solution or at least a satisfactory one--that is how we have been working and should continue to do so. Given the challenges that are presented to us, if there were no unanimity in our ranks, it would be a sad indicator of a weak and very dangerous spirit that had penetrated the Party. On the contrary, if we do not fear speaking the truth, no matter how hard and bitter it is, we will learn. And it is entirely certain that we will learn to overcome each and every difficulty."

LENIN

1979 - Develop the growing people's protest!

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DEVELOP THE GROWING PEOPLE'S PROTEST!

"Whether it is correct or not, ideological and political line decides everything. If the Party's line is correct, we have everything: if we don't have fighters, we will have them; if we don't have weapons, we will get them; and if we don't have Power, we will conquer it. If the line is incorrect, we will lose all we have obtained." MAO TSE-TUNG

Politics, which is the class struggle for power, has entered into our country in a moment of great importance. Counterrevolution, the bureaucratic road, led by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie as a faction of the big bourgeoisie, is developing the third restructuring of the State in this century. Ever since it approved the new Constitution, it aims at celebrating general elections in May of 1980. On the other hand, the revolution, the democratic road, whose axis is the proletariat, strengthens the growing popular protest and orients itself to its development in function of initiating the armed struggle. The central point on the current political question is the existence or nonexistence of a revolutionary situation.

The definition of this problem is of vital transcendence for the people and is the object of persistently hard and fundamental debate. To us in the light of Marxism, our country is going through a developing revolutionary situation, and consequently, the strategy and tactics to follow must depart from this reality. Furthermore, all Peruvian politics at the present time, the struggle between revolution and counterrevolution, cannot be treated outside the frame of analyzing this situation.

Today in Peru, the problem of the revolutionary situation is not understood, and as a result the monumental political mistakes made on the people's side, follows. From the understanding of the existence of a developing revolutionary situation in the country, derives the correctness or incorrectness of the ideological and political line of the proletariat, its application and perspective. These problems cannot be judged with certainty, but in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, specifically by the application of Mao Tse-tung Thought to the backward countries, that is, semi feudal and semi colonial countries, and from the analysis of the class struggle in our society in the present situation. Only in this way, is it possible to understand the class struggle today, manage its laws and develop the road of the people from the position of the proletariat.

1. WE LIVE IN A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION IN DEVELOPMENT

Peruvian society lives in a revolutionary situation in development that is the fundamental question and the only correct point of departure for the politics of the proletariat. We can arrive at the understanding of this reality if we base ourselves on the conception of the proletariat, from the study and application of the theses of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought on the "revolutionary situation," theses which are simple and clear and which, however, are crudely twisted from the position of right opportunism, a position expressed mainly in the people's camp by "revolutionarism."

For that reason, today more than ever, if we want to serve the proletariat and the revolution, we must sustain ourselves firmly in Marxism and apply it correctly and decisively, without electoral vacillations which muddle the problem, and cause confusion, especially on the tactic the proletariat must follow facing the third restructuring of the State and elections, particularly facing future elections. These are the errors whose principal consequence is to focus in the plan of reaction, and not in the development of the revolution.

THE NATIONAL-DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION IN THE COUNTRY

When he founded the Communist Party, Mariátegui established that in Peru, the revolution would have two stages: democratic and socialist; the first one is the prerequisite and condition for the second, and can only be led by the proletariat through its Party, the Communist Party. It is in the first stage of the revolution that President Mao Tse-tung defined as the new democratic revolution, that is, anti-imperialist and anti-feudal, since it has to scrub away the feudalism that subsists and break off the imperialist domain. As history has proven to society, this can only be accomplished by the armed struggle, that is the People's War, following the path of surrounding the cities from the countryside. This is a fundamental truth from which all proletarian politics must be based.

The road of the armed struggle starts from the countryside to the cities, is supported mainly by the peasantry, who rise up in arms, under the leadership of the Communist Party, generates the people's armed forces as the principal form of organization. It is the form in which revolutionary violence is synthesized in semi-feudal and semi-

colonial countries. This is a revolutionary violence which is precisely the very essence of Marxism. So being a Marxist, applying in theory and in practice the conception of the proletariat, in countries like ours, demands to subordinate ourselves to the armed struggle and, therefore, center the activity in starting it, if it has not started, and developing it if it has already started.

This matter is clear and simple and there is no way to twist it if we sustain ourselves in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, and it is also clear if we truly serve the proletariat, the people and the revolution in deeds, and not merely in empty words. All the above are elemental truths of the international experience and were thoroughly debated in our country in the decade of the 1960s, a time when Peruvian Communists, reaffirmed and upheld the great theses of Mariátegui and adhered themselves to the great development which Mao Tse-tung Thought meant for Marxism-Leninism, and concluded that in the country the revolution is democratic and can only be fulfilled by armed struggle and not by elections, following the road from the countryside to the city and taking as its main force the peasantry, especially the poor peasantry. This is a great experience of our people, of our class and of Communism in Peru. It is an experience which nobody who upholds Marxism can forget to take into account the current conditions of development.

We the Communists in the country, and all the revolutionaries must ask ourselves a simple question: why is it that the working class has not yet conquered Power in our country? The answer is concise: It is because up to now, an armed struggle has not been developed nor have we initiated it nor applied the principles of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. There is in Peru, a long electoral experience and many times the people have been called, and the revolutionaries have been taken to participate in elections. As a result, there have not been any fundamental benefits for the class or for the people and much less, of course, conducive to the conquest of Power. The class and the people have been called to participate on the supposition that transcendental decisions and consequences were at play or stake. That way, the masses of the people put their hopes and became focused on the elections as the main task, which disoriented them and took them away from their own road. What have the class and the people gotten out of such electoral activities? Other than a few spots in the chamber of deputies or the senate, which ultimately only benefit their supposed representatives, have only helped to sow parliamentary cretinism, fuel up opportunism and reap disillusionments. Well then, in our country, there is a very dark electoral trajectory and a bitter experience we cannot forget.

We must remember that in every electoral process in the country, opportunism goes wild sowing illusions, dreaming about taking up positions in government, invoking a feigned defense of the masses, offering great democratic advances and generating uncontrolled greed and appetite. All these politicians aim at riding on the people's struggle in function of their own dark purposes. These are concrete lessons of our country and they show that the actors can change or survive, but electoral opportunism remains, and nothing come out of it for the people, except taking them off the correct path. We also have had many popular struggles and even insurrectional actions in the cities of Peru, not to even mention the so-called "revolutions," which have merely been military pronouncements or coups d'etat that at one point or another even involved sections of the people. However, none of these actions, some of them very heroic actions, have resulted in power for the class or for the people, but were very bloodily crushed by the Army, or their outcome has only served and helped one faction or another of the exploiting classes. This shows that the road to take power is neither the uprising nor the insurrection in the cities. That is another fundamental experience of our revolutionary struggle, which must vaccinate us against insurrectional roads ostensibly centered in the working class, as the principal force of the revolution in the country.

Similarly, in the countryside many peasants' struggles have been carried out, but none of them were developed as an armed struggle. They have been unable to free the peasantry, to give them land, and much less have they generated a new Power, a new State for the class and for the people. Linked to the large peasants' mobilization of the mid 1960s, we have the guerrilla struggle of MIR and the ELN, but not following the conception of the proletariat on the People's War, nor being properly linked to the peasantry, they were crushed. However, these guerrilla actions left great experiences for our people. What do all of these facts show? They simply show that in more than 50 years of the Communist Party and revolution of the new democracy up to now, the working class has not taken Power and therefore, the people of Peru have been unable to free themselves of imperialist domination or to sweep away feudalism.

However, we have participated in many electoral processes. The masses have rebelled in the cities, the peasants have battled and spilled their blood heroically, and we even have had guerrillas, although not a People's War. Despite all of this, the proletariat and the people have not been able to conquer Power. Thus, up to the present time, the democratic revolution, the revolution of new democracy, the national-democratic revolution has not been developed through armed

struggle according to the principles of People's War sustained in Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. Therefore, we have not followed the road of encircling the cities from the countryside and, consequently, we have not created revolutionary support bases in the country nor have we built revolutionary Power sustained by the people's armed forces. This is the reason why we have not destroyed the old social order and the working class, and the people have not conquered Power. What follows from all that? Concretely, up to now, the national-democratic revolution has not begun to be developed in its highest form and, therefore, the principal task of the revolution in Peru is to initiate the armed struggle; that is the central task of the democratic revolution.

All must be done for this purpose and that is, consequently, the central activity toward which all communists and revolutionaries must orient themselves if they truly want to be at the service of the proletariat, the people and the revolution. In that way, the pending task of the democratic revolution in our country is to begin the armed struggle. In general terms, many revolutionaries and some organizations in the midst of the people are in agreement with the above, but claim that while that is the strategy to follow, current conditions do not allow us to focus on initiating the armed struggle. According to them, there is no revolutionary situation, and therefore, we must center ourselves on activities like mobilizing the masses even on elections, precisely, they say, to generate a revolutionary situation. Thus, the debate on whether or not a revolutionary situation exists in the country, has become a fundamental problem of our politics, which must be judged very seriously in the light of Marxism and the analysis of our own reality. Let's address this issue taking as a basis the thesis of Lenin and Mao Tse-tung.

LENIN AND THE REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION

Lenin set forth fundamental theses about the revolutionary situation. Analyzing the great strike movements of the working class and the people's struggle in the second decade of this century in the old tsarist Russia, he established that their roots, and their cause, were the existence of a revolutionary situation. To illustrate this matter he wrote the following: "Russia lives in a revolutionary situation because of the crushing oppression of the vast majority of the population, not just the proletariat, but nine tenths of the small producers, mainly the peasants, has sharpened to the maximum, and the obvious sharpened oppression, the hunger, the misery, the denial of their rights and the humiliation inflicted upon the people, is in blatant disagreement with

the state of productive forces in Russia, with the degree of conscience and the level of the reivindication of the masses . . . “

Can we say that such conditions do not exist today in our country, and for many years? It is evident that these conditions are present in Peruvian society and, furthermore, such conditions have entered these past few years in a process of profound worsening; do we need to prove this? Do we need to prove that “nine tenths” of especially the peasantry of Peru, are subjected to a growing oppression and exploitation of the Peruvian proletariat? Do we need to prove that the hunger, the misery, the denial of their rights and the humiliation is inflicted upon the people of Peru? All that is so evident that nobody can deny it and, moreover, we don’t need to look at the distant past, and all that has been worsening since 1968, since the present regime took over Power. It has been getting worse by the day up to the crisis we suffer today, since 1975. Can anyone deny the harsh reality our country suffers?

Nobody. No one who is based on the most elementary objective analysis of our reality can deny it. Precisely, the existence of these conditions of oppression and exploitation are themselves the base of the revolutionary situation. For this situation to emerge clearly, we also need another condition, as Lenin himself says: “Oppression, however great, not always results in a revolutionary situation in a country. For the revolution to explode, it is not sufficient that the ones below do not want to go on living as before. It is also necessary that those above are not able to go on managing, and ruling as they did up to that time.” That is how Lenin defined what a revolutionary situation is, and what the objective conditions is. He synthesized them in two cases: that those below don’t want to go on living as before and, those above are unable to go on managing and ruling as they did up to now. Those are the two conditions that generate mobilization of the masses, their struggles, and the strike movement of the proletariat, among others.

It is not, then, the mobilization of the masses that generates the revolutionary situation, but the opposite; the revolutionary situation, the objective condition of the revolution, is what cause the mobilization. This is their effect. In addition, it is very important to note that Lenin considers that the revolutionary situation generates a political crisis at the very base of the State; in his own words, he states: “Russia is in the middle of a political crisis on a national scale, and it is precisely a crisis which affects the bases of the state structure, and in no way some minor part of it. It affects the foundations of the building and not this or that accessory, this or that floor.” This is

fundamental, and the revolutionary situation affects the very bases, the foundations of the State and therefore “a reformist exit of the situation” is not possible. Patches or sutures are inadequate, and the only possible solution is a revolutionary exit.

Lenin himself, masterfully summarized the revolutionary situation, as follows: “The conditions of the masses of the population in Russia, the worsening of their situation by virtue of the agrarian policy (to which the feudal landowners had to appeal as their only hope), the international situation and the character of the general political crisis in our country, constitute the sum total of the objective conditions which make the situation in Russia revolutionary, due to the impossibility of resolving the tasks of the bourgeois revolution continuing on this road, and using the existing means (in the hands of the government and of the exploiting classes).” All that seems to have been written for our country today!

We highlight the problem of “those above”; obviously in Peru, those above cannot continue to govern and administer things as they did up to now. The proof of this is the third restructuring of the State that is being stipulated in the new Constitution. Evidently, it has to do with the basis of the state, its foundations, and affects the entire state order. The transcribed quotation of Lenin clearly summarizes a situation very much like that in our country today, a result of the existent objective conditions and revolutionary situation in our country. However, in Peru there is a serious confusion about this problem. Some erroneously consider that the mobilization of the masses is the cause for the existence of the revolutionary situation. This idea obviously contradicts the exceedingly clear theses formulated by Lenin, and it has a purpose: to prioritize the reformist struggle (movimiento reinvindicativo) of the masses in order to postpone the revolution, the seizure of Power and, ultimately, to block revolutionary violence in order to go after the electoral processes, and propagate parliamentary cretinism.

Others in the country formulate that the revolutionary situation derives and develops by complementing the objective conditions with the subjective conditions, which indicates another serious error. Subjective conditions, to Lenin, imply the class and the instruments to carry forward the revolution, as he stated in the following: “Neither the oppression of those below nor the crisis of those above, is enough to produce the revolution -the only thing these will achieve is the putrefaction of the country, if the country in question lacks a revolutionary class capable of transforming the passive state of oppression into an active state of wrath and insurrection.” Therefore,

a revolutionary situation or objective conditions of the revolution, are not the same as the subjective conditions. The latter are the class and the instruments capable of converting the revolutionary situation into revolutionary violence, which in our country means an armed struggle, the united front, a Party to manage both, a proletariat capable of leading and fulfilling its role as the leading class, and a peasantry capable of rising up in arms.

MAO TSE-TUNG AND THE OBJECTIVE SITUATION IN THE BACKWARD COUNTRIES

President Mao Tse-tung uses the term objective situation to analyze the revolutionary situation or the objective conditions of the revolution and their development in backward countries, that is, semi-feudal and semi-colonial. He starts off from the need to penetrate to the essence of things and not stay with simple appearances. To him, the main thing is to consider the semi-feudal base and imperialist oppression of the backward countries. Under these conditions, the revolution is democratic, that is, anti-feudal and anti-imperialist, whose development demands the armed struggle from the countryside to the city through revolutionary support bases as the New State, which begins to emerge and simultaneously, the old bureaucratic landowning reactionary State is being destroyed.

This is fundamental in understanding the specific conditions that the revolutionary situation has in a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society, and the development of these societies. President Mao Tse-tung establishes the conditions that conform to the objective situation and also the contradictions that exist, and from which the road of the revolution derives, which in essence is the armed struggle, and the inevitable triumph of the revolution. As stated in point four of his work, “A Single Spark Can Set the Prairie on Fire,” he highlights the following points and contradictions: On the international level, he discusses the development of the contradiction between the imperialist countries. Evidently, it has increased between the two superpowers, Yankee imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism. These contradictions have an impact on our country as contradictions in the midst of the exploiters, mainly the big bourgeoisie, as we have seen lately in its two factions: the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the comprador bourgeoisie, which far from ameliorating, will develop further.

He also illustrates the contradiction between the reactionary rulers and the great masses of taxpayers. The growing state apparatus

necessarily ends up raising taxes, which fall upon the masses of the people and, besides, the state economy develops amidst constant budgetary crises. The procedure that is being followed under the current regime and the situation today proves this. In addition, the masses of people are the ones, who through indirect taxation, support the state expenditures more and more; a situation which is getting worse and will continue to worsen. Contradiction between imperialism and national industry. In the country this contradiction is evident; the national industry is increasingly subject to imperialist domination and access to markets is more restricted every day. On the other hand, the aggression by foreign imports (e.g., commodities)handled by imperialism, restricts the development of the national industry, and the financial impositions of imperialism, sinks it into an economic recession, which is worsened by the worldwide crisis. As Mariategui said, imperialism does not allow the development of a national industry.

Contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the working class. The capitalists, “trying to elude the crisis and solve their problems deepen the exploitation of the workers, who in turn oppose and resist these measures.” This statement of fact by President Mao is proven to satiety every day among us. We see today the profound crisis the country has been suffering in the last few years. In synthesis, we see how brutally salaries have been cut. The workday has been increased and harsh working conditions have been imposed so as to safeguard entrepreneurial profits. Furthermore, we see the resistance of the proletariat through the persistent strike struggle, even when faced with all sorts of persecution and repression, suspension of constitutional guarantees and a state of emergency. Further deepening of the contradiction between the landowning class and the peasantry.

In the country, the State has assumed collection of land rents through the agrarian debt, imperialist investment mainly through the agrarian bank and control of the entire system of associations (cooperatives, SAIS, etc.) in agricultural production and, besides, it maintains servile forms of production, and is included in the old landowners feudal exploitation. In this way, the situation of the peasantry has worsened by the evolution of feudalism resulting from the agrarian law, and the penetration of bureaucratic capitalism into the countryside. Merchants in national commodities and independent producers see themselves pushed more and more toward bankruptcy. Today, the economic crisis clearly shows the validity of this premise. It suffices to recall the situation of bankruptcy confronted by the small industrial producers and small merchants, as well as small miners. We must highlight the serious situation faced by the ambulatory merchants who are affected

by a brutal repression, and much repression falls upon them.

But the crises hit the medium producers as well. The reactionary government increases its troops without limits. Throughout the country the development and reinforcement of the reactionary armed and police force is evident, both in size of contingents and in weaponry. This is shown by the creation of new repressive bodies of the state and the widening of their functions, and the greater control they exert over society. Inevitably, this process will develop further. Hunger and banditry extends throughout the country. The popular masses of Peru suffer chronic hunger, but today, the crisis is even worse. The masses, the peasantry, especially the poor peasants, has absolutely nothing to feed themselves, and hunger is paired with sickness, which mostly affects infants and youth.

Criminality increases more and more and cow-thievery (abigeato) grow in the countryside protected by the authorities themselves. The majority of the peasants' masses and the poor in the cities find themselves in a situation in which they are barely able to survive. This comparison, which President Mao made in China is also a cruel reality that prevails among us, misery entrenches itself more and more amidst the popular masses of our nation. Because of the lack of budget funds, many students fear that they will not be able to continue their studies. This is also a reality for the country, as the educational budget as well as the health budget is cut. The education sector is faced with a profound financial crisis. As a result, many students do not study for lack schools or drop school in large numbers because they don't have the resources available to them. Due to the backward character of production, many graduating students have no hope of finding employment in their vocation or academic field, and thousands of them have to work in anything they can.

That is how President Mao Tse-tung analyzes the revolutionary situation in the backward countries. In analyzing the contradictions present in the objective situation, he finds the material base that sustains armed struggle, its development and victory. From the above, we can see how in our country, we have a similar objective situation and how the same contradictions develop. This is a fact that nobody can deny. These are contradictions that are developing, and in no way can they be resolved by a reactionary government. Furthermore, we all know that these contradictions are not being resolved, but continue to sharpen, so the objective situation in our country is and will be each time more propitious to the development of revolution, and to the development of a superior form, the armed struggle. Consequently, the most important matter that concerns all of us is to start the armed

struggle.

This is an unavoidable perspective that our country has. What other road can we follow in Peru? What other hopes can our popular masses and the proletariat have? President Mao Tse-tung stated the following as he concluded his analysis: “By understanding all these contradictions, we will realize the desperate situation, the chaotic state faced by China today and we will see that inevitably soon. The revolution led against the imperialists, the military chiefs and the landowners, will emerge. All of China is full of dried firewood, which will soon burn in a great conflagration.” Since our country follows the same laws of revolution, has a similar experience and the same perspective, can we think in any other way? No, not at all. President Mao Tse-tung established a brilliant distinction between a developing revolutionary situation and a stationary, revolutionary situation, as can be seen in point three of chapter II of his work, “Why Red Power Can Exist in China?” He stated that in a semi feudal and semicolonial country such as ours, there is always a revolutionary situation, or objective situation as he calls it, for the development of an armed struggle, however this occurs in two forms: a stationary revolutionary situation and, a revolutionary situation in development.

By analyzing his theses we are able to say that a stationary revolutionary situation can be transformed into a developing revolutionary situation, by the action of the subjective conditions on the objective condition; that is very important to keep in mind. In addition, we must be able to differentiate between uneven development and revolutionary situation and take into account, that the latter can occur in a region, and then the revolution may spread to the entire country, or it can even begin by a general retreat of the revolution, as was shown by the autumn harvest uprising of August 1927 in China.

TODAY WE LIVE IN A REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION IN DEVELOPMENT

The analysis of our national reality, based on the application of the theses of Lenin and Mao, which is Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, draws the following conclusions: Our country meets the two conditions about the existence of a revolutionary situation set forth by Lenin. Our country shows the objective situation which Mao analyzed as a contradiction. In order to understand our situation, it is fundamental that we keep in mind the difference between a stationary revolutionary situation, and a developing revolutionary situation.

Based on the analysis of the theses of Lenin and Mao, and their application to our reality, we conclude that we are living in a developing revolutionary situation. This is expressed by the growing popular protest which is developing among us, and is being fueled by the crisis that we have been living in for years. Thus, if we base ourselves on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, and analyze the concrete reality of the Peruvian revolution, we have to conclude that we live in a developing revolutionary situation and, consequently, all strategy, tactics and political actions must be based on that fact, if not, we would be grossly mistaken. In synthesis, the class struggle, the antagonic contention between revolution and counterrevolution, can only be seen accurately and correctly, and applied firmly and decisively, if we start from the recognition that there is a developing revolutionary situation. It is from this recognition that the proletariat, the Party, and the revolutionaries in the country will be able to judge the current political situation, and then establish the correct tactics.

2. THE REVOLUTIONARY SITUATION AND THE TWO ROADS IN THE CURRENT POLITICAL SITUATION

In the first part we concluded that there is a developing revolutionary situation. In the second part, our problem is to see how, in general terms, the two roads within this situation manifest themselves. On the one hand, how the bureaucratic road develops, which is the reactionary road, of the exploiters headed by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie through the armed forces that for years have been exercising Power in their name. On the other hand, the development of the democratic road, the classes that make up the people, and whose axis is the proletariat. In synthesis, in this part we will point out how those above confront those below, the two poles in the struggle which determine the developing revolutionary situation. This contradiction proves more convincingly the reality of the objective conditions of the revolution, and the development of its two components, and its perspectives.

THE REACTIONARY PLAN: RESTRUCTURING AND GENERAL ELECTIONS

Since July 1977, the bureaucratic road continues the third restructuring of the Peruvian State in this century. It celebrated elections for the Constituent Assembly which in a year approved a new Constitution and recently convoked for a general election to be held in May 1980. What does it mean? Has the State been fortified? Has it overcome the crisis afflicting it for such a long time? Let’s

analyze this. Ever since the end of World War II, the ascending bureaucratic bourgeoisie aimed at restructuring the State and, from the beginning of the present regime aimed to promulgate a new Constitution. That was the purpose of its corporative and fascist policies. It also aimed at developing organizations which could provide a corporative base to the State, including the organization of a political party. The failed Political Organization of the Peruvian Revolution (OPRP), which had already publicized its so-called "ideological bases," is an example.

However, by mandate of Yankee imperialism and the profound crisis of the country since 1975, the international situation tended toward "representative democracy" in Latin America, and the plans of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie were disrupted. Thus, the new Constitution does not fully express the corporative plans expected by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie neither does it satisfies completely the needs of the so-called "representative democracy." Consequently, the Constitution born under the aegis of bayonets of the armed forces, and product of a mediocre Constituent Assembly satisfies neither Tyrians nor Trojans in the reactionary camp, much less can it be a Charter able to satisfy the people, and as soon as it goes into effect, the battles will begin to amend it. As was the case of the Constitution of 1920, the perspective of the new Constitution is one of contention or collision between the two factions of the big bourgeoisie of Peru: the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and the comprador bourgeoisie. The perspective is to amend it, within the historical process of the bureaucratic road, the logic of the reaction will be a new restructuring for a more thorough corporativization of the Peruvian State, in function of the leadership and exercise of Power by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, for the people and the proletariat the problem will be to sweep away this new Constitution, and of any other kind that expresses the old existing order, and to elaborate one which truly meets their class interests. This will only be achieved by forging a State of New Democracy by the victorious armed forces of the people. This is the situation and the perspective of the third restructuring, and for this reason the following question arises: Is the Peruvian State a strong one? In "A Single Spark Can Set the Entire Prairie on Fire" President Mao wrote: "Although the subjective forces of the Chinese revolution are weak at the present time, the whole organization (the Power, the armed forces, the parties, etc.) of the reactionary ruling classes, an organization based on the backward and fragile social and economic structure of China . . . is also weak. And even though the subjective forces of revolution in China are now weak, no doubt the

revolution advances to its submit quicker than in Western Europe. That is because here the forces of the counterrevolution are relatively weak as well." This great truth formulated in 1930, and was historically proven in China and in other backward countries, and we must keep this in mind without forgetting our specific conditions. And, why does this fragility of the State happen? If we analyze the theses of President Mao on the State in the backward countries, we will understand why.

In his work "On the New Democracy," in treating the systems of the various States, he states: "The first kind is the State of the Old Democracy. Today, after the Second World War began, no traces of democracy remain in many capitalist countries. They have been transformed or are in the process of being transformed in States in which the bourgeoisie exerts a bloody military dictatorship. The States, in which the landowners and the bourgeoisie exercise a joint dictatorship, may be included in this group." And later on: "Here we are speaking about the `system of the State.' Decades of disputes, which began in the last years of the Ching dynasty, have not been able to clarify this matter. In reality, the problem simply refers to the place occupied by the various social classes within the State. The bourgeoisie always hides the place occupied by the classes, and exercises its dictatorship of one class under the label of `national.' This cover up does not benefit the revolutionary people at all, and for this reason, this matter must be explained clearly to them." Also, he says: "With respect to the question of the `system of government,' it is the shape in which Power is organized, the shape in which a given social class impresses upon the organs of Power it establishes so as to fight off its enemies and protect itself. Without adequate organs of Power representing them, there is no State." President Mao Tse-tung developed the Marxist theory on the State. He resolved the problem of the State in the backward, semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries. He started off by pointing out that it is the joint dictatorship of two classes, of bourgeois and of landowners.

He differentiated the "system of State" from the "system of government," the former expressing the kind of dictatorship, which in our case is a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie and the feudal landowners. He highlighted that the "system of State" indicates the position of the various classes within the structure of the State, which in our case means the placing of the six classes in our society: a big bourgeoisie with its bureaucratic factions, the feudal landowners, the national bourgeoisie, the petty bourgeoisie, the peasantry and the proletariat. The "system of government," as Marx clearly states, is "the shape in which power is organized" to exercise the dictatorship, an

organization which in our case has the form of a republic sustained by the so-called “representative democracy.” This is the organizational form upon which it sought to incorporate corporative forms, but it had not succeeded fully by the new Constitution. It simply followed the process of development of the State, has sanctioned the strengthening of the Executive Power, setting down the bases for corporativization and establishing a more direct participation by the armed forces in the structure of the State and in the exercise of Power.

It also, expanded the actions of the repressive forces through the so-called states of emergency to fight against the people’s struggles and the revolution. If we keep in mind these substantive theses by President Mao Tse-tung and at the same time apply what was said about revolutionary situation and fracture of the State, then we understand clearly that as a whole, and in perspective, the Peruvian State and its organizations are weak due to the economic and social backwardness sustaining them. This is a base upon which we have six classes, of which four suffer from oppression and exploitation, mainly the two fundamental classes: the proletariat and the peasantry. Therefore, we have a broad base that is failing, a fracture of the foundations of the State upon which the big bourgeoisie and feudal landowners exercise joint dictatorship. Additionally, upon this fragile structure imperialism operates with its contentions and contradictions.

Especially today, Yankee imperialism dominates us, and Soviet social-imperialism is trying to undermine such domains, which is an inter-imperialist contention which aggravates the fragility of the system of the State in general, and especially that of the system of government itself. It is developing the contradictions between the classes which exercise dictatorship and the various factions through which the imperialists pretend to maintain their imperialist supremacy or undermine each other.

Besides the fragility of the Peruvian State, in terms of state system and government, which is essential and incurable due to its condition as a semifeudal and semicolonial country (condition that will develop further), we must add the contradictions and difficulties derived from the third restructuring of the State and its ongoing implementation, including the general elections. The general elections will be conducted after 17 years and from which a civilian government must emerge to substitute the armed forces in the exercise of Power after 12 years. This fragility is stressed by the insurmountable circumstances that continue to develop amidst the worst crisis Peru has seen in this century. This is a situation in which a new Constitution must be applied, implemented and even modified in order to confront a

popular movement in development. Furthermore, the increasing protests will increase the demands for better living conditions. It will generate an overflow of the masses to meet its most basic demands, and thus will advance its political process. All of this shows us clearly the fragility of the Peruvian State and the essential fracture of its own foundations, the weakness of its basic structure, and the difficult political juncture is developing today and in the future. In the face of this reality, the State will appeal to violence and its repressive means to maintain its obsolete system, and preserve the interests of the exploiters and imperialists.

THE DEMOCRATIC ROAD: DEVELOPING THE INCREASING PEOPLE'S PROTEST

What is the situation in which those below find themselves? They are suffering a deep crisis, sunk in an increasing pauperization and misery. The following table shows the situation of this crisis:

Year	1976	1977	1978	1979+
Gross National Product (GNP)	3.0	-1.3	-2.2	1.0
Agriculture	3.3	0.1	-2.9	0.6
Industrial	3.7	-6.0	-3.2	-2.1
Construction	-2.8	-7.7	-16.1	5.5
GNP per capita	0.2	-3.9	-4.9	-0.5
Consumption	2.1	0.0	-6.9	-2.3
Consumption per capita	-0.7	-2.7	-9.5	-6.3
Investment	-11.3	-22.4	-17.5	5.9
Exports	1.6	13.6	15.8	47.1
Imports	-16.5	-7.6	-27.9	-0.1
Price Index	44.7	32.4	73.7	75.4++
Actual Wages (White Collar)	-15.5	-9.6	-18.9	-7.4
Actual Wages (Blue Collar)	3.2	-16.6	-15	-4.8
Minimun Wage	-12.1	-9.4	-26.4	-9.1

Economically Active Population+	5332	5657	5884	6083
++				
Employed	2511	2368	2326	2335
Underemployed	2196	2458	2559	2684
Unemployed	260	298	402	437
Hidden Unemployment	365	533	597	627

Principal Economic Indicators (1976-1979): % Change with Respect to Previous Year

SOURCE: Revista Actualidad Economica No. 17.

+ Projected for the entire year based on January-March 1979

++ March of 1979 with respect to March of 1978

+++ In thousands of workers. EAP refers to those who are able and willing to work.

Employed are those who receive income equal or higher than the minimum vital salary and have steady work 36 or more hours per week. Sub-employed are those not perceiving that income nor working that many hours. Unemployed are those who have no work and actively seek work. The hidden unemployed are those who do not work, although they are able to work but do not actively seek work. This is the economic situation the country is living in; the reduction of production, which reflects the economic recession, can be observed in the reduction of the GNP per capita, of consumption, of investments, of imports, the rising prices or inflation, the reduction in salaries and wages, and the large and still growing unemployment.

But the problem is that the economic results of the first trimester of 1979, show equal tendencies and that, despite supposed financial advantages in international relations claimed by the regime's propaganda, the problem of inflation continues, and the productive process is in a recession and that, despite recent measures like the National Housing Fund, the crisis has no foreseeable end in sight, and will continue to hit the masses. The following table is very expressive of this economic decline:

Year	**1960**	**1968**	**1977**
Worker's	46	50	47

Compensation			
Blue Collar Workers	23	24	25
White Collar Workers	23	26	22
Independents (Self-employed)	14	11	25
In Agriculture	14	11	9
All Others	16	17	16
Returns of Capital	24	22	29
Net Return	15	15	25
Rent	7	5	3
Interests	2	2	1
Total	100	100	100

Caption: Income Distribution (%)

Let's highlight that while compensation to workers went up from 1960 to 1968, it went down from 1968 to 1977. We also must point out that there is a constant reduction in the percentage corresponding to farmers, which goes parallel to the increase in the return to capital, which diminished from 1960 to l97l, but went up heavily from 1968 to 1977. However, it is more indicative to compare the index of real compensation to workers in 1973-1977: while wages in 1973 were 100.0, by December of 1979 they would be 49.4. In the same period salaries went from 100.0 to 71.7; while the legal minimum went from 100.0 to 60.5. These figures show the evident deterioration in the compensation of workers.

However, these data are calculated based on a rate of inflation which in reality is smaller that the real inflation rate. Therefore, the buying power of the masses of workers would still be less, and the misery and hunger would be more. Parallel to the above, the serious problem of unemployment develops: in 1976 absolute unemployment was 5.2% of the EAP and sub employment was 43.9%; by 1977 6.0% were unemployed and 46.0% sub employed; but by 1978 unemployment reached 7.27 and sub employment was 47.0%, so 54.0% of the EAP lived in the most abject poverty. Nevertheless, during this year unemployment rose again. Add to this the ever growing inflation, the constant rises in prices which flagellates the population; inflation reached 24.0% in 1975, 44.7% in 1976, 32.4% in 1977, 73.7% in 1978 and this year it is estimated it will surpass 75.0%. That is the critical situation endured by the masses of the people in our poor nation.

In this way, we see how hunger and misery, which Lenin spoke about, makes the situation of "those below" ever more unbearable, who do not want to and cannot go on living the way they do now. The countryside deserves special attention in these figures. Ten years after the Agrarian Law, the redistribution of land has reached 21.1% of the cultivated land and 7.7% of the cattle and, according to some calculations, "it would only affect about 347 of the total" of agricultural workers and "it can be said that one million of minifundia owners with less than three hectares (7.5 acres) have been totally left out in the reassignment of lands." But the problem doesn't end there. Today, one thousand enterprises are managed by the State (that previously was ten thousand farms or estates).

More than 50% of them are in crisis, with no profits at all, cannot even pay the minimum salaries and lack the most basic management organization. Besides, the countryside has transferred "17 billion of soles for payment of the agrarian debt, almost 10 billion in direct taxes and several billion more as 'profit' in enterprises such as EPSA, EPCHAT, ENCI, PNATA, ENACO," state monopolies for the commercialization of agricultural and ranching products. All of these support, that the peasantry is oppressed and exploited by the surviving feudal strings, not to forget the 400 years old of "gamonalism." Once again, we see what Lenin said about the exploitation and oppression of the small producers, mainly the peasantry, which is a fundamental part of "those below," who neither want to, nor can go on living as before.

All of this is a very important part of the developing revolutionary situation in which we live in. What is implied in what we have exposed? What is implied by the crisis endured by "those below," joined to their centuries old and still rising exploitation? Does the above show the situation of "those below" who no longer want nor can go on living as they had done for centuries? Doesn't this situation show us the existence of the basic condition for a revolutionary situation? And how are the masses replying? Isn't there a growing popular protest which expresses itself in an ascending strike movement, which, while it culminated in 1975, again today, after an intense repression, renews its upward development, as shown by the increase in the number of strikes in 1978 (364 with 1,389,400 strikers) and the 225 strikes in the first semester of this year?

And as far as the peasants movement, isn't it true that it continues to fight indefatigably since the 1960s, and repression cannot contain it, despite mass slaughters like the last one in the Department of Cajamarca? And as far as the people's movement in general, isn't it

true that it is showing a growing development, as we have seen from 1976 to this day, with real uprisings in many towns and cities in the country, even in some sectors that appeared to be sleepy? All of this is just the development of a growing popular protest that is a consequence of the existence of a revolutionary situation in the country.

That is the conclusion derived from the most elementary analysis of the situation of our reality, of the situation of "those below," of the masses of the people, of the peasantry, and of the proletariat of our country. In that way, if we analyze, in the light of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, the objective situation, the objective conditions of the country, the situation of "those above" who no longer are able to rule or administer things the way they used to, and the situation of "those below" who no longer can, nor want to continue living in the same way they used to live up to now, and the growing popular protest, we conclude the following: In our country there is a revolutionary situation in development and this is the starting point in determining all politics, especially strategy and tactic serving the proletariat, the people and the revolution. And a situation like this, can never be the basis to center the political activity of the people on electoral processes since these, in the circumstances in which we live in, only disorient the masses away from the revolutionary road. Confronting those who pretend to attach the class and the people to the tail-end of the reactionary plan of the third State restructuring and of general elections claiming a supposedly democratic process, let's oppose this with what Lenin said about bourgeois democracy and elections: "Marx highlighted magnificently this essential feature of capitalist democracy by saying, . . . `that every so many years the oppressed are authorized to choose which members of the oppressor class would represent them, and crush them in the parliament!"

What must be the center of political activity of the working class and the people right now? The answer is simple and concrete: to develop the growing popular protest which has become the principal contradiction between the popular masses and the government (by government we mean the organized expression of Power of the Peruvian State), pointing to an overflow of the people, that is, to the development of the struggle of the masses to go beyond what is allowed by the reactionary State order, surpassing the legal order of the existing system; all in function of initiating the armed struggle and thus elevate the democratic-national revolution to the superior form of the struggle: the People's War that following the road of encircling the cities from the countryside, will create revolutionary support bases,

progressively destroying the old reactionary landowning-bureaucratic State so as to create a Republic of New Democracy.

This is not an easy task but Marx taught us: “Obviously making history would be too comfortable if we wouldn’t start the struggle unless our probabilities make victory absolutely certain.” Let’s keep in mind those words by the founder of Marxism and starting from the existence of a revolutionary situation in development, let’s center ourselves on developing the subjective conditions of our revolution, and on the instruments to carry it forward: Party, United Front and armed struggle, mainly on the first, since it is “the heroic fighter” who commands the other two, with the criterion that the united front is to serve the armed struggle and this one is the crucible in which we forge and develop the united front and the Party itself.

In that way, then, the crux of the matter is to develop the political activity of the masses, especially of the poor peasantry in the function of initiating the armed struggle. There is no other road nor any other perspective. President Mao Tse-tung wrote on this matter: “In China, the main form of struggle is war, and the principal form of organization is the army. All the other forms, such as organizations and struggles of the masses of people, are also very important and absolutely indispensable, and in no way should they are cast aside. However, but the objective of all of them is to serve the war. Before the war starts, the objective of all organizations and struggles is to prepare the war.” These wise words, without forgetting our specific conditions, are completely valid for us: The problem in Peru is to initiate the armed struggle. It will be the start of the superior form of struggle and the definitive struggle to fulfill the national-democratic revolution. The beginning of the armed struggle is the guiding light of the political action of the communists and revolutionaries today. Our immediate task, then, today, is to develop the increasing popular protest in function of initiating the armed struggle.

LET’S DEVELOP THE INCREASING PEOPLE’S PROTEST!

September, 1979 PCP-CENTRAL COMMITTEE

1979 - Concerning three chapters of our history

From the General National Conference, December 3, 1979

We have been saying for a few days that we wanted to talk on certain issues. There are moments when men resort to talking in symbols, metaphors or in less intellectual forms. But we would prefer that our group of Communists speak for us in a direct and broad manner.

We want to briefly talk about how the history of today will be seen decades from now. We place ourselves in a plan of revolutionary imagination and look backwards from the future, this is useful and also serves to fortify the spirit. We have clear minds, resolute wills and inextinguishable passions, a revolutionary imagination will increase them even more. Let us think about it and allow our imagination to speak to us from the future. Let us place ourselves decades ahead in the future, in the second part of the coming century.

We are in the final part of the XX Century, very soon we will see the years going by and they will pass even faster as we advance towards the transformation of our society in the third millennium of humanity. The end of the 1990's means the end of one millennium and the beginning of another in which Communism will be definitively stamped on history and humanity will take a leap from the realm of necessity into the realm of liberty.

We should think of the second half of the next Century. History will be written by us and those who will follow are us, the future Communists, because we are an inexhaustible force. When children begin to read and men begin to remember, they will have a history to read and it will recount:

I. How Darkness Prevailed

In this society, there was a time in which darkness prevailed. It does not imply that everything was dark, but it means that darkness prevailed. In our country, in our America, there is an old and long tradition and a slow history which should be known. We need to search for the profound roots of who we are, not because we are nationalists, but because we have historical particularities and nobody can make revolution if they do not have historical roots. We are an old society.

Some twenty thousand years ago, man arrived in these lands in a very primitive state; ten thousand years passed. In about four to six thousand years they began to develop agriculture and basic shelter to protect themselves from extreme weather conditions and they also started sewing covers to protect their bodies. Two thousand years later we already had very productive agriculture and became a great agrarian system. The community develops and the Ayllu starts to be forged: a specific agrarian communal expression of our people. Thereafter, a surplus was generated along with the creation of class differences, property and the State.

Approximately 700 hundred years ago the State began to develop and expand, and as the State grew, exploitation came into existence generating oppression. Thus, the people were divided between the oppressors and the oppressed. Also, these lands were divided into small regions, big confederations and kingdoms: Huari is an example. Time passed and the Incan empire was formed. Then came Inca Pachacutec who brought more imperial order and reorganized the State, making it stronger. This shows that in ancient Peru there were nations that exploited others. The existence of classes was evident, there were the exploited and exploiters. However, such a petrified kingdom did not last long. Strange men came and destroyed the existing agrarian order. But it is not true that the people of the Americas fell on their knees. People resisted and defended the system of exploitation that they had created, but it was a rotten system based on exploitation, and it collapsed when confronted with a superior order.

Thus, in our country the system collapsed and a long and vicious process of feudal exploitation began. Our people were taken to the mines, their blood was transformed into gold and silver for Europe. We view the development of European capitalism as the product of

the flesh and blood of our ancestors.

Centuries passed and a system of mestizaje develops. There were rebellions, especially the mobilization and uprisings of the peasants in the XVIII Century, which rocked the system to its foundations. The worldwide actions of capitalism prosper along with the spirit of emancipation of the masses; and since classes are not eliminated and the problems of land and sovereignty are unresolved, these two old problems continue to persist.

The XIX Century involved the transformation of the feudal order to a semi-feudal order, and from a colonial order to a semi-colonial one. We changed masters from one group of Europeans to another, from Spanish hands into English ones. The new exploiters were enthroned and they were more cruel and sinister than the previous ones, but the people always rose up to fight without truce in an arduous class struggle although with periods of greater usurges in which the system was shaken up.

In the latter part of the last Century a new imperialist order surged, the United States of America. It arrived early in these lands, and in the 1920's its domination was consolidated. Hence, at that stage of our history, darkness prevailed in our lands. At the same time, a new class emerged, the proletariat, and a new chapter begins.

II. How the Light Emerged and the Steel Was Forged

The working class emerged, a new class was born. It was the working class and the international proletariat that was also expressed as the proletariat in our country. That is who we are. The proletariat begins to illuminate the darkness, it is the class that is represented here. This light was transformed into steel.

From 1885 to 1919 there were nearly 30 years of intense class struggle in which the Peruvian proletariat begins to develop and their presence showed a definitive change in our country. The class struggle, international actions, and the struggles of the proletariat and peasants allowed the forging of Marxism and José Carlos Mariátegui, who fought like few others in these lands of the Americas. Our people are not frivolous, as some ignorant people say, we have produced many great people. Mariátegui is one of the few men in these lands who applied Marxism-Leninism to the special conditions and our people begin to find a new untraveled road. A new and more pure light emerges, a shining light. That light we carry in our hearts and souls. That light was founded with the land and that soil became steel. From light, soil, and steel springs the founding of the Party in 1928. The steel was forged, that is what we are. That is the problem of how the light emerged and the steel forged.

In 1928 we were founded and we have never fallen into the criterion of forming another Party. We have come to an agreement that here the class and mass struggle gave birth to a José Carlos Mariátegui who founded the Party, he gave us light and steel and led us on our own way. Since then there has been light and steel in our country. No matter what they say we can never go back.

It is impossible to turn back while there are still classes. That light will not go out while there are still classes; the steel will not melt while there are still classes. But we had a possibility which came apart when the life of our founder was cut short. Although it was negated, distorted and concealed, the unaccomplished task of Mariategui remained as our Program and Plan, the class embodied it, it continued beating in the class, the combative people and the Communists. We cannot deny that the actions of the class and Communists who fought tirelessly has allowed us to reach this stage.

Time passed. The Second World War came, the most extensive one in

history, which marked us and created a more profound bureaucratic capitalist system and a more intense class struggle. The working class kept advancing but never in peace, always in the midst of torments and storms; it was forged with more light, more steel, more strength and invincibility.

Our people were illuminated by a more intense light, Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought. We were at first dazzled by the eruption of this unending light, light and nothing else; but little by little our retinas began to comprehend this light, we saw our country, Mariátegui and our reality and we found our perspective: the Reconstitution of the Party. Thus, the chapter on how the light emerged and the steel was forged begins to end.

III. How the Walls Collapsed and the Dawn Unfolded

Today begins a new chapter: how the walls collapse and a new dawn unfolds. It will be said that our Party, forged with the strongest light and purest steel had a decisive moment. This moment generates the Plan of National Construction, and the Party which was a piece of the flag unfurled to the wind, spreads out in order to illuminate our country. The Communists from all parts of the country were called and a national system was set in motion. Communists rose up and the land reverberated. With the rumbling of the land, the Communists advanced. For this purpose, a landmark conference was held, political bases were established and a course to follow was set.

A flag was planted, a very high flag for a new epoch and with a new objective: Initiate the Armed Struggle. Men struggled hard and the few Communists that existed were gathered from various points and in the end they committed themselves by making a decision: to forge with deeds the First Company of the First Division of the People's Army. In this manner, they began to clear out the darkness in a definitive form. The walls shook and were breached and with clenched fists, the dawn broke out. The key was the First National Conference, a milestone marking the beginning of a new chapter. The spirits were joyful and our eyes glistened with light. One chapter will say: we carried a heavy burden, we gave our quota, and in difficult moments we buried our dead, we dried our tears, but continued fighting. This is how it happened, and the People's Republic was proclaimed, a national holiday. Once again the work was recovered bringing joy among us. The countryside became more productive and freedom began to palpitate in our people, with the red banner guiding us forever. Our America will shine. It is already a free world which has extended itself to other parts of the Earth. Today old empires sink. They are dirty waters and poisoned ashes which are being swept away. Work is redeemed and the fields flourish in the Red Republic.

They will ask, what are we going to do today? Today we will advance, conspiring so that the shadows will not return and the working class never loses power. This is what history will say. We head towards the inevitable arrival of Communism in order to reach full and absolute light. The blood of our fallen comrades cries out: "light! light! We will reach Communism!" That will be written someday, it will be history.

Today we have made a historical decision. We have expressed with

our clenched fist held high to give our lives. Rising to our feet with our fists in the air we have offered our lives. In this moment the crumbling of the walls and the breaking of the new dawn begins.

As you have all pledged, I too pledge: before the banner of Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought, before the effigy of our founder, before the line of our Party and the unconquered banners of our Party: I too am committed to fight and struggle to topple the walls of the old order, I too am a combatant of the First Company of the First Division of the People's Army. I only have one aspiration, like all of you: to serve my people, base myself in the masses who are our support and to struggle for proletarian internationalism. In the International Communist Movement we have only one flag: Marx unfurled it, then Lenin and Mao raised it higher; it is the light that will never be extinguished. We have stood up, and I will fulfill what I must. What matters to me is to complete my journey well. We Communists expect nothing, only to serve Communism. My decision is the same as yours. I too will be a simple combatant of the First Company, I will do what must be done, I will do what is right, expecting nothing except to serve the cause of Communism. This is also my pledge: my decision is yours your decision is mine, because we are united. The toppling of the walls and the unfolding of a new dawn begins.

"History has shown us that a just military and political line does not emerge nor develop in a spontaneous and gentle form, but in the struggle against the opportunism of the 'Left' on the one hand, and against the opportunism of the 'Right' on the other. Without combating and transforming these pernicious deviations that undermine the revolution and the revolutionary war, it will be impossible to elaborate a just line and achieve victory in the revolutionary war."

MAO TSE-TUNG.

1980 - We begin to topple the walls and unfold a new dawn

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I. The Masses Clamor to Organize the Rebellion.

Since ancient times, the masses have been subjected to exploitation and oppression. They have always rebelled, it is a long and inexhaustible history. The class struggle is constant. It cannot be suppressed. For ages, since they began struggling, the masses have clamored to organize the rebellion, to be armed, to rise up, to be led. It has always been this way and will continue to be. Even afterwards, in the new world, there will be struggle but in different forms.

Misery exists together with fabulous riches. Even the utopians knew that both are linked: enormous wealth tied to condemnable and flagrant poverty. It is like this because exploitation exists. Exploitation is tied to oppression and this too exists, killing the masses, consuming them with hunger, shackling and garrotting them. But the masses are not sheep. They are people grouped into classes who organize themselves, develop their parties and the latter its leaders.

The leadership should listen to the most minor murmur of the masses, listen to their movement, try to scan the future from a distance and stand firmly on the ground in order to record the faintest tremor of the masses. A leader that does not do this is not a leader. We are Communists, Marx taught us that as revolutionaries we have the professional obligation to organize misery in order to topple the old order.

Our obligation is to carry it out scientifically in accordance with the laws of class struggle and with awareness of the goal towards which the class and people march. That is our obligation, we have come here in order to organize the clamor of the masses, to organize and arm them. In this way the disorganized power of the masses expresses its strength, its invincible power, and the masses become the creators of new orders, thereby undermining and boisterously toppling the strongest walls. We can not call ourselves Communists if we do not act in such a manner. There can be no leaders who are deaf to the clamor of the masses, blind to their strength, harsh or indifferent. This is unacceptable. Nevertheless, what have we seen?

Blind, harsh, indifferent and deaf leaders; are they losing their status as Communists? The souls of Communists should tremble like the souls of the masses tremble, should become happy with what brings them joy, be hurt by what hurts them, become impassioned by what

impassions them, uplifted by what uplifts the masses. If not, the militant's character becomes a mere formality, an insignia, a rubber stamp, a kind of etiquette. There can be no Communists, much less leaders, that dare to lose confidence in the masses; that is to lose confidence in the only force of history.

The "reasons" could be very elaborate ones but they would be hollow, an unacceptable emptiness. The Party cannot continue to allow those militants, and the leaders who deny the role of the masses. We cannot permit that. While the bourgeoisie sees the waves of strikes and the reawakening of the peasants, the Communists deny what their eyes see, and what their hands make. It makes no sense and cannot be permitted for the Communist to deny the masses. More and more we must be advisors, we should see things in perspective, have sensitive ears to hear what the masses have to say, a penetrating insight, a sharp and piercing talent to discover the transformation of the masses. Without this, we cannot accomplish our mission.

Should we follow the road of the old opportunism? Do we have the callous hearts of reaction? From those comrades who act that way what can we expect tomorrow? They are dark and sinister opportunists who traffick with the masses. Never again shall we allow such a thing to occur, much less with our leaders. There is a powerful reality in this country of ours, it is the masses. They have a magnificent history that is often ignored; but each time the masses speak up the land trembles, and each time the peasant masses rise-up the foundations of the old system rocks, Reactionaries worry in a thousand ways when they rebel but only with blood and fire have they placated the masses. Reaction is helped by its cunning opportunists who misdirect and obstruct the struggle; but they can only appease the masses, never contain them.

Engels taught us that there are two forces in the world, the armed force of reaction and the disorganized masses. If we organize the powerful force of the masses, their potential develops into actions, what was a possibility becomes a reality. What is a law and a necessity becomes forceful deeds which sweep away all that is believed to be firm. Nothing is permanent. Everything is a house of cards, if it is not sustained by the masses. And when the masses speak up everything shudders, the order begins to tremble, the high summits stoop and the stars change their course, because the masses are capable of anything. If this conviction begins to falter within us, the Communist spirit commences to fall apart.

We must be vigilant and what we have lived through in this Plenary

Session should be a warning to us: it must never happen again. If a Party has leaders who are deaf to the masses, its days are numbered! If it occurs, our duty is to crush and destroy such a bureaucratic machine since it is not a Party any longer, but a monster that must be dismantled. What did Chairman Mao tell us on this matter? He said, we atheists have only one divinity, the masses; we invoke those Gods in order for them to hear us so when that happens exploitation will be eliminated.

We must forge our militants with this view today more than ever, and even more so tomorrow. The masses clamor to organize the rebellion. Therefore, the Party, its leaders, cadres and militants have an urgent obligation and destiny: to organize the disorganized force of the masses and this will only be accomplished with arms in hands. The masses must be armed gradually, part by part, until the arming of the entire people and when this comes about there will be no more exploitation on Earth.

II. Let the Actions Speak.

The II Plenary Session of the Central Committee has already a timbre of glory, a timbre that characterized it with the decision to develop the militarization of the Party through actions. The Communists have paid dearly through their violent struggle to establish a new flag: initiate the armed struggle. We are all witnesses to the tough ideological struggle to conclude the development of our line: Initiate the Armed Struggle (ILA). We have taken firm and decisive steps in as much as we are sure of what we want and where we go.

Let us remember Lenin: we will triumph because we know what we want. It is good to pause for a few minutes and ask ourselves. How have we arrived at this great determination to develop the militarization of the Party through actions? It has been in the midst of an intense struggle, perhaps it has not been as strident as others, but it is deeper, more turbulent and it has a very wide perspective. Two positions have been in clear contention. Those of us who since the VI Plenum have inculcated the idea of converting words into actions, today convert the verb into armed actions.

That is a decisive materialization and transcendental development. What we have agreed upon is to develop military actions, which ring in our minds, palpitate in our hearts, clamor in our heads and agitates our wills when we speak about action. Some of us have struggled for agreement on passing over to the language of military actions and others have obstinately opposed this with sophisticated maneuvers and even slyness.

But this decision has been imposed on us and determined because our country demands determination, because our people demand actions. Our people clamor and we respond to that cry, to their demand, we feel what they feel and want what they want, they want their hands to speak the precise and convincing language of armed deeds. Yes! Developing actions are always the deeds of the masses, of the people: when the trench is dug it is the action that speaks, when the anvil is forged it is the action that speaks, when men investigate they derive laws, it is the action that speaks and when armed hands are raised it is the people who fight.

First comes the deed and then the idea, and that idea will carry you to higher levels of action each time. We are sure and just reflections of our reality. We have preached extensively, called to arms for the

armed struggle. Our voices have not fallen in the desert, the seed fell in a good furrow and has begun to sprout. The voices we launch are very powerful and with growing echoes that will thunder throughout our land. Those who we called upon to stand up, to rise up in arms, to sow with their wills, respond: we are here ready, lead us, organize us, let us act together!

And each day we will continue to progress and do more. Either we fulfill our promises or we will become the laughing stock and unfaithful traitors. And surely we are not these. If we have planted, preached and organized and all this bears fruit, then our obligation is to lead, because the march has begun. Let the armed actions confirm our words. May our blood be joined with the blood of those who must shed it, we don't have the right to let that blood shiver alone, let its frigidity mix with the warmth of our own, or else we are not what we are. In an almost insensible form we became Communists. It is like a long trail, like walking. Moving with one foot demands you step with the other, and if you get tired, it is not to straggle but to take a smooth and calm rest, and then continue climbing.

Tomorrow matter will take us in with its belligerent peace, there we can rest definitively. That is why we have been formed as Communists, for this reason Marx, Lenin and Mao came forward to teach the rest, to teach them to fulfill their responsibilities, in order to assemble others, organize them, and raise them up; for this reason the class generated us. What have we seen here? Some comrades and leaders have opposed the Party's most decisive step of its history "to initiate the armed struggle." On what grounds? Because of the supposed "lack of conditions?" And in their trembling voices who speaks? It was the black gullet of oppression and exploitation, the black gullets filled with bile and blood.

Don't forget, that reaction needs to shed torrents of blood in order to pacify and subdue the people, it is their dream of fire and steel, but that sinister dream is the most obvious proof that it is in decomposition. And when comrades and leaders want to steal our souls and minds, should we permit it? No. Their "arguments" went up in smoke, their threadbare "considerations" and their paper "steadfastness" are rotting in the sun. Never again in our Party should we have to listen to those sinister voices among Communists and even less so among leaders. And all those daring to stand up, crush and destroy them like they deserve.

Today this is much more urgent, this is less permissible now because it is undermining and destroying the hopes of the masses, the labor of

five years, and precisely when the masses begin to express themselves concretely in reality. In these times these pacifists are shameful. Many lessons are obtained for all of us from these meetings, for some there should be deafening warnings and forceful calls to our attention. Never again. We have a clear and definite orientation: let actions speak.

To Develop the Militarization of the Party through actions. To convert this into reality is an urgent task. It is a call to order, the class, history and the people demand it. We cannot work in any other way. It is a necessity. What we have accomplished in the past has brought us here. The road is defined and the actions are established: let us carry them out. We have no other right. This is the order of the day: let actions speak.

III. We Begin the Toppling of the Walls.

We have already agreed to the Development of the Militarization of the Party through actions. What shall we do next? We should commence to topple the walls. Now is the time, at once. There are those who have opposed, resisted, and even someone who fled in cowardice, deserting for a second time, and who has been defended. Will it be useful for our Party to defend cowardice and betrayal? Think of those who have committed such acts.

Remember “Prometheus”, the Oceanids and Hermes: we ask for everything except cowardice and betrayal. Like 2,500 years ago, Communists in the XX Century in a Communist Party that strives for the launching of armed struggle, debating its development through armed actions, we heard leaders who praised, supported, nourished, and protected betrayal. Will this political behavior be of any use to us?

No. Let us root out the poisonous weeds. It is pure poison, a cancer which corrodes and we must not permit this. It is a sinister and decaying pus that we must never allow within our ranks, much less now. Let us remove these sinister, harmful vipers. We can permit neither cowardice nor betrayal; they are asps. It is impossible to tolerate this. It manifests itself within us and in our leaders. This is unacceptable, condemnable and marked for fire. We must begin to root out that poison.

We must forge ourselves in another temperament and with another spirit. Let us root out and burn the leeches, otherwise the poison will be general. If we don’t destroy it, the vigor of the Party’s healthy body will dissipate. It is urgent and pressing to finish with this. We must not leave a trace, a purge should serve this purpose, clarified with facts. Those who have exhibited that behavior should be the first ones to leave. It will be a sign of our advancement. In order to topple the walls, we should sweep away the debris and eliminate poisons. In order to begin the toppling of the walls, we need to fortify ourselves and this fortification is to sweep away the rot of rightism in general.

Let us take this challenge very seriously so that we can accomplish our tasks with the highest vigilance. We must preserve the Left, and those with difficulties will advance. That will be the sign of our actions, our commitment. We will go to our bases. We will transmit to them our message to raise actions. Having unleashed the struggle against a

beheaded Right is a great and magnificent step forward. We along with those with problems will exemplify our determination and assurance as part of the Left and be ever vigilant. It is essential to do this in order to advance, and fortify ourselves and become powerful. There is no need to call those with problems powerless. Power will come from actions. Action is the toppling of the walls. Let us carry out military actions. We will be tempered by them. From the novices we are we will become experienced combatants.

Thus, by applying the development of the militarization of the Party through actions, the walls will be profoundly undermined and their toppling will begin. The keys to this are the armed groups, the armed groups without arms. May your unarmed hands snatch away the arms of those who own them with creativity, then utilize them shrewdly and with clear ideas. Let us expand the groups, let us act in boycotts, harvests, land seizures, sabotage, terrorism and principally with guerilla actions. This is our desire and destiny.

We have all pledged: let the violence flourish as elaborated in the initiation of the armed struggle (ILA), we will carry it forward with armed groups, beginning with unarmed groups, and from those ardent seeds will sprout forth ardent sunflowers. We have a sun that will illuminate us, Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought, we have a fertile land that will fortify us: the increase of the class struggle of the masses. What do we lack? The sprouting and flourishing of armed groups without arms! From those humble seeds and blossoms, monuments of the class capable of toppling the walls will grow. That's the way the dawn will appear in our country. The key to our success: the groups; of vital importance: our decision; the base: the masses. May the armed groups without arms flourish! That is the order of the day.

IV. Unfurl Optimism and Overflow with Enthusiasm.

We are Communists of a distinct temperament and special material, we are Communists ready for everything and we know what needs to be fought. We have already fought it and will fight it again tomorrow. What will be confronted tomorrow will be the child of the present, it will be harder but by then we will be tempered by the past and as we forge ourselves today. We will temper our souls in the revolution, this is the only flame capable of forging us.

We need a great deal of optimism and there is a reason for it. We are the makers of tomorrow, we are guides, the garrison of the invincible triumph of the class. This is why we are optimists. We are enthusiastic by nature. We are nurtured by the ideology of our class: Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought. We live the life of the class. We participate in its heroic deeds. The blood of our people flow and burns within us. We are like a powerful and palpitating blood. Let us take the unbendable iron and steel, the class, and mix it together with the unwithering light of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought. Enthusiasm means to participate in the force of the Gods, therefore, we are full of enthusiasm.

We participate in the divinities of the real world: The masses, the class, Marxism and the revolution. That is why we have inexhaustible enthusiasm. That is why we have strength, optimism, and a vigorous spirit overflowing with enthusiasm. And what have we seen here? Militants and leaders without optimism. Dead spirits and deciduous wills with fleeting passions. This is unacceptable. We know well their roots: Their support is not Marxism, the class, nor the masses, rather it is the corrosive individualism, the reactionary rot that makes them fearful, the sewage mold of the old order, the expression of the dying world, the lethal swamp gasses of reaction. This is why their spirits are broken, their hearts tremble, their thoughts forsake them, their nerves are destroyed, and their actions disturbed. This has to be uprooted, it can not nest among us. It is unacceptable, inadmissible, let us burn it and blast it.

This cannot be allowed in the Party, much less prevail. What have we seen in this moment? Leaders with these positions and attitudes. It is despicable. Never again should this happen. And precisely today, when we need to unfurl optimism and enthusiasm, now? That is unacceptable. It is corrosion, pure gangrene, and it should never have

taken place, today it is much more unacceptable. If the comrades don't uproot these weaknesses what type of cadres are they going to form? What kind of militants are they going to form? Apply the following: a company always reflects its leadership. To lead a company without optimism results in a company without optimism. A pusillanimous leadership makes a pusillanimous company. It will be defeated and broken before it engages in battle. We need to unfurl optimism and overflow enthusiasm.

Our powerful ideology, incisive line and Communist will must be manifested above all in the leaders. The order of the day is: Unfurl optimism and overflow enthusiasm! May it be shared with others, with our cadres and bases not present in this meeting. May this enthusiasm manifest itself in action and motivate us in order to eliminate the crust that impedes our advance and serve to others as an example to uproot these weaknesses. May the optimism shine, and manifest in us a powerful enthusiasm. It is practical and necessary in as much as we carry it out. No one can deny that this is a struggle between positions. We have recorded right here and the summary will be the expression of what we have seen.

But in the first place, what was important in our Party? What is important now? What will be important tomorrow? It is the Left. Who cries about its defeat? The Right. They should understand that its cry is useless. They must burn their old idols, burn the old and decrepit, and place their spirits up to the these times. The spirit of the times is owned by the Left. It is consistent with the needs of our country, our people clamor for revolution.

We cannot fail. If our blood and lives are claimed, our response is: we carry our lives in our hands to give them up, we put them at the service of the greatest and most just cause. Our death for the good cause should be the seal of our revolutionary action. The constant and firm actions for our cause will be the hallmark of our lives as Communist combatants. This is what we have understood the best. That is why the positive weighs so much more in us.

We have advanced, but some think that their weaknesses have been overcome. That is a loss of vigilance, there could be a thousand "reasons", but it is only sewage. Elevate your vigilance and sweep away the errors with determination, destroy the old and decrepit through armed actions which will be the real and effective seal. Perhaps some people think that we should only speak about the positive, but there exists light and shadow, a contradiction.

We should summarize and learn lessons. This meeting is a great lesson. We will not forget it. We have an obligation to preserve the Left so that the Party can meet its objective. With the actions we are undertaking and with this excellent meeting, we begin to topple the walls and unfurl a new dawn. We can summarize this in four voices, in order: 1. The masses clamor to organize the rebellion.

2. Let the actions speak.

3. We begin the toppling of the walls.

4. Unfurl optimism and display enthusiasm.

This Central Committee is strong and will become more stronger if we all carry out our responsibilities, mainly the "Development of the Militarization of the Party through actions." Let the comrades speak and express their optimism and enthusiasm. It will be a sign of their determination. Do not let my words become a pretext to some comrades for losing optimism and a retreating of enthusiasm. I believe we have reached the moment of overcoming the old defects of 50 years.

Another world is opening up for us. We have begun to define it ourselves, this meeting is one of definition. Let every thought, word, action, feeling, and will of ours affirms this. It is feasible, indispensable and necessary. We can and must do it. And we will, because we know what we want. This meeting is very good, it has united and bonded us even more. We have unanimously agreed to uphold the military line and its realization: "Develop the Militarization of the Party through actions." From now on, let everything express our taught willingness to carry out what we have agreed upon.

[From the II Plenary Session of the Central Committee, March 28, 1980]

"In the history of the world there have been no wars that began and ended with a continuous victorious offensive. If there were, they were an exception. That is true even in common wars. But when the fate of a class is at stake, when the alternative is capitalism or socialism, is there a basis or logic to suppose that a nation which confronts this problem for the first time can immediately discover the correct method, free of errors?

What reasons are there to suppose this? None! Experience teach us the contrary. None of the problems we faced could be resolved at once,

but only after repeated attempts. To suffer a defeat, commence anew, redoing everything. To discover the method for the approximate solution–a definitive solution or at least a satisfactory one–that is how we have been working and should continue to do so. Given the challenges that are presented to us, if there were no unanimity in our ranks, it would be a sad indicator of a weak and very dangerous spirit that had penetrated the Party. On the contrary, if we do not fear speaking the truth, no matter how hard and bitter it is, we will learn. And it is entirely certain that we will learn to overcome each and every difficulty."

1980 - We are the initiators

We are the initiators and we should keep this fact deeply in our spirits.

This meeting is historic. Comrades, we will pass into history as the initiators. For some time, the Party has been writing this history on indestructible pages.

We are the initiators. This first Party Military School is both a seal and a breach, it concludes and begins. It concludes the time of peace and opens the time of war. Comrades, our tasks with unarmed hands have concluded, and today our armed words begin: Let us uplift the masses and peasants under the unfading flags of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought. One period has ended and the preparations for the new one have concluded. From here, the past deeds are sealed and we open the future. The key of the future is determined by actions, the objective is power. This we shall do, history demands it, the class urges it, the people have foreseen and want it. We must accomplish it and it will be accomplished. We are the initiators.

We should discuss some problems. Just as you, I will also speak with an open heart, sincere words and a rational sentiment. This also has a strict logic.

I. We Are Entering the Strategic Offensive of the World Revolution.

Centuries of devastating exploitation have passed. The masses have been exploited, subjugated, forced to yield and implacably oppressed. But through all this time, the exploited masses have always resisted, because they have no other sentiment than the class struggle. However, throughout history, the masses were abandoned and had no direction. Their words, protests, actions and rebellions were crushed and defeated. But the masses never lost hope. The class always has hope. The masses are the light of the world that forge themselves ahead. They transform and create instruments with their own hands. They are the social fabric, the inexhaustible beat of history. Thus, they have been generating ideas, science of the most advanced kind.

But the laws of history that came about as a result of the development of the class struggle have generated one last class: The international proletariat. The class has surged up struggling in the midst of a

sinister system, capitalism, which appeared sweating blood and muck from all its pores. A system in whose center the combative proletariat developed unions, strikes, resistance and revolutions. All of this became embodied in Marxism, and the class, endowing itself with a Party, evolved into a mature class with its own interests. The masses of the world finally have their liberator. In the old times, the masses awaited for a liberator. They used to put their faith in the hands of supposed saviors, until the powerful and invincible proletariat appeared, which is capable of creating a true new order. The class organized itself politically, and another history begins to unfold to become a reality.

In one hundred years of struggle, setbacks, and victories, the proletariat has learned how to fight and seize power with arms. The workers took it once in an embryonic form but were crushed with blood and fire. Nevertheless, we remember the Paris Commune, where those who were reviled are today heroes. And their example lives on, while their tormentors are forgotten. The workers with Lenin seized power in Russia and created a powerful State. The class continued fighting and with Mao Tse-tung paved a new road and resolved unsolved problems. The class began to fight under the flags of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought. Around the Second World War, the revolution entered a strategic equilibrium, leaving behind the reactionary holy alliances and their previously untouchable tormentors and enemies.

With the powerful international workers' movement, the cresting waves of the national liberation movements, the development of Communist Parties, and the elevation of Marxism to the high summit of Mao Tse-tung Thought, a new situation has been created: We are entering the strategic offensive of world revolution. In the next 50 to 100 years, the domination of imperialism and all exploiters will be swept away. History cannot go backwards. In the hands of the working class, under the leadership of the Communist Parties and through the mighty force of poor peasants, the peoples war will be sustained and grow each day until overthrowing the old order.

The world is entering into a new situation, the strategic offensive of world revolution. This is of transcendental importance. As Chairman Mao said: "The storm draws near and the wind roars in the tower." Thus, the vortex draws near, the vortex begins, and the invincible flame of the revolution grows, converting itself into lead and steel. And from the din of battle along its inextinguishable fires will come forth the light. From the darkness a light will appear and a new world will be born. The old order of reaction crackles, its old boat leaks and

sinks in desperation. But comrades, nobody can expect reaction to retire gently. Marx warned us: Even while drowning, the reactionaries were capable of inflicting asphyxiating chokeholds and desperate blows in order to see us sink. That is impossible. The reaction has the hyena's dreams of blood. Convulsive dreams shake their somber nights.

Their hearts scheme sinister hecatombs. They arm themselves to the teeth but they cannot prevail. Their destiny is weighed and measured. The time has come for the settling of accounts. The imperialist superpowers, U.S.A., U.S.S.R., and other powers seek to invade, penetrate, suffocate, destroy and drown everything with terror. But as Chairman Mao said, by attacking, assaulting, and launching offensives they overextend themselves and enter the powerful core of the people. The people rise up, arm themselves and rebel, putting nooses on the necks of imperialism and reaction. The people take them by the throat, threaten their lives and will strangle them out of necessity. The reactionary meat will be trimmed of fat, they will be torn to tatters and rags, the scraps sunk into mire, and the remainders burned. The ashes will be thrown to the winds of the world so that only the sinister reminder of what must never return will remain. Comrades, that is the world today. It has befallen on us to live in an extraordinary epoch.

Thus it is written, mankind never had such a heroic destiny. To the people of today, to those people who breathe, struggle, and fight, has befallen the task of sweeping reaction from the face of the earth, the most illuminating and magnificent mission given to any generation. We find ourselves in this situation: The world revolution enters a strategic offensive. Nothing will prevail against it. The innumerable iron legions arise, and more and more will arise, inexhaustibly multiply, encircle and annihilate reaction. Reaction, which unleashes its bloody claws tearing the flesh off the people, continues to sow discord, embroil, and seeks to sate itself with the blood of the people. But the people's blood ascends like furious wings and the stricken flesh converts itself into a powerful vengeful lash.

Their muscles and actions are converted into steel battering rams in order to destroy the oppressor who will be irremediably crushed. Comrades, reaction will not prevail in any form. The hour has sounded, the revolution will triumph. The struggle will be hard, arduous, cruel and difficult. Victory is ours. The masses will prevail, the peasants will arise, the working class will lead, the Communist Party will command and the Red Flags will be raised forever. Reaction has entered its final chapter. We will develop in that world.

II. Our People Begin to Seize Power Through Armed Struggle.

In this magnificent epic of world history, our people along with the Latin American working classes and masses have a role to play. This role is being fulfilled. Our people begin to seize power through armed struggle. It is hundreds of years of struggle in which the peasant movements have shaken the foundation of exploitation, but they have not been able to uproot it as yet. In this country the Communist Party was forged as pure steel. It brought light to the people by upholding Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought. Comrades, in this country we are embarking upon a third epoch. The third epoch is a battle between armed revolution and armed counter-revolution, which are prepared for violence. Counter-revolution with its old and bloody violence, peace at the hands of bayonets, their damned wars that annihilate people in the prisons, schools, factories, in the countryside, and even assassinating children with hunger and misery in their maternal wombs.

Today, that sinister violence meets its match. The revolutionary violence prepares to take up the battle in arms. Our people with a rich history are finally embarking to the final chapter, the completion of the democratic period of the revolution. The masses tremble, the flood tide rises, and the storm approaches. Reaction in this country as well as in the world, also dreams of soaking the revolution with blood and fire, of drowning it in blood. These are old, dark, and violent dreams. They are not facing the same situation as yesterday. Time has passed and bureaucratic capitalism has matured the revolution. The agrarian laws promulgated by the regimes have been failures one after another, and the peasants have understood the lesson: nothing will be given to them, nothing will derive from a law. The land must be conquered by their own armed hands. The working class is more aggressive, mature. It has a higher level of consciousness, it is numerically larger, politically more powerful, and much stronger than in the past. The popular masses have grown in our country. The petty bourgeoisie is being proletarianized. It has no other destiny than to serve the revolution and put itself at the disposal of the proletariat. Its only course of action is to serve the revolution according to the dictates of the working class and to forcefully fight behind the road paved by the Party.

This is good to remember, because from this experience we should particularly win over the intellectuals. As Mariategui has already shown us, the masses must be mobilized and only in this manner will we will fulfill our role and serve the great battle that history has arranged for us. Comrades, we have concluded that we are embarking

into the third epoch of contemporary Peruvian society. But just as yesterday, when we expounded upon the two moments of contemporary Peruvian history as part of the process of the development of bureaucratic capitalism in this country, some condemned us and rejected our thesis and ideals with insolence and contemptible accusations of infantilism. We are putting forth today, with a clear and precise vision, that our country enters a third epoch. This thesis will also be subjected to misunderstanding. But it is no longer possible to condemn us with childish labels of infantilism, because this time, history has shown us to be right in many things, and they will also learn lessons [translator: this refers to the two line struggle within the Party].

Nevertheless, it is not easy for our accusers to easily accept and comprehend it. It requires convincing deeds, concrete actions that pound into their hard heads and shatter their speculation to pieces, so that they also may carry the reality of this country in their spirits. The understanding of the third epoch is key to the advance of our people. What does the third epoch imply? It implies the revolution, the people with arms in hand begin to seize power, that reaction with 400 years of exploitation, added to the exploitation of other epochs, (comrades, we should think clearly, 400 years of foreign oppression, a vile slave system that continues to exist today, a state which although weak, still has force), implies that reaction will try to contain us and oppose the advance of the revolution. It is well known by materialists that what exists refuses to die; reaction exists and therefore refuses to die. It is an unburied corpse but it protests, negates, resists, and attacks with fury and desperation, opposing its placement into a casket for its burial. Thus, we must understand that the revolutionary struggle will be hard, violent and cruelly contested by reaction.

They will send their sinister army armed to the teeth to fight us, assaulting the working class, the peasants and popular masses, spreading their sinister claws. They will try to encircle, isolate, crush and wipe us out. But we are the future, the strength, and history. Comrades, revolution and counterrevolution are also contending forces in our country. They are two parts of a unity of opposites in constant struggle. The reactionaries are armed and concentrated, defending the metropolis and capitals. We are rooted in the countryside, in small villages, with the masses, especially with the poor peasants, with the force of the people, among their disorganized force in order to organize it into a powerful army. But this will not be easy.

The dark, sinister armies of reaction will fight against us, mount

powerful aggressions and great offensives. We will respond in kind, splitting them, making them fall apart, and converting their offensives into a multitude of our small offensives. Therefore, those who encircle will be encircled, the would-be annihilators will be annihilated, the would-be victors will be defeated and the beast will finally be corralled. As we have been taught, the clamor of our armed voices will make them tremble with terror. They will be crushed by their own fears and be converted into scattered black ashes. That is what will happen. This is the way it is, Comrades. Nevertheless, the fight will be hard, long, difficult and cruel.

We need to steel our spirits, be strong, vigorous, fearless and confident in our victory. May the confidence of victory dwell in our hearts in as much as we serve the people and class. The problem is to initiate the armed struggle with decisiveness and firmness. We must deploy it and populate the land with our flags and with sonorous actions that history will record. Comrades, our people are embarking on the seizure of power with arms. We are launching the most magnificent march that our country has ever seen before. Nothing like this will ever be seen again. It will be truly remarkable. This is what we will do! The people, the class, and the proletariat demands it. We can not and must not fail.

III. The Party Develops Itself Through Armed Struggle.

It has been more than 80 years of working class struggle and 52 years of the Party's existence. It took about 10 years for a group of men and women, led by Mariategui, about 10 years to found the Party. His name is imprinted forever in our ranks, the peoples of the world and the international working class. Time has passed, many of us have fought, and will continue to struggle until exploitation is abolished. That is our destiny. We are a growing torrent confronting fire, rocks and mud. But our power is greater. We convert everything into our fire. The black fire will be transformed into red fire and the red is light. That is where we are, that is the Reconstitution of the Party. Comrades, we are reconstituted.

The Party is a Party of a new type. The purpose of this Party of a new type is to seize power for the working class and the people of this country. The Party can not be developed more but through the use of arms, through armed struggle. That is the hard lesson we have learned in 50 years, a great lesson that we should never forget: We have no power because we have no guns. Like Chairman Mao has written, whoever has more guns has more power. Whoever wants to seize power must forge an army, and whoever wants to keep power must

have a powerful army. This is what we will accomplish. The Party has embarked to develop itself through armed struggle, our historical course. We cannot go backwards. Comrades, we can now state that the development of the Party has prevailed. Its possible destruction, as it had to be, has been averted. This is the conclusion we can derive from the 2nd Plenary Session of the Central Committee and the First Military School. We have completed a task that we only now have begun to appreciate.

We asked ourselves, how will we develop the Party? A plain and simple response is: Through armed struggle. In critical times the situation enters into contentious struggles, and according to the law of contradiction, specific circumstances can lead into development or destruction, of course transitory, but it does not cease to become a destruction if that could lead us to sink in the mud or march through a muddy place. The Party has triumphed as it had to. Its destruction cannot take place. The Party embarks firmly, decisively, voluntarily and energetically in its development. Comrades, this is what is derived from these meetings. However, what contradiction is being debated?

The launching of armed struggle presents a contradiction: The old versus the new. The development of the Party through armed struggle is the new, and the old is our accomplishments up to now, including the good ones. Even the best of our achievements have aged, and no matter how much we add to this tradition, we also add to that great garbage which parties, classes and organizations generate throughout decades. We must be very clear on this point. There is only one new thing, to develop the Party through armed struggle. Today, this is our contradiction. Just like in the international arena where the contradiction is between the strategic offensive and the strategic defensive of reaction, in our country the contradiction is between the armed people and armed reaction. This contradiction, through the People's War, will inevitable lead to the triumph of the class and sweep away 400 years of oppression. Comrades, in the Party there is also a contradiction. It calls for serious reflection and no one should doubt it. Today, the Communists should be clear on the contradiction of the old versus the new.

I reiterate, the new is the armed struggle: the unfading flames of People's War, the steel which must be made purer, the sharp sword and piercing spears in order to wound the entrails of reaction. This is new. Everything else is old, it is the past, and from that past we must guard ourselves, because the past always tries to reestablish itself in a thousand forms in the future. Comrades, let us not forget that in order to guarantee the consolidation of 100, we need to advance as 200.

Today, advancing with 200 means to initiate the armed struggle, to begin the action is the guarantee of thoroughly sowing the new with lead, crumbling the old walls. Comrades, this is the new. Everything else is old. We should be absolutely clear and understand it. The Party has embarked on its development through arms. This is our fundamental situation. Having stated this point, we have three conditions:

First, we embark on the strategic offensive of world revolution. That is our situation. The revolutionary tide is on our side.

Second, the people set out to seize power with arms. The future will be decided through the advancement of People's War.

Third, the Party begins to develop through the armed struggle.

Thus, the Party will become the powerful Party which the revolution needs, and since it is needed it must be forged. Comrades, the world process, the process of the nation and the Party are interrelated. Therefore, the future is assured, it is palpitating in the armed actions that we will commence to undertake. It is a delicate task that needs to be nurtured with the clamor of our arms, developed with guerrilla warfare, fortified with People's War, cared for and nourished like the seed of an army, giving birth to armed columns, allowing it to flourish into a guerrilla army that we must build into a powerful army. Comrades, these three conditions determine that the Party leads the armed struggle of the masses.

In our hearts, minds and wills, the power of the people is alive, and we carry it with us. In the beginning we have no rearguard or we will have one that is small, weak, fragile and uncertain. Comrades, we must never forget the people's power, the State of the working class, the State of workers and peasants. This State marches with us, we carry it on the muzzles of our rifles, nestled in our minds, throbbing in our hands, and it will always be burning in our hearts. It is the first thing on our minds. We should never forget it. Comrades, the armed struggle will be born fragile and weak because it is new, but its destiny will be to develop through change, from the variation of fragility like a tender plant. The roots we plant at the beginning will be the future of a vigorous State.

Comrades, all this begins to flourish with the modest and simple actions that tomorrow we will carry out. There are three interrelated things: world history, the history of our country, and the history of our Party. These are three convergences, three realities, three

combinations and only one final conclusion, only one unmovable truth, only one future. We will respond to the flourishing revolution in our country.

IV. We Begin to Develop the Militarization of the Party Through Actions and Apply the Plan of Initiation.

This is a derivation from the three issues discussed above. It is a logical, necessary, irrefutable and irreversible conclusion. On the three previous issues, the Party in the Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee has concluded as follows: The "Development of the Militarization of the Party through actions." It ratified that through armed actions, the Party will be transformed into a powerful and recognized vanguard of the Peruvian working class, and the legitimate center of the Peruvian revolution. The Second Plenary Session has also ratified a "plan of initiating the armed struggle" that solves a problem unresolved until today, of how to begin the armed struggle.

Comrades, this is not to instill ourselves with pride but to understand our immense responsibility. No trace of vanity should ever be in us. Modesty and simplicity should accompany us, and the more we fulfill our tasks, the more modest and simple we become, because we are the faithful servants of the people and class. We should learn to conduct ourselves in that manner. Many things will change and even more profoundly among us. We have comrades by way of the actions of universal history, by Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought, by the labor of our people that begin to define their history through arms, by the labor of fifty years of Party struggle and of innumerable Communists, and as a derivation from what our own founder initiated. We have resolved the problem of initiating the armed struggle. We have resolved the first fundamental military problem, how to initiate the armed struggle. We know what needs to be done and how to arm ourselves. Most importantly, we know how to raise up the peasantry so that through arduous struggles we can unleash guerrilla actions from that powerful land. We know how to confront and destroy their encirclements.

Comrades, the problem of initiating the armed struggle in Peru is resolved. No one should have doubts about it. We have nothing to doubt. The problem is resolved. Take it for what it is, a derivation from Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought, a result of our people embarking on the seizure of power with arms. A derivation from fifty years of the Party. Thus, we will have a historical sense, a comprehension and knowledge of where we stand now, where we are going and the safe port we will arrive.

V. We Arm Ourselves in Theory and Practice to Launch the People's War.

We are arming ourselves in theory and practice with the Military Line and with the general political mobilization. We are forming detachments and developing actions to initiate the armed struggle. This should be indelibly recorded. This First Military School is historic. We asked ourselves, what is this school? If the Second Session of the Central Committee is the "Chime of Glory", what is this school? We will repeat it once more, it is "the Seal and Breach", because it closes and opens. It concludes our unarmed life and begins our People's War. Comrades, that is this school. Here we have applied the agreements of the Second Plenary Session of the Central Committee. We have successfully completed and resolved problems, that the Central Committee shall ratify very soon, at the same time it arranges for the Party's readjustment and the commencing of actions. Thus, the Party, through its central organizations, its leaders and cadres, arms itself with the military line in theory and practice.

Comrades, the last meeting is a demonstration of the distribution of forces: proof of the encirclement and annihilation of pessimism and opposition. It has burned and annihilated what among us and inside of us could have opposed. We have raised up optimism and are filled with enthusiasm. The victories to come have been unfurled. We must understand it in this way. We have seen the fighters march, we have seen advanced fighters with their leaders at the foreground, opening breaches; we have seen the ranks march in order to maintain and support the actions. We have seen at last the definitive action, a passionate and ardent faith to reach the summit. What we have done today is a demonstration of how to act militarily. That is why we say we are arming ourselves theoretically and practically. In this manner, arming the cadres and leaders for basic effectiveness, we have obviously entered the general political mobilization.

Remember what Chairman Mao said: the key is to mobilize the cadres. That has been accomplished. The mobilization has begun, and what we have achieved here will be reverberated tomorrow in more powerful waves, because the masses yearn to hear the Party say that we should begin to take action and they want to know how to do this. Comrades, let us inform the bases of the good news. We must apply the plan of initiation and we should start it tomorrow. It is what the beating hearts of the militants and the masses that work jointly with us desire to hear and dream of realizing. Comrades, the general political mobilization of the Party is on the march. Forming armed detachments and developing military actions we initiate the armed

struggle. This begins from here, and that is why this meeting is both a seal and a breach.

VI. We Are the Initiators.

We are the initiators. We began by stating we are the initiators. And we end by stating we are the initiators. Initiators of what? Of the People's War and the armed struggle that is in our hands, shining in our minds, beating in our hearts and irrepressibly agitating in our wills. This is what we are "a handful of men and women, Communists, paying homage to the leadership of the Party, the proletariat and the people. On this 19th of April, history will state, standing upright they expressed their declaration of revolutionary faith, with their hearts burning with an inextinguishable passion, with firm and resolute wills, and with clear and bold minds, assuming their historical obligation of being the Initiators.

What they decided on April 19th took shape in autumn with boycotts and the harvest, followed through with actions against the reactionary power, aiming at local authority, continued with land seizures and with the peasant masses in rebellion the guerrillas were raised up. The guerrillas generated the powerful army we have become today, and the State based on it. Our country is free…" That is what they will say, comrades. This is materialized in our party decision, apparently simple but of great historical importance. Comrades, do these three final issues also presents us with contradictions? Yes, they do. Here, in the Party, the focus is on our agreement concerning the "Development of the Militarization of the Party through actions" and in applying our Plan of Initiation is the essence of the new, a new part of the world which cannot be detained because our armed hands have surged with more to follow tomorrow.

The new is focused in our country, the armed solution, and the Party's development through arms intensifies through the armed struggle. Thus, on the question of developing and applying the plan of initiation, the new is the focus and the old is confronted. The old will pledge itself to the opposite, but it is already defeated, it is a great defeat for the Right. Their destruction is already assured, the development has triumphed, let us shape it through thunder, write it with lead, so that it remains written forever on pages of steel upon the ridge of the mountains; so that it can never be erased nor written in a contrary form. That is the contradiction. At the end, everything reduces to a fifth problem.

The contradiction enters to address the problems of arms, war, armed

struggle and how to initiate it. If up to now we have acted as an unarmed people, the problem now is that we begin to act with armed hands. From times of peace to times of war. And the times of war have other requirements and other urgent demands. Comrades, the contradictions will accumulate but we will handle them. We have learned to handle history, the laws and contradictions. It is in our hands to resolve them, shaping them with armed deeds. Nothing will stop us. We will pass through times of irreversible war, the contradiction will unfold, it will take us to a successful conclusion. We are the initiators. What contradiction is presented to us? We and the other Communists of our bases, present or not, who reverberate within us, await with anxiety what is decided here. All of us have a problem, a contradiction: the great rupture.

Comrades, the time has come. It is time for a great rupture. We will break all ties with what is old and rotten in order to completely and thoroughly destroy it, for if we have an interest in that decrepit world, we would not be able to destroy it. Men speaking individually can be weak. Each of us should think hard. As an individual, each person can be fragile and weak. But the revolution is all-powerful, and the armed revolution even more so, because it is sustained by the masses, who are the force of the land and led by the Party, which is the light of the universe.

Comrades, we begin the great rupture. We have stated many times that we embark upon that rupture and that many ties shall be broken since it links us to the old and rotten order, and if we don't do it, we could never demolish it. Comrades, the time has come, there is nothing more to discuss, the debate has been exhausted. It is time to act, it is the moment of rupture and it will not be done with slow and tardy meditation, nor in the halls nor in silent rooms. It will be done with the roar of armed actions. This is the form for carrying it out, a correct and adequate form, the only form. It is through actions, as we have studied, that the conscious capacity of people intensifies, the will is tenser, our passions more powerful and our energy enraged.

Comrades, through actions we will find the energy, force, and sufficient capacity for the great rupture. We have embarked upon this. The trumpets begin to sound, the murmur of the masses grows and it will continue growing, it will deafen us, it will bring us to a powerful vortex, with one note: We will become the protagonists of history, conscious, organized and armed. Thus, the great rupture will be open and we will become the makers of a definitive dawn. This is what we have embarked upon, comrades. I want to conclude.

This School, this First Party Military School, is the seal and the breach, it seals the deeds done up to today and opens a breach for tomorrow. What we have accomplished until now is very positive and has borne fruit. There is a saying that people are judged by their deeds. The deed is done, it is before us. There is nothing more to prove. What has been done until now is good. The breach, what we must do, will be even greater and definitively the only great thing we have to accomplish. It will come forth from arms, from the barrels of the guns. It will come forth from the direct action of the Party upon the masses. It will come forth from the People's War.

Comrades, this school is historic. We cannot understand its dimension, we cannot weigh it as it deserves unless we turn our gaze decades into the future. This is the School of the Initiators. It is the name given to it by the Central Committee. In a word it is IAS 80 (ILA 80), which means: Initiate the Armed Struggle in 1980. It is a commitment and challenge. We are deployed. We will surpass it. I am not only saying that we will accomplished it, but we will surpass it, because it is a mandate and a historic necessity imposed upon us by our people, nobody can speak to the contrary. Comrades, the role of the School of Initiators, ILA 80 is: Initiate the armed struggle in 1980. Decades later, in the future, it will interpreted like this: ILA 80, the armed struggle was initiated in 1980. ILA was done here. That word is beautiful, it has a double meaning and if we look at it even more, it has a further meaning. It is the synthesis of what we done up to now. It shapes all the past.

Comrades, what has guided us? To initiate the armed struggle, was not this stated in the Ninth Plenum? Comrades, it is the past summarized, opening into the present, it is the future that must be irrevocably accomplished. ILA 80 is also the implementation of our past agreement on initiating the armed struggle. In the present it means initiating the armed struggle today, this year, and in the future. The armed struggle was initiated in 1980. Comrades, all that we have done during these complex days, in difficult moments, but in the final analysis, satisfactory days, fruitful, healthy, good and vital days, is all realized in the "School of Initiators: ILA 80." The Central Committee and the Political Bureau of the Central Committee congratulates those present and everyone else because with their actions they helped in the materialization of this reality. Congratulations to the Party, because with its actions, it has made this reality concrete.

Congratulations to the masses and our people, because their actions through centuries have been realized here. Congratulations to the working class of the world, the international proletariat and the

peoples of the world, because their actions have borne fruit here. We render homage, as always, to the unfading flags of Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought, because their grandeur which will always live has been realized here. They, now live within us. The spirit of the revolution dwells in the Party, our people, and our class. Finally it has arrived!

All our struggles have been validated. Comrades, finally it has been realized: Initiate the armed struggle today. Everything that we have accomplished, including errors that have served as experience, are validated here. This is the essence of this School. The Central Committee, the Political Bureau of the Central Committee feels and expresses through this speaker an immense delight, because we have completed a simple and magnificent task: That the initiation of the armed struggle, ILA 80, dwells here and puts the final touches on the past, specifies the present and opens the future. Comrades, we have accomplished this. Thus the future opens with promise and hope. We remember the words of a wise old man: “What life promises you, fulfill it yourself to life.” Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought, the international proletariat, the people of the world, the working class, the people of this country, the Party with its bases, cadres, and leaders, all this magnificent action through the centuries has been realized here. The promise blossoms and the future unfolds. ILA 80. Our duty is to fulfill it. What has been given to us as a future, we must fulfill it with our own lives, for the people, workers, and Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought. Comrades, the efforts invested are a satisfaction, a delight in the accomplished tasks, pleased by what has been done, and seek no compensation.

The future is in the barrels of the guns!

The armed revolution has begun!

Glory to Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought!

Long Live the Communist Party of Peru!

Initiate the Armed Struggle!

(From the First Military School, April 19, 1980)

1980 - Towards guerrilla warfare!

The first part of this meeting gives us essential conclusions:

I. The Plan of Initiation, its application and the conclusion of the first actions, are brilliant and all-round success of transcendental importance, with great repercussions that have kindled the ever living flames of the People's War in our country.

II. Summarizing the experiences of the General Balance of the first actions has led to further develop the Party's military line, and advanced its consolidation, crushing the Rightism which proposed militarist positions tending to evolve into a bourgeois militarist line.

III. The Party fortified in the forging of its first actions is on a war footing ready to march toward the launching of guerrilla warfare. The first stands out as a brilliant and clear success obtained by the Party, which has a great historical repercussion. The second indicates that in the balance of the first actions, the military line of the Party has developed and advanced. It has consolidated by combating militarist positions that tend to evolve as a bourgeois military line. In this manner, we have obtained a major development and consolidation.

The military line, like all lines, only develops and consolidates itself in struggle. The third establishes and highlights that the Party is prepared to march towards the beginning of guerrilla warfare. We have finished the first phase, which is essential and the basis of this meeting of the Expanded Central Committee. Upon these solid bases, we can outline the national and international context and lay out the plan to begin the guerrilla war. We should be very conscious of the brilliant and great success of the application of the Plan of Initiation of the armed struggle. This plan is of historic transcendence and has shaken the country, placing the Party in the center of the class struggle and political contention. The constant struggle of Communist militants as the expression of proletarian class struggle and the masses of our country has been historically molded and defined in the countryside.

We have embarked upon a superior form of struggle, armed struggle, to destroy the old order and construct a new society. From now on, the People's War dwells in us and inhabits the nation. Its ever-burning

flames kindle and inflame our people. Its flames will be invincible, trembling and demolishing the rotten dominant society, flames from whose hearts will be born the most potent bonfire of the future. It has befallen to us the historical mission of launching the armed struggle in our country and to develop it and sustain it as part of the struggles of Latin America, the international proletariat, the peoples of the world and world revolution, which we serve by adhering faithfully to the principle of proletarian internationalism. The struggle will be long but fruitful, bloody but brilliant, and hard but vigorous and omnipotent. It has been said that the world will be transformed with arms, and that is what we are doing now. From the barrels of guns everything will come. We are already living it and we will see it more as the People's War develops.

To the Communists members of this Party, in this country, who have broken the stonewall of more than fifty years, their spirits must be no less than vibrant today with the realization of this great balance which proves and tests the achievements, counting, measuring and weighing the future. We are very conscious of and responsible for our actions. We have nothing to be vain about except to fulfill our duty. We have nothing to brag about, since glory is for the class, the people and the Party. Nevertheless, we need to be optimists, assured that the pebbles of the new order begin to fall into place. The future begins to be written. We will write the new history with flowers of stone in bronze forever more. We will tame the hills, we will write a new history with the points of swords, the light of fire, tearing down iniquity and giving birth to the future. For every Communist Party that assumes its role as the armed vanguard of the proletariat, there comes a time to tear away the centuries of oppression. It lets out its war cries and assaults the heavens, the shadows and the night. It begins to tear down the old and rotten reactionary walls, it begins to rattle and crackle like dry leaves before new and tender flames, before young but crackling bonfires.

The People's War begins to sweep away the old order in order to inevitably destroy it. From the old, the new shall be born. And finally, like the pure and glorious phoenix bird, Communism will arise for all time. We should unfurl optimism and overflow with enthusiasm, futhermore thinking that we serve to carry out a task that will last forevermore. We humans are mere fragments of time and heart beats, but our deeds will remain for centuries stamped on generation after generation. Men march inevitably towards their end, but humanity, the working class and their creations will never end. We will people the Earth with light and happiness. With us, with our armed struggle, the authentic and only true liberty begins to be born. We are trumpets

of the future, the inextinguishable fire that crackles in the stormy present.

Long Live The Irresistible March Towards Guerrilla Warfare!

(Expanded Central Committee, August 24, 1980)

1981 - To our heroic fighting people!

PCP - Central Commitee - 1 january, 1981

Peruvian people! You are suffering four hunder years of hard and cruel exploitation, under ignominious foreign domination, violent opression of the native exploiters and bloody repression by the reactionary State.

Peruvian people! Today, after twelve years of false revolution and real reenforcement of your chains under a fascist military regime, in the middle of the big crisis that you have endured, today it is a new government that rules through outdated reactionary monstrosity of, so called, "representative democracy", false democracy of false rights and liberties, of false care for the basic needs of the people, and false democracy of the real opression and exploitation in the service of the exploiting classes and it's imperialist master; new reactionary government which is drowning you day by day in the hunger, unemployment, ignorance, illness, growing misery and increasing repression.

Peruvian people! Your history is not only the one of exploitation and bloody opression that was imposed and keep imposing with the language of reactionary violence and the words of demagogy of the false promises. Your history, is the one of rebellion and struggle; it's the history of the proletariat as a leading class, of the peasants, especially of the poor one which struggles and fights for the land he lives off, of the popular masses which live off the sweat of their foreheads, of your best sons which offer up the your life, of the peoples which wake up more and more to fight for your liberty, for your emancipation. In summary, our people, your history is the heroic one and unfading striggle of the popular masses; it's the struggle for the bread for your children, for the education, which clears the minds and makes them more conscious, for your conquered rights and liberties for the price of your blood, for the marching revolution, thriving for definitive emancipation, for the destruction of the old and rotten system of dominance, and definitely for the creation and forging of the new world for your sons, by your armed hands.

Peruvian people! And today, your best sons, blood of your blood, steel of your steel, forged in your thousand battles and hardeden in your

tireless action, following your shining and heroic example, today, our peruvian people, your best and devoted sons have rised in the wind the red flaming flag of the rebellion, they have rised in the armed actions opening the way which everyone has to follow: the way of democratic revolution which shall demolish the imperialist domination, feudal opression, capitalist bueraucratic exploitation and the outdated State whose support is the bureaucracy.

Peruvian people! Today your sons hois the great red flag of the rebellion which started to express with the facts your highest revolutionary dreams. Today your sons have started the effort, hard and brilliant path of enclosing the cities from the village, glorious way of the people's war. That way, today, your sons that came out of your powerful entrails, offer up to you their armed actions and their lives while saluting your heroic struggle and magnificent future in this new year.

Peruvian people! The armed struggle has begun! Laborers, peasants, workers, women, youth, children of the people, popular masses, let us march together into combat and with weapons in our hands we will build the future, the great future of our people!

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAO ZEDONG THOUGHT!

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU!

DEVELOP THE ARMED STRUGGLE!

1981 - Long live the armed struggle of our people! Down with the reactionary hoax!

PCP - Peru, 8 September 1981

The Communist Party of Peru, started in May 80, in defense of the sacred interests of our people, and our heroic armed struggle. This transcendental revolutionary act with guerrilla actions: propaganda and agitation, mobilization, crops and invasions, sabotage, assault and confrontation, mainly in the field, opens the doors of the armed rebellion, the revolt of the masses of poor peasantry, especially, the conquest of power for the proletariat and peoples through a protracted people's war from the countryside to the city masses. This is the real and only way to our liberation.

In more than a year of battles and victories, whose milestones are Chuschi, San Martin de Porres, Airabamba, Aisarca, Luricocha and others who stand out among more than the two thousand armed actions that have rocked every corner of our country fueled by the burning combativeness of our indomitable people. Today, in its inevitable development, our struggle begins with a new and big wave that hits the old reactionary ruling system deeper, which by being in turn transitory is headed by the demagogue Belaunde and his gang of smugglers, looters, starvers and traitors.

The recent and forceful blows in Quinua, the USA embassy and its residence, the Southern, the central and local People's Action and others are part of a series of armed actions against US imperialism, the main foreign exploiter of our people and the servile Belaunde government and his rampant repression and false democracy.

But, trying to cover the sun with a finger, for weathering the political crisis that they have generated, united to the heroic struggles of our people, and in defense of its imperialist master (now it sends as a new "ambassador", a sanguinary "specialist" in counter-insurgency war), and the black collaboration of electioneering opportunists, focused on "El Diario", the reactionary and corrupt Belaunde government has mounted the crude and senile canard that "would be drug traffickers," the perpetrators of such actions, at the same time are spreading fallacious and ridiculous denials. So they attempt to cover up the great

reality: the failures in its repressive plan and the booming development of the armed struggle.

Workers, peasants, women, youth, masses of our country, a new truth lies before us: the armed revolution is on! We greet the future hitting the reactionary power more and more strongly, with arms in hand and heart seething with hope as embodied in the unquenchable flames of our people's war.

DOWN WITH THE REACTIONARY HOAX!

LONG LIVE ARMED STRUGGLE !

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM!

1982 - Let us develop guerrilla warfare!

“He, who is not afraid of death by a thousand cuts, dares to overthrow the emperor. “

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I. The Armed Struggle Blazes Victoriously

The Communist Party of Peru, the organized vanguard of the proletariat founded by Mari tegui, reconstituted through more than fifteen years of hard struggle as a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party of a new type, and assuming its historic role and duty of fighting for the conquest of power for the proletariat and the people, in May of 1980 has set burning the invincible and ever-growing flames of the armed struggle, of guerrilla warfare in our country. This struggle, which is rooted every day more deeply in the class struggle in our land, soon will become a raging hurricane of armed battle to demolish the old, rotten prevailing order, and to bring to life a really free, sovereign country that provides for the well-being of the millions of exploited and oppressed.

In twenty-one months the Party has vigorously initiated and developed the only means for our people's and nation's emancipation: the armed struggle, the guerrilla war which blazes victoriously in the two thousand nine hundred armed actions that have swept the land in all but four departments that stirs the jungle, the coast, and the highlands most of all, that shakes the city and especially the countryside, whose struggle is served by the former. Thus, highlands and mountains, which made the countryside are the powerful and natural support for any possible revolutionary war in our country. Therefore, this is a peasant war that is being led by the Party of the proletariat. It is converting the countryside into an armed bastion of the revolution, concentrated in base areas -in bases of the New State of workers and peasants, isolating the reactionaries and their imperialist masters in the cities, where the proletariat and the masses, by burning the soles of the enemy's bloody paws mainly through armed actions that serve the struggle in the countryside, the center of the storm, prepare conditions for the final assault on the cities and the total, complete and thorough defeat of the reactionary order and the reactionary army that maintains it. This road, the only road to revolution, is now open; this is the road on which more and more of the proletariat and the masses, our people, are moving toward their own armed emancipation, by their own hands, since: "The people, and the people alone, is the motive force in the making of world history."

Two thousand nine hundred actions! These actions that began with the boycott of the general elections of 1980, carried in Chuschi and many other places, striking with agitation and armed propaganda through the seizure of radio stations, leaflets, and posters, and direct

actions that sow panic between the reactionaries and arouse the enthusiasm of the people with our rallying cries of “Armed struggle,” “Government of workers and peasants,” and “Down with the reactionary government ” This showed a new world to win through the hammers and sickles that light the hills, and through the unfading red flags proudly waving on top of hills and heights proclaim “It’s right to rebel!”

These actions are armed mobilizations that arouse the peasants, teach the people, and alarm the reactionaries such as those in Miraflores and San Isidro. Sabotage weakens and undermines the social and economic system of the ruling exploiters, as in demolishing electrical towers and producing blackouts in wide areas in the center and north of the country, including in the capital itself. Fires have hit ENCI in Huacho, San Martin de Porres, Fiat, Toyota, Hindu-Hogar in Lima , and in the cane plantations of the north. Repeated actions have been taken against banks throughout the country, and against reactionary companies like Bata, Hartinger, Centromin, etc., or against renowned elitist colleges, which are concentrated and humiliating expressions of a fierce reactionary, pro-imperialist foreign education.

Overwhelming actions that rock the semifeudal foundations of the state, unleashing armed vindicating actions against big land owners lords of the new and old type, like in Airabamba, Aisarca, Urpihuata, Palermo, Toxama, and Pincos, among others, truly rejoicing of the peasants witnessing a vibrant reemergence of their hopes and combativity which has never languished. To this list could be added the very important takeovers of cities like Acosvinchos, Vinchos, Cayara, Pomatambo, and Occroro, which intensely and profoundly stir the countryside and promoting the participation of the masses in the armed struggle.

Solid actions have hit directly the interests of Yankee imperialism, the principal imperialist power on our soil, such as the attack against Southern in the south of the country, the series of actions against U.S. companies or those connected with them in the capital, and, especially, the resounding blows against the U.S. embassy and the symbolic blasting of Kennedy’s statue in Miraflores, as well as the blows at the Chinese embassy, the sinister cave of the revisionist Deng Xiaoping and his lackeys, who is a notorious chum and accomplice of Yankee imperialism, and vile traitor to the international communist movement and principally to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

In addition, powerful and important actions have been carried out against the state, its repressive apparatus and especially against the

police forces. Many actions have been conducted against the courts, government offices, tax offices, voters' registration offices, city halls and ministries, and a great number of the offices of Acción Popular in all over the country, including their central headquarters in Lima, and even the National Parliament and local offices of the police (GC), and the Republican Guard (GR), and PIP throughout the country, as well as the punishment against known agents of repression like those in Arequipa and Huaraz among others, and against certain arrogant landlords and petty landowners known to be enemies of the people and murderers of Maoist combatants. Above all, the very important and audacious assaults on police stations and outposts like those of Ocobamba, Luricocha, La Ramada, Quinua, Tápuc, Yauli, Tambo, Quicapata, Totos, Yanahorco, Acchi, and in Puno and Tacna, whose effectiveness was highly expressed in the recent assault on San Jos&eactute; de Secce; in the disarming of police in Lima and especially Ayacucho; and in the important raid on the naval air base at Callao which they have unsuccessfully tried to cover up.

All these actions have hit powerfully at the reactionary armed forces, their personnel contingents who, as mere cannon fodder, are being used for interests other than their own; actions that have allowed us to capture arms from the enemy, the main source of our weapons and, what is most important, it has delivered powerful blows to the morale of the reactionary state apparatus and its support base.

Also there has been a brilliant and successful application of the policy of jail breakouts, whose greatest expression was the March 2 [1982] assault on the Public Jail of Ayacucho. This was a heroic action that marks an historic milestone in our armed struggle and in the annals of the Peruvian revolution: freeing our comrades and fighters from the dungeons of the reactionary Peruvian state. With the courage, strength and blood of the people s soldiers, our guerrilla war has been strengthened and has taken a great leap in its development. But in the same way we celebrate this undeniable victory, we protest, denounce, and condemn the despicable murder and massacre of three of our brave comrades by the police who, rabid in their defeat and hatred has carried out a vile, cowardly murder in the Regional Hospital of that city (Ayacucho) and attempted to execute two other sons of the people (who were saved by other patients and employees who snatched them from the claws of the regime's henchmen.) The five were recovering in the hospital under police custody. The people will not allow this detestable murder to go unpunished! We are fighters and we know that the armed struggle demands its measure of blood and, as the people and the proletariat have taught us and as the revolution demands, we offer our lives, our practice proves it. But in

our revolutionary war, we apply and we will continue to apply a policy toward prisoners which corresponds to the laws of war, and as we do practice it we demand the other side do the same. But the tortures, the rapes, the crimes against the sons and daughters of the people, and especially against our combatants, will be punished as the justice of the people demand, and we, their soldiers will carry them out no matter how long it takes from the time of the crime to the fair and just punishment we will impose. Peruvian reaction and its government, led by Bela£nde and his gang, using its police forces have mounted a new campaign against us. Basing ourselves on our just and revolutionary war, we will only say that like the previous ones, will fail. And finally, we can say that the demagogue Belaunde has already directly received our replay: On the 10th of march we rocked his "Government Palace" with a dynamite blast so that he might continue to hear the voice of the armed people.

The twenty-nine hundred actions clearly proved our combativeness and bellicosity of our emerging revolutionary armed forces, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, led absolutely by the Party. The armed actions take place in the countryside and in the cities, mainly in the former, is an armed struggle that assumes diverse forms of action but whose axis is the guerrilla war, which is complemented by other forms of the struggle. These are the armed actions whose support and fuel are the class struggle of our people and thrive solely on the inexhaustible energy of the people themselves, especially the workers and peasants.

The successful armed actions, offer a bright future and have so far achieved four great victories: First, the tempering of the Party, of leaders cadres, militants, and fighters together in the struggle, they become forged and steeled in the only definitive revolutionary crucible: the armed struggle. Although this is already a great victory, we must add another achievement of obvious and clear significance: the formation and construction of an armed force led by the Party which surges into flames of the guerrilla warfare that will never be extinguished, and is the principal instrument for completing the political tasks of the Peruvian revolution and which, under proletarian leadership, has established an armed force that is developing as an arm of the New State of workers and peasants. A third victory is to be found in the increasing quantity and growing quality achieved by our armed actions, actions that have been taken mass character both in their number and the ability of the sons and daughters of the people to carry them out, as well as the increasing quality shown by the higher level that has been achieved. Finally, a fourth victory, which is the most important and principal: the emergency and development of

guerrilla zones within whose boundaries, the vigorous and growing advanced of the guerrilla warfare, we will build our future support bases, those advance revolutionary bastions that are the legacies of the military thought of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, base areas that are the very essence of the road of surrounding the cities from te countryside base areas that are the very essence surrounding the cities from the countryside, the very essence of the People's War.

Because all of this, we say to our class, the proletariat, and to the people of our country, especially to our indomitable peasantry, THE ARMED STRUGGLE BLAZES VICTORIOUSLY. Through its initial flames signaling the great blaze to come, the masses themselves will take their own destiny in their triumphant, creative, and sure hands, the makers of history and every revolution.

II. Counterrevolutionary Action Fuels our Struggle

What has been the reactionary response? What has been the reaction of the democratic government, as it calls itself, that self-proclaimed upholder of the constitutional order and defender of the sacred human rights? It has responded in the way that its reactionary class character and logic demand. Since the beginning, it has unleashed persecution, repression, torture, imprisonment and murder against the revolutionary combatants and people. The government of Belaunde, a phony democracy, a hypocritical and demagogic government has used its forces of repression, mainly its police, to drown in blood our nascent armed revolution.

They are trampling on the most basic, universally recognized rights embodied in its constitution of 1979, the reactionary government of Belaunde and its so-called forces of order have brutally broken and stolen from whatever homes they'd wanted; they have persecuted, arrested, and jailed whomever they want to; they have burned, robbed, raped, and murdered with impunity to sons and daughters of the people in accord with their lowest instincts; they have gorged their dark, reactionary zeal on savage beatings of the masses, mainly the peasants, in a stupid attempt to intimidate them and driven away from the armed struggle; they have generalized the use of torture, trying to crush their will and extract false confessions, despicably and perversely humiliating people so as to bend the revolutionary morale and annihilate the combatants; they have used rapes as an infamous, vile, and abusive means to force submission and to tarnish the pure, resolute, and firm spirit of the daughters of the people; they have denied all rights and guarantees to prisoners, forcing them to endure continuous persecutions even behind bars in filthy dungeons, and they have extended their harassment and repression to include the prisoner's families. Thus, the persecution and repression of the armed struggle and the people expose them as a treacherous farce, their claims to respect even the most basic human rights, which in reality is a sinister plan to crush the people through counterrevolutionary violence. But all this has failed to achieve their dark hopes, because the sons and daughters of the people, the class and the Party, hold their heads high, victorious and firm in their trenches of combat wherever they are.

The despicable Belaunde government has also appealed to the legislature promulgating Law Decree (D.L.) No. 46, a terrorist law to

be used as a club against the armed struggle and the people. This cavernous decree violates the most elementary principles of the bourgeoisie's own criminal law, and establishes widespread and indiscriminate repression. And if they have not yet instituted the death penalty that they so eagerly and cunningly seek it is because the present constitution prohibits it and they have not yet found the conditions to amend it. The whole reaction, especially its mercenaries (ganapanes) and media hacks, all in the name of "order" and "social peace," call for the "drastic application of the law." Thus, the so-called autonomous judicial system has carried out its sinister intrigues; of manipulating the oppressive laws, hanging judges, kangaroo trials, and prisons; utilizing contrived evidence, accelerated procedures, twisting laws and selling the principles that they claim to safeguard. They have begun to swing their rotten club on the sons and daughters of the masses, imposing monstrous punishments that even some reactionaries have criticized for being vile and counterproductive. A blind and dumb reactionary justice has been put in motion, as it must, in defense of the dying, exploitative, and repressive order. But in so doing, it cannot but reveal it's profoundly counterrevolutionary essence, and exposes even more the dark nature of the legal system and the sacrosanct judicial power. But even this old legal butchery cannot bend the sons and daughters of the people who proudly defy it in the revolution.

But in addition to the persecution and repression, torture and jail, legal club and judicial machinery, and the actions of their police blood hounds of the security and intelligence units, some of whose henchmen the people have and will keep clearly in mind, the government has mounted independent police operations and joint actions with the police forces of the GC, GR, and PIP and their corresponding anti-subversive Sinchi and Dircote units in particular. They have mounted two large operations to date: the first in January 1981 and the second, of a larger magnitude and importance, in October of the same year, where they declared a state of emergency in five provinces in the department of Ayacucho in order to give themselves more firing power and broader impunity, counting upon the support and advice of the armed forces.

What has been the result of the well-publicized October operation? It was a categorical failure. It ended quietly without fanfare or glory and without even the merest public report summing up the results of the vast police mobilization which obviously entailed enormous expenses. That the "final and definitive operation," as it was called. It looked like a delivery in the desert, with more noise than substance as proven by the facts. They failed in its obscure goal of wiping out the armed

struggle, to smash the armed organizations and annihilate the Party in that region. On the contrary, the facts show that on December 10, during the state of emergency and their "definitive operation," the guerrilla carried out an assault against the police outpost of Totos, and other actions immediately followed in the region of Ayacucho culminating in the resounding action at San Jos, de Secce.

What did the anti-subversive operation show? Plainly and simply that the masses reject and resist aggression; that reactionary brutality, arrogance, and violence did not dishearten them, but rather it so aroused their just class anger that they even confront with their bare hands the armed aggressors protected by the structure of the state. It shows that the people support and protects the armed struggle, the guerrilla warfare that they sustain and defend with their lives, and that their understanding, hearts, and will, go out to the guerrilla war because it advances and serves their liberation. The police operations and all the repressive actions only confirm that the war is gaining in strength and developing, and that if we pay with our sweat, suffering, and blood, this is no more than our quota for having risen in arms in a just and necessary rebellion for the class and the people. It is proven that we are learning warfare through waging warfare, and that we have advanced and will advance further as we follow the leadership of the Party more closely and better, whose just and correct ideological and political line is expressed and molded in irrefutable deeds like those that mark the past twenty-one months of vigorous revolutionary armed struggle.

And what is the essence of the government's political and military position with regard to the guerrillas? It is to combat them as "terrorists." But in this, Peruvian reactionaries, their state, and the government of Belaunde are only following the model set down by their Yankee imperialist masters how to counter the armed struggle. It is known to all that Reagan, the President of the United States, his Secretary of State Haig, and their followers put the brand of "terrorism" on revolutionary wars now being waged in the world. With this scheme they try to discredit armed action, trafficking and playing on the masses' correct rejection of the old individualist, anarchist, and aimless terrorism long condemned by the classics of Marxism, lumping together the defense of property and so-called "social peace" along with what they claim is the defense of life, dreaming to win the masses to their side or at least neutralizing them.

Therefore, to label the armed struggle as "terrorism" is nothing but the demagogic and reactionary position of Yankee imperialism, raised up in order to oppose the armed revolution, seeking to cover it in a

cloak of slander while they mount the bloodiest repression and genocide. Further, they use this rotten maneuver in their contention for world hegemony with Russian social-imperialism, trying to link revolutionary action, through so-called "terrorism," to the social imperialist superpower. In this way they seek also to discredit genuine revolutions, which can in no way be compared with the sinister center of contemporary revisionism which has converted Lenin's and Stalin's homeland into the hegemonic superpower of today.

As expected, the Peruvian reaction, the government of Belaunde, and their media mercenaries can do nothing else but apply at all cost the orders and directives of their master, imperialism. But they are not the only ones who condemn our armed struggle as "terrorism." Also jumping on this bandwagon, are the opportunists manipulated by the hardened revisionist Jorge Del Prado and his clique, who obediently follow the baton of the Russian imperialist boss and imperial bludgeon Brezhnev. And it is only natural that these enemies of the revolution act this way since they cannot remain with their arms crossed while their position over the masses, as old-time sellouts in the service of the collusion and contention between social-imperialism and Yankee imperialism, is being undermined. In this same chorus we find "Patria Roja," which calls furiously to the self-proclaimed "left" to unleash a holy war against the supposed "terrorism," and in their role in an ominous division of labor calls for waging an ideological and political struggle against "terrorism," leaving the task of physical repression to the government. Yesterday's enemies of Deng Xiaoping, and today his admirers, they must attack us for fighting Yankee imperialism, the partner of their new revisionist boss, and even more so, for applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, which they yesterday invoked, and today rejects. Nevertheless, others have united with this chomp of clowns, still dazzled by the so-called "democratic opening" and "parliamentary road," who've yet to realize that the world has smashed their dreams into the smithereens, and who continue to be deluded by parliamentary cretinism and daydreaming on the forthcoming 1985 elections.

But in the end, while some these and others there added up may seem to be a lot, in reality they are nothing but representatives of a thin film floating on the fathomless sea of the masses of our country. And we must keep in mind that for Marxism, there is only one tactic with regard to the masses, to draw a sharp line of demarcation between the broad masses, who ascend from the depths, and the filthy, decaying scum that floats unsteadily on the waves as a fragile base for bureaucratic trade unionism and counterfeit workers' parties, truly "bourgeois workers' parties." This tactic impels us to educate the

masses, theoretically and practically in revolutionary violence and in the consequent resolute and firm struggle against opportunism.

To those and all who claim to be Marxists and revolutionary fighters, whether they lead, go along with, or embrace the imperialist perversion of labeling the armed struggle that emerges from the very heart of the class struggle of our people as "terrorism," we reprint these paragraphs from the great Lenin:

"And so matters are moving ahead! Despite the incredible and utterly indescribable difficulties, a headway is being made in the matter of getting armed. Individual terrorism, bred of intellectualist impotence, is gradually becoming a thing of the past . . . military operations together with the people is now commencing. It is by engaging in such operations that the pioneers of an armed struggle become fused with the masses not merely in word but in deeds, assume leadership of the combat squads and contingents of the proletariat, train in the crucible of civil war dozens of people's leaders who, tomorrow, on the day of the workers' uprising, will be able to help with their experience and their heroic courage thousands and tens of thousands of workers. . .

"Long live the pioneers of the people's revolutionary army! "It is no longer a plot against some detested individual, no act of vengeance or desperation, no mere 'intimidation,' no, it was a well-thought-out and prepared commencement of operations by acontingents of the revolutionary army, planned with due regard for the correlation of forces . . . "

"Fortunately, the time has passed when revolution was 'made' by individual revolutionary terrorists, because the people were not revolutionary. The bomb has ceased to be the weapon of the solitary 'bomb throwers,' and is becoming and essential weapon of the people." . . .

"We went from experience to experience. We sought to create a willful army marching blindly, groping our way, searching for the path to fulfill the task in that situation. And the task was clear. At present we are still very far off from having freed ourselves from these difficulties. At first we acted in a completely abstract way, like revolutionaries who make speeches but who completely ignore ways to overcome problems. Naturally, many people accuse us, and all the socialists and social democrats continue to accuse us even today, of having started something without knowing how to carry it through to the end. But these are no more than ridiculous accusations of the living dead. How could it be possible to launch into making the

greatest of revolutions knowing beforehand how to carry it to the end? No, our decisions could only arise out of the experience of the masses."

In conclusion, while the initiated armed struggle develops as fiery guerrilla warfare with brilliant prospects, the counterrevolution, following its reactionary logic, fights and attacks us. And there are those who, serving distant revisionist masters, join the chorus, while others follow in this same vein or approach this path. And even as the people support and encourage us, further strengthening our forces, there are those who want to smother our revolutionary advances under the ragged cloak of "terrorism," since we are the advancing armed revolution. There are those who call us "Sendero Tenebroso," the gloomy path, while trying to perpetuate the shadows that begin to recede from the brilliant light of our actions guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

There are those who call us "unpatriotic" while continuing to sell the country to imperialism. There are those who call us "infantile" without any proof whatsoever and without even seeing that even if such was the case, the genuine struggle of the class and the people teaches and matures while opportunist senility rots and is a disease that contaminates without regard to age. There are those who brand us as "provocateurs" without ever noticing in their blindness that they are persistently provoking the righteous anger of the people for their frustrated and unrepentant promotion of mass capitulation. And finally, there are those who call us "adventurists" without noticing in their political stupidity that they are just the same old political swindlers and petty professional social climbers. Nevertheless, they are totally and completely right about one thing: we have no love for parliamentary cretinism and we do not worship electoral opportunism. We are simply and plainly Marxist-Leninist-Maoists.

Chairman Mao Tse-tung has taught us: "It is a good thing to be attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between ourselves and the enemy. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black without a single virtue. It demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves, but achieved a great deal in our work."

For all that has been said, we reaffirm that
COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY ACTION IS THE FUEL OF OUR STRUGGLE!

III. The Crisis of the Reactionary Order Deepens and the People Call for Armed Revolution

What is the current situation of the reactionary forces? The former military government, which lasted twelve years, came to power with two goals to achieve:

1. to strengthen bureaucratic capitalism, and

2. to reorganize Peruvian society.

To complete the first task, it took as the driven force the state-controlled economy. In order to fulfill the second task, the government was guided by a fascist political outlook and promoted the reorganization of society along corporate lines. In its first phase it made advances in obtaining its objectives, but the economic crisis generated by itself, and especially the persistent struggle of the masses, forced the military government to reexamine its objectives and limit itself to a general readjustment of its plan to subsequently proceed with the corporate reorganization in order to institutionalize those changes that they had set out from the beginning, and, moreover, to proceed to a future transfer of state power. Nevertheless, the deepening of the economic crisis and the intensification of the class struggle cut short their goals, and the new constitution, thus representing the third reorganization of the Peruvian state in this century did not achieve the molding of a corporate Peruvian society. It only allowed for the strengthening of executive power at the expense of the parliament, and a greater participation of the armed forces in the running of the state. As a corollary to the military measures, two elections were held, the elections for the constituent assembly and the general elections of 1980. In both, voter turnouts declined, part of a trend common throughout Latin America, showing a loss of faith in elections and government.

Under these conditions' Bela£nde took over the government, and today, more than one and a half years since his term began, the economic crisis continues, the publicized resurgence of the economy is nowhere in sight, a persistent, growing inflation continues to pound any economic advance, and the budget deficits, the very basis of the government's measures, increase uncontrollably, gravely threatening an increasingly battered Peruvian economy. Imperialist domination sinks its nails deeper in our country, taking over more and more of

our natural resources, especially oil, extending its grip into the peasant's areas, and broadening its control over the country's commerce and finance. The so-called "agrarian reform" has been concluded.

The electoral opportunists join the chorus of those claiming that the land problem is ended and resolved. They try to fool the peasants with the botched "farming and cattle-raising programs" at the same time as they advocate the development of the "associative property" to cover up the return of the big landowners to promote bureaucrat capitalism in agriculture under the control of the big banks and with the direct participation of Yankee imperialism. The proletariat and workers are burdened with growing unemployment and declining wages while working conditions deteriorate and prior gains are negated or threatened every day, such as the right to strike. The petty bourgeoisie suffers increasing pauperization, the intellectuals in particular are thwarted and the people in general face hunger while the new reactionary government tries to subjugate them even more. The national bourgeoisie and medium-sized capitalists see growing restrictions on their businesses, suffering also the consequences of the government's intensified undermining of national industry. Meanwhile, in the very bosom of the big bourgeoisie, a sharp struggle between the bureaucratic and comprador factions, and even within these factions is taking place over who will reap the most profits or benefits.

In sum, then, guided by an orientation that sees developing big monopoly, mainly Yankee capital, as the motor of economic development, the present government aims at further developing the subjugating semifeudal structure, that still rules the country, for the direct benefit of the old and new type landowners and the old type rich peasants. The current government undermines the basic industrial structure of the country in order to direct even more the economic trend toward extraction and production, particularly mining and petroleum. And now, it transfers and seeks to auction off the state enterprises, those which the former government had concentrated in the hands of the state at the cost of a staggering public debt placed on the backs of the people. Thus, preparing a succulent offering to the insatiable appetite of big capitalists, particularly imperialist capital. The current reactionary government, whose head, prime mover, and most responsible representative is Bela£nde, is as servile as any before it in its eagerness to build up bureaucratic capital (big monopoly capital, vassals to the feudal landowners and subjugated to imperialism) principally to the benefit of big monopoly capital, especially big banking and finance capital under the asphyxiating and

ever widening expansion of U.S. imperialism. But even if this is the outline and scheme of the government, the same complex conflict of interests among the exploiters, the persistent and deepening crisis, and even more, the class struggle which sharpens day by days does not allow the government to overcome its present difficulties, a crucial matter in order to organize and work out a coherent plan based on the clear and defined program that the ruling order loudly demands.

On the political plane, the government continues to face the complex and entangled turning point of the class struggle which generates the introduction of a new constitution, the consolidation of a bureaucracy totally devoted to it, and a regrouping of reactionary political forces placed in hibernation during the previous twelve years, and, principally, generated the need to rein in the masses who have been drowning in years of stifling crisis that propels them one more time into action to defend their own vital interests, these are the masses deceived by the long harsh years of a demagogic government pretending to be “revolutionary” and aided (as always!) by the same opportunists, have seen their most basic needs denied and their aspirations mocked. All this has created a complicated political situation for the reactionary rulers. Nevertheless, the reality is crystal clear.

In a year and a half the decrepitude of the democratic/ bourgeois order has become evident to the people, who see the contrast in a hypocritical invocation of human rights and liberties alongside their brutal negation of what they preach. The obsolete parliamentary institutions are coming apart like an empty barrel rolling downhill, sinking in the pompous and sterile rhetoric of the anointed “fathers of the country,” while basic legislative functions give in to the arrogant invasion of jurisdiction by the Executive. And an arthritic and anemic so-called judicial power carries out its functions, compelled only by the mountains of pending proceedings, crooked dealings and servile subjugation to whatever arrogant authority is in charge, and in constant violation of its own reactionary laws, directed, as always, against the people and which, especially today, feeds on revolutionary fighters. And then there is also the so-called autonomous electoral power that routinely rigs elections, covering up its crudest manipulations. Added to this are the sharp contention and split between the reactionary parties that are repeatedly revealed in public scandals and which find expression in all kinds of lawless proceedings. Thus the reactionary political system clearly reveals the frailty and rottenness that it attempts to hide behind the mask of democracy and its phony concern for the masses (who are needed only for occasional voting and for demagogic drum beating). In this way, as Marxism

teaches, the armed forces and the police, mainly the former, are ever more the true backbone of the reactionary state and their true bastion, hence their growing importance and growing interference in the running of the state. Nevertheless, we can never forget that an armed force, in essence, strategically is only as strong as the social order it defends, no matter how heavily armed it may be tactical.

The ruling, exploitative, oppressive order is also in an ideological crisis despite its hypocritical hand wringing over the so-called "moral crisis of the people," which is nothing but the destruction of old principles shattered by the blows of acute economic crisis and the political feebleness of the reaction. And, this is precisely what is principal, the crisis of bourgeois-democratic principles and the social order that, superseded by historical development, by the class struggle, by the vigorous rise of the proletariat and the popular masses, and the great radical transforming process that has put the stamp of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism the world over, is left more exposed in the light of day not only in the historical sense, but also in the sense that every day its political decrepitude grows more pronounced. Every day witnesses a decline in the influence of bourgeois-democratic principles which, if in centuries past were revolutionary, have for decades been reactionary. That their hold on people is waning can be seen from the results of the last election. Bela £nde took office with 46 percent of the votes and felt exalted to the heavens, the holder of absolute power, the unchallenged voice above the class struggle and contentions. Nevertheless, a year and a half have been enough to smash his electoral sand castle, dissolving it like sewage foam, with his fictitious "great authority" cast between the pounding waves and swirling vortexes, marches to its total ruin.

Finally, we should speak, even quickly and briefly, on the question of Ecuador. Ecuador's questioning of the R¡o Protocol of 1942 goes back many years. This situation has become aggravated in recent years as proven by the border incident of the Cordillera del Condor of January 1981. But the present Peruvian government and Belaunde who heads and leads it (even more, being the person who directly conducts international politics and who consequently is principally responsible) has been dealing with this delicate and important problem in a totally erroneous and irresponsible way; instead of looking for a means to clarify the border question, they adopt an alarmingly superficial and frivolous attitude: if the Ecuadoran question is not treated justly and correctly, it has the potential to become a serious problem of grave and vast consequences. This problem, obviously, has never been addressed directly by anyone but the people themselves, who with their own blood and efforts have given us the territory which makes

up our country. Here too, the reactionary politics and measures of the government of Belaunde are evident, since everyone can see that the many conflicts in our Latin American countries and the many wars our people have been involved all derive from the union of interests of the imperialists, in contention with those of its agents and internal partners who govern our republics. And this is a greater worry today when the Latin American scene reveals various potential conflicts unfolding in the stirred-up climate of contention between the superpowers in their pursuit for world domination. In sum, we see the sharpening crisis of the reactionary order, which approaches the year 1982 with dark perspectives.

And what is the present situation of the people? A peasantry with a centuries-old fundamental goal, “Land to the tiller, ” whom despite its undaunted struggle, has yet to achieve its goal. This is a peasantry whom they have tried to deceive with three supposed agrarian reform laws in the past twenty years. And yet, after the bombastic demagoguery and their full implementation, the peasants were left with the same old unsatisfied thirst for land.

A proletariat, whose long, vigorous struggle has yielded only miserable wages and other concessions from its exploiters, only to lose them in each economic crisis society endures. This is a proletariat whose struggle rotates on a vicious iron circle and who once again today is involved in the unending battle over wages, working hours, and working conditions.

A petty bourgeoisie, making up a broad stratum characteristic of a backward country, that sees its dreams ruined by the relentless impoverishment to which the ruling order subjects it. There is a middle bourgeoisie, a national bourgeoisie that is weak and lacks capital, that totters between revolution and counterrevolution, while each new crisis crushes it nearly to the point of suffocation.

These are the four classes that historically make up the people of our land. Of them, it is the peasantry which is the principal driven force, as much as it is the proletariat that rises and develops as the class leading our revolution. United, they make up the worker-peasant alliance, the only possible solid base for any possible revolutionary front. The petty bourgeoisie unites with them, and together, the three, under the leadership of the proletariat, are the backbone of the revolutionary front, which is nothing if it is not a front for the armed struggle and the class framework for the New State. This solid union, this solid front, is held together so long as the proletariat firmly retains its hegemony, bases itself on the worker-peasant alliance,

forged and developed in the heat of the armed struggle, of guerrilla warfare. It is this front of classes that the national bourgeoisie will sometimes join (and sometimes leave) depending on the raging winds of the class struggle.

And the Peruvian people, this immense majority, these masses that are the true makers of history, these powerful productive forces, are constrained by the persistent decrepitude of the exploitative social relations that impose unemployment and underemployment on 56.3 percent of the "economically active population" (according to the government's own statistics), and in the countryside, two of every three peasants are underemployed. Thus the decrepit system of exploitation destroys and holds back the powerful creative forces of the people, the only forces capable of the thorough revolutionary transformation for which our country has fought for too long. Furthermore, the reactionaries defend this evil destructive system with blood and fire to the benefit of the big landlords, of the old and the new type, of a big comprador or bureaucratic bourgeoisie and their masters, Yankee imperialism that for each dollar it invests extracts five.

This rotten, bloody system is held together by the oppression imposed by the reactionary landlord-bureaucratic state, through its state apparatus, its bureaucracy, its armed forces, its judiciary, its jails, and its ancient and repression of murderous proportions, principally through the armed forces, which are the real backbone of the ruling-class dictatorship that dominates and increases its profits extracted from the sweat, toil, and blood of our people.

If you are talking about exploitation and oppression, you are talking about the state; if you are talking about the state, you are talking about classes, if you are talking about classes you are talking about class struggle; if you are talking about class struggle, you are talking about people's struggle; and, as facts have shown in history, if you are talking about people's struggle you are talking about rebellion, an armed struggle, guerrilla warfare, as the situation in the America's show today. Our people, like all the peoples of the world, have their own proud history of struggles etched with their blood and heroism. The most earthshaking, turbulent, and splendid battles have been those waged relentlessly by the peasantry, especially the poor peasants, through the centuries. It is sufficient to remember here that our republican emancipation was won as a result of the great armed peasants' actions of the 18th century, and our own 20th century has been marked by big peasant struggles in the 1920's and 1960's. These and the powerful struggle of 1963 are sources of extraordinary

experiences, to which it is necessary to add the armed struggle led by MIR back in 1965, a struggle which left us invaluable lessons which every revolutionary must know about. Nevertheless, it is with the appearance of Marxism and the Communist Party that the peasant struggle acquired its full revolutionary expression. With the leadership of the proletariat, through its Party, the peasantry has met with and is following the real road to the overthrow of the present exploiting order, that is, People's War, the highest expression of proletarian military thought established by Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

Thus our people, as all people in the world, have been nurtured and have advanced in the course of revolutionary violence. It is here, in its diverse forms and levels of struggles that our people have won demands, rights and liberties. None of these conquests have fell from the skies, nor was it given; "despite what traitors might say." In the final analysis all was conquered and defended with revolutionary violence in fierce fight against reactionary violence.

That is how the 8-hour day was won, how territory was won and held, and how rights were won and tyrants overthrown. Revolutionary violence is the essence of our historical process and, if the freedom of the republic was won with arms on the battlefield, it is easy to understand that the development and triumph of the Peruvian revolution, of our democratic revolution, of the emancipation of the people and the class, will be won only through the most splendid revolutionary war of our people, rising in arms en masse through People's War.

And today, our heroic people, inheritors of such a rich history and following this glorious road, wage battles against the new reactionary government, wage battle in the countryside against the big and small landlords, the social base of reactionary state power in agriculture; wage battle in the factories and mines against their exploiters and oppressors, wage battle in the countless barrios, striking out against hunger and misery; wage battle in the universities and colleges for their need to learn and become educated; wage battles in the small and medium sized cities against a suffocating centralism; wage battle in education, science, and culture for the undeniable right to nourish the spirit and enjoy peace of mind; wage battle in the streets for the right to earn a living; wage battle to maintain rights and liberties already won, for freedom of thought, the freedoms of speech, of organization, of assembly, for the right to strike, and numerous other victories wrenched through their struggle and toil which, despite being stamped into law and in the National Constitution, are trampled on, questioned, and denied twenty-four hours a day by the arrogant

and abusive actions of those in power, and by whatever highly placed social climbers, which is in a position of authority (as is the natural order of things among those who run the state). If our people are more conscious than yesterday, more politicized than yesterday, and more organized, firm, and decisive than yesterday, it is because of the enormous presence of the proletariat guided by unconquerable Marxism-Leninism-Maoism that arms their minds and fists.

Our heroic fighting people enter into battle even when this means facing against the clubs, bombs, bullets, and fierce battalions of reaction. They do it in certainty because that struggle tempers, mobilizes, organizes, politicizes, and arms and prepares them for the great battles to come. And if our people are learning anything, today more than before, it is that the class struggle necessarily leads to the struggle for power, and that this can only be won through violent revolution which for us means revolutionary war, armed struggle, the guerrilla warfare of People's War. Only in this way can power be conquered by the class and people. And only in this way can the New State arise and the dictatorship of the proletariat is established, so as to carry out the great and complete transformation of society so that, finally, the brilliant, resolute light of communism will shine in our own land. This spirit already dwells among the people. This is clearly shown in the countryside and in the cities where the people begin to once again use violence to repel reactionary violence in defense of their rights. And, more important and demonstrative still is the greater support the people give the armed struggle, the guerrilla war, led by the Party. Though they may not yet understand t in its total depth and scope (that requires its continued development), with the wisdom of collective action the people are fully capable of seeing that these flames of today begin to presage the armed bonfires to come, and in this the real hope for inexorable emancipation is bellowed and welded.

This is, according to the science of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism way of seeing things, the situation of the reactionaries and of the people. In this contradictory situation we see the two concrete aspects and specifics of today's revolutionary situation. So we can see clearly the revolutionary situation manifesting itself and how Lenin understood it: today those on top can no longer continue ruling as they did yesterday, and those on the bottom are no longer willing to live as they have until now. In the reactionary camp, we can see the lack of a precise and defined acceptable program capable of welding the reactionary forces and the erratic jumble of moves and counter moves that betray the lack of a fixed course, the understandable result of the lack of a unified program and much less an accepted one. Among the

people we can see the firm and decisive move toward armed revolution, their will for revolutionary transformation, although as a limitation they sometimes may express themselves in a simple desire to overthrow the decrepit ruling system. But still, if this was all there was to it, this is the basic and enough reason to meet the correct course of action, because it is the armed struggle itself, through its accomplishments, that open even wider the road of armed struggle and, likewise, shows in deeds the correctness of this road in the minds of people, and thus the masses become more and more part of this great road of People's War.

Such are the concrete issues of the developing revolutionary situation. We have reached this point due to two factors:

1. The polarization of the class struggle, and 2. The armed struggle that evolves as guerrilla warfare sprung from the very heart of the class struggle in the country.

The polarization of the class struggle and its further development as armed struggle has intensified the preexisting revolutionary situation. Thus, today, and in perspective, we can see that as the developing revolutionary situation heats up, it will further deepen the class struggle and both will strongly impel the further advance of the armed struggle. This is, in synthesis, the current situation of both the people and the reaction. The latter propose, through the government of Belaunde, a "social pact" or "concertation" (reconciliation or class collaboration) which is nothing more than a rehash of the position of the previous government, but the people's position in perspective is: support the armed struggle.

Thus, today the class struggle is polarized and will continue to be polarized even more in the future: "concertation" vs. support for the armed struggle. Reconciliation is the black flag of the reaction; support for the armed struggle is the red flag of the people. Reconciliation is the flag of reaction bent on binding the people's hands and feet, and, in more limited terms, to weld together the contending factions in the reactionary camp. To achieve this, the reactionary regime will resort to whatever means, including repression, with the objective of maintaining their dominance. In the last resort they increase the use of armed force, since that is the card reaction keep up its sleeve for the opportune moment. Support for the armed struggle is the red flag of the people and must be their necessary perspective since, for the people, reconciliation is capitulation. The road for our people begins to manifest itself with greater clarity and determination: supporting and building the armed

struggle is the only historic road that corresponds to the path of the people, there is no other. Supporting the armed struggle today means simply to develop guerrilla warfare.

For all that has been said we conclude: THE CRISIS OF THE REACTIONARY ORDER DEEPENS AND THE PEOPLE CALL FOR ARMED REVOLUTION.

IV. Develop Guerrilla Warfare

Chairman Mao Tse-tung states: “The central task and highest form of revolution is the conquest of power by means of armed struggle, that is, the settlement of the issue through war. This revolutionary Marxist-Leninist principle is a universal truth applicable in China as in all countries.” Further he says: “Before the outbreak of war, all organizations and struggles have as their goal preparing for it . . . After the outbreak of war, all organizations and struggles must be coordinated directly or indirectly with the war effort.”

The Communist Party of Peru, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party of a new type, loyal to its principles and program, conscious of its historic mission as the organized vanguard of the Peruvian proletariat, has assumed its responsibility to launch the armed struggle to fight for the conquest of power for the working class and the people, and today is developing guerrilla warfare, learning from advances and setbacks, fanning more widely the living flames of armed conflict and rooting them more deeply among the poor peasants, principally, and will lead in building revolutionary base areas that will finally give concrete form to the triumphant road of People’s War. Prior to the launching of the People’s War, the Party had to be reconstituted, following the expulsion of Del Prado and Co., the standard bearers of revisionism in the Party’s ranks. In the IV National Conference of January 1964, we entered the long and complex process of reconstitution, it agreed later by means of the VI Conference of January 1969 in which the Party threw off the weight of revisionism and became a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party of a new type. With the completion of this arduous and glorious task, the 9th Plenary Session of the Central Committee in 1979 approved the launching of the armed struggle. Once this historic mandate was completed, in May 1980, the armed struggle was initiated with the proclamation of the two basic slogans: “Armed Struggle!” and “Workers’ and Peasants’ Government!” Thus, our actions were initiated, unfolding as guerrilla warfare, and now, in accord with the Central Committee of January 1981, we are further developing the guerrilla warfare. The armed struggle initiated and led resolutely by the Party is the continuation of the class struggle of the Peruvian people; it is the armed continuation of its political struggle and is profoundly linked to and indissolubly united with the masses, mainly the poor peasants. The masses are our only base and support, the source of our strength and vigor. We are firm practitioners of the great principle of relying on our own strength, as we are firm followers of proletarian internationalism, unfurling that immortal call

of Marx and Engels, “Proletarians of All Countries Unite! ,” And as communists we always raise highest the three great banners of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Marx, Lenin, and Mao, which demands us to be irreconcilable enemies of revisionism and all forms of opportunism.

In waging the revolution in our country we are serving the world proletarian revolution, which will not rest until communism shines over the face of the earth. The revolutionary reality of our country shows that in fact the armed struggle burns victoriously, that the counterrevolutionary actions fuel our struggle, that the reactionary order sinks in crisis, and the people call for armed revolution. Thus our heroic people are faced with the pressing historic necessity to support the armed struggle, which today means developing guerrilla warfare. The Communist Party of Peru, the Party founded by Mariá tegui, the Party reconstituted as a Party of a new Marxist-Leninist-Maoist type, has begun the armed struggle in our country and had, through twenty-one months of the enrichment of combative life, developed it as guerrilla warfare. The Communist Party of Peru, which has risen to the heavens the red flags of rebellion to serve the working class and the people in their emancipation, calls on the Peruvian proletariat, and especially the poor peasantry and broad masses throughout the country, to take our historic destiny in our hands and overthrow the existing rotten, reactionary ruling order and build the new revolutionary social order that the people demand and cry out for.

Peruvian people ! Workers, peasants, women, youth, and intellectuals, support the armed struggle! Support the development of the guerrilla warfare!

Peruvian people! Your vigorous voice, like furious thunder, has begun to express itself in the vibrant and purifying language of revolutionary violence, in an armed struggle. Through guerrilla actions, through guerrilla warfare, you are creating milestones in your new history, your definitive history. We have embarked on a great road, a long and arduous one, but victory will be decisive, since “except for state power, all is but illusion!”

DEVELOP GUERRILLA WARFARE! LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU! GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM!

March, 1982 PCP-CENTRAL COMMITTEE

1982 - Maoism. On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism

The following document was published by the Communist Party of Peru in 1987 in a compilation named "CPP and Mao Tsetung". It's an extract from a report of a plenum session of the Central Committee that was held in November 1982, and is not to be confused with the first document of the 1st Congress of the PCP.

MAOISM. ON MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM

PLENUM SESSION OF THE CENTRAL COMMITEE - NOVEMBER, 1982
EXTRACTS FROM THE REPORT "MAOISM. ON MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM"

Our objective is to initiate a campaign about Maoism, an abbreviated form to say Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, or that Maoism is the principal of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in the present.

The next year, we celebrate ninety years of Chairman Mao Tsetung's birthday, because he was born on December 26th of 1893. It is evident that today there is a sharp struggle between Marxism and revisionism. Furthermore, also in those who defend Chairman Mao there isn't enough clarity and complete adhesion to Maoism as the third stage of Marxism, due to this we say that it is struggle concerning Maoism.

We must hoist the slogan: LONG LIVE MAOISM! in order to initiate this great campaign which, obviously, is of a strategical character. It is a campaign of vast dimensions and a complex problem: it is a difficult task, but it is an obligation that we have as communists, as about the complexities of this campaign, but the importance that it has weighs much more, and historically it is necessity because world revolution needs Maoism in order to unfold a higher peaks, in order that the strategical offensive of world revolution be in folded, tasks in which we communists of the world are engaged. We do not pretend to say that Maoism reaches only till there. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism possesses programmatic points, laws, principles which go until communism, and as we march toward this great goal it is being specified starting from what is established since Marx. Because the ideology of the proletariat is a powerful science that develops itself through big leaps, generators of higher stages each time: with Marx, Marxism, with Lenin, Leninism and with Chairman Mao, Maoism, as the first, second and third successive stages, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and, mainly, today's Maoism.

Therefore the objective is to develop a campaign that possesses strategical characters and serves the world revolution. Due to the circumstances the contribution that we can make is important, we do not say that it is decisive, but it is important within the context in which we unfold ourselves. Let's not pretend to tell History what to do, she is the one that through class struggle establishes the laws and

defines the situations. It is possible that our own Party or others can give a decisive contribution.

In this moment it is more necessary than ever for us to talk of Maoism, and obviously we cannot do it without referring to the struggle at the world level against revisionism; therefore it is vital and urgent to analyze Maoism again, aiming to define more and better it contents and meaning, guided by the judgement that to hoist, defend and apply Maoism is the essence of the struggle between Marxism and revisionism in the present.

We must think how to develop multiple campaigns in order to obtain solid results and of long perspective. And in this way to unfold the instruction of militants, combatants and masses, and to strive to divulge Marxism starting from the transcendence of the people's war that he himself guided. The problem is to put in motion the ideological dynamics. We look forward to contribute to the defense of what is peremptory to defend: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It will have repercussion because everywhere there are masses, revolutionaries and communists, and to them we are interested to reach, mainly to the communists because they are more open-minded; we have to strive to make them understand,being sure that Marxism does not spring up spontaneously, but with effort and struggle, this is a law of Marxism. Marxism has not taken one step forward in life nor has obtained anything but with struggle, conquering with effort, and Maoism is not and will not be an exception. The struggle in behalf of Maoism as the third stage of Marxism, is and will be hard, long, complex and difficult, it will never impose spontaneously. This is our history,we do not have another way: struggle, effort, unyielding tenacity and undeclinable persistence, and time so that practice may prove and sanction the truth.

It is the beginning of a campaign that the Party must get on organizing step by step. We open up an arduous but necessary campaign, it is important for the international proletariat which is our class. The idea is: the beginning of a campaign, ans struggle of communists in behalf of the proletariat. Consider it as audacious step that we must take; all audacious step is the beginning of a new task, and the new has a problem: a terrain not sufficiently known; let's take firm steps, being sure that all beginning is nothing but that, the beginning, that many issues will be developed, because there are things which we do not have enough knowledge of; and therefore, be more farsighted, more firm, more demanding of ourselves. Let's apply: Wage the battle and you will know how it unfolds. We communists are audacious and we are so because we are consequent materialists,

and we are not afraid of making mistakes, nor are we afraid of confronting anybody because truth is on our side. This is our conviction and we cannot have no other; we are men of conviction, "convinced and confessed" in the greatest transforming scientific ideology proved in thousands of glorious battles. There has not been nor there is any ideology on Earth that has had the practical test like Marxism-Leninism-Maoism; nor never have so many millions of people been and will to dragged along by so powerful revolutionary storm.

For the fulfillment of this task, let's start from the understanding of Maoism following this scheme that we present as follows:

LONG LIVE MAOISM!

INTRODUCTION

1. Lenin and what is new in the revolution.

2. Maoism is to be imposed through struggle. Stalin.

I. CONTEXT OF MAOISM.

1. International context.

2. In China.

3. The Biography of Chairman Mao.

II. CONTENT OF MAOISM.

1. Theory.

2. New Democracy.

3. The three instruments.

4. The people's war.

5. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

6. The World revolution.

WHAT IS FUNDAMENTAL IN MAOISM AND WHAT IS MAOISM.

III. THE STRUGGLE CONCERNING MAOISM.

1. The uprise of Maoism.

2. Maoism and revisionism.

3. Maoism in the present.

... ...

... ...

The people's war has made up understand more and better the development of Marxism-Leninism made by Chairman Mao Tsetung, how we are before a third stage of the ideology of the international proletariat, and therefore it has transformed into Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, being Maoism the principal. And if in the IV Plenum Session of our Central Committee we agreed upon the slogan of: Towards Maoism!, in this session we have assumed the task of: Impose Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism as the command and general guide of all our partidary activity, and to serve and strive also, so that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism, be the command and guide of the world revolution, all in behalf of the undeclinable and glorious goal of all humanity: Communism.

1985 - Don't vote! Instead, expand the guerrilla warfare to conquer power for the people!

"Strengthen the People's Committees, develop the base areas and forge forward the New Democratic People's Republic." - Communist Party of Peru (PCP).

"All reactionaries try to wipe out the revolution through mass slaughters and think that the more people they kill the more they will weaken the revolution. But, contrary to their wishes, facts show that the more people they kill, the stronger the revolution becomes and the closer reactionaries come to their doom. This is an irrefutable law."

- Chairman Mao Tse-tung.

1. THE GENERAL CRISIS OF PERUVIAN SOCIETY

Contemporary Peruvian society is in general crisis. This society, whose trajectory began toward the end of the XIX century, is gravely ill and is incurable. It can only be transformed through the armed struggle, which the Communist Party of Peru is doing it today, leading the Peruvian people. There is no other solution.

The fact is that Peru today is a semifeudal and semicolonial society in which a bureaucratic capitalism is developing, a delayed capitalism linked to the big landowners. interests and which, consequently, in no way seeks the destruction of semifeudal conditions but at most seeks its evolution. What is more important, it is a type of capitalism completely subjugated to imperialism, in our case principally Yankee imperialism, and therefore, does not develop the great potential of the productive forces of our country. Furthermore, it wastes, shackles, or destroys the productive forces and in no way develops a national economy. On the contrary, it is completely at the service of imperialism's increasing exploitation and is totally against the national interests of the majority of the population, and the basic and urgent needs of our people.

Thus, the modern Peruvian economy was born deformed and ill at its

roots. It was born intrinsically tied to the archaic semifeudal system which, despite the regimes' bragged-about "agrarian reforms," continues to exist and characterizes the country from its most basic foundations to its most elaborate ideas. This situation maintains, in essence, the great land problem, the driven force of the peasants' class struggle, especially the poor peasants that made up the immense majority. Moreover, the Peruvian economy was born subjugated by imperialism, the last phase of capitalism, masterfully characterized as monopolistic, parasitic, and moribund.

Although this imperialism allows our political independence, as long as it serves imperialist interests, controls the entire Peruvian economic process: our natural resources, export products, industry, banking and finance, etc. In sum, it sucks the blood of our people, devours the energy of our national development, and today, especially, it squeezes us through the huge interests of the foreign debt, just as it does other oppressed nations.

Therefore, the modern economy, the bureaucratic capitalism, is tied to the unburied cadaver semi feudalism, and it is subjugated by the moribund imperialism, which increasingly lives off from the blood of the oppressed, reaped from an exploitation guarantee by its own weapons and those of its lackeys, while the domination of the world is dispute in a never-ending crisis and contention waged primarily by the two superpowers, the United States and the social-imperialist Soviet Union. In conclusion, we are in the midst of the general crisis of Peruvian society. This crisis, including the crisis of bureaucratic capitalism which has entered into its final stage, has fully matured the conditions for the development and triumph of the revolution, then the general crisis that plagues the old society encompasses the revolution in its entirety and in all its manifestations.

This is our reality, this is the foundation on which Peruvian society rests and the material roots of our problems and the misfortunes of our people. This is the social system that the ruling classes and their Yankee imperialist masters are faithful to and defend with blood and fire, through their bureaucratic-landlord state based on their reactionary armed forces, continuously exercising the class dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie and landlords, whether it is through de facto military governments like the many we had, for example Velasco and Morales Bermudez, to mention just the most recent ones, or through governments born out of elections and called constitutional like Belaunde's government today.

Thus, the governments in Peru, civilian or military, are ruling cliques,

elected or not, which exercise dictatorship over the people, the proletariat, the peasantry, petty bourgeoisie, and even over the national or middle bourgeoisie itself, for the benefit of the big bourgeoisie (especially big bankers today), of the big landowners (particularly in their expression as gamonalism to exercise power in the countryside), in the service of the ruling classes, and of Yanqui imperialism and totally against the interests of the people and of the nation. And that needs no greater historical recount or demonstration, since the proof is right in front of our eyes: the Belaunde government itself and his clique; a government product of elections, coming out of the ballot boxes, from "sacrosanct electoral system." This is precisely the government which has sold the country more than any other before to imperialism and sunk Peruvian society in its most crisis in modern history; it has submerged the people in the most implacable hunger and has persecuted, imprisoned, tortured and murdered the people, even perpetrating mass slaughter and genocide because the people, led by the Communist Party, have dared to rise up in arms proclaiming, "It is Right to Rebel," irrevocable right of every people drowned in exploitation and oppression, the right of every people and class that refuse to be enslaved.

That is the reality of the country, of Peruvian society and the performance of the present government. It will remain the same with any other government in the future as long as we do not overthrow the prevailing order by force of revolutionary arms through People's War. The history of the world and our own history has proven this, furthermore, we have it before our own eyes: the murderous regime of Belaunde and his gang that starve our people will go down in history as the government of hunger and genocide.

II. TO VOTE IS TO ENDORSE THE SOCIAL SYSTEM AND ELECT ANOTHER GOVERNMENT, WHICH WILL BRING ABOUT MORE HUNGER AND GENOCIDE.

Under what condition(s) are the current general elections being held? Economically, all agree that the country is suffering the greatest crisis in at least the last one hundred years. In addition, the perspective on the future is bleak. In the year 2,000 the economy would barely be meeting its 1976 levels. That is, a quarter of a century would have been wasted because of the much publicized economic development. But the problem doesn't end up there, since World War 2 the country has regularly gone through a crisis in the second half of each decade and each new crisis is worse than the previous one, and the next one is already on its way. The reactionary economists themselves paint a bleak picture for the coming years. Furthermore, reliance on highly

glorified foreign capital is hindered by the present foreign debt and the impossibility of paying even the interests on it. At the same time, internal savings are reduced, industrial production is on recession, agriculture is in crisis, the prices of our export products will continue to decline, the foreign markets are shrinking, etc. In synthesis, it is a black perspective with no real solution in sight whatsoever, much less one that would satisfy the growing elementary needs of the masses, which are denied more each day, offering only more unemployment, lower wages and salaries, the curtail of workers' rights, and more cuts of past gains and benefits. Thus, there is a black economic perspective for the obsolete Peruvian society and more oppression and exploitation for the people.

Politically, the Constitution of 1979, just like with the rest of its type, denies each right it recognizes in its contents. It did not satisfy even the factions of the reactionary camp, much less the people, for that reason modifying it is, and will continue to be, an arena of contention. The present Constitution gives direct participation to its armed forces and police in every aspect of social life, strengthening their domain, at the same time it empowers the faculties of the Executive and organizes the most repressive police system in our history. Despite all its filthy demagoguery, the current Constitution is the harshest and more violent and bloody shock that a Constitution has ever had with our conditions. This is shown by the contrast between the so-called "right to life" and the sinister genocide being carried out with cruelty and impunity by the armed forces in the region of Ayacucho, directed by Belaunde himself.

And, how do the sanctified demo bourgeois institutions work? A parliament abdicated its legislative function, turning them over to the Executive. The judicial power (the courts) is incapable of judging the thousand of accused, much less applying their own laws, they even consent to and cover the plan of annihilation of the prisoners of war in the concentration camps known as "El Fronton" and the secrets ones like those in Totos, "Los Cabitos," the stadium in the city of Huanta, etc., in complicity with the Public Ministry. The Executive has become the real legislative power, with the most basic laws of the country in the hands of rancid bureaucrats, and technocrats trained and advised by imperialism; with super ministers who, like the old autocrats, do and undo as they please, with broad and repressive powers used daily, from the clubs to the bombs and bullets against the people, the state of emergency decree used even to confront a worker's strike, let's not forget the frequently applied curfews or stage of siege.

Finally, he reactionary armed forces and police have shown all their

hatred and brutality that are characteristic of their actions, they have shown clearly that it "authorizes" any abuse, even murder committed with impunity against any son and daughter of the people. And those Armed Forces which continue to call themselves "tutelar institutions," as if the people of Peru were made up exclusively of persons under age, those Armed Forces so specialized in defeats before foreign enemies, as they are experience in crushing by bloodshed and fire our unarmed population, today manifest more clearly the reactionary interests which they defend, and all the class hatred shown in their intervention against the victorious armed struggle. Their leadership, the Joint Command, the National Defense Council, headed by Belaunde himself, in its futile and desperate attempt to separate the masses from Armed revolution, has not found any solution other than the monstrous and infamous genocide which the fraudulent Peruvian democracy and that bogus democrat and cunning demagogue Belaunde has exposed before our people and the entire world their sinister anti guerrilla actions.

Thus, on top of a bleak perspective, obsolete and reactionary institutions are erected and only survive by the force of inertia and the arms that sustain them, always spilling more blood and bathing themselves in the incendiary blood of the unarmed, vilely oppressed people, who are already saying, Enough! , And each day they believe less in the old State and hopes for less from the government. In conclusion, the lack of credibility, the disorder, the chaos, besides the rampant corruption and the most shameless cynicism, corrode the bureaucratic-landowning State, for whose government all of them compete so frivolously and cheerfully, with verbal skirmishes and perhaps one confrontation or two, a few demagogues who poorly conceal their interests and greed. They are Alva Orlandini, Bedoya Reyes, Morales Bermudez and Alan Garcia, candidates of Popular Action, Democratic Convergence, Democratic Front of National Unity, and Apra, respectively. All are well-known defenders of the existing order. Among them is also the devious and opportunistic Barrantes Lingan, false Mariateguist and loyal defender and supporter of the ruling system, as representative of the so-called United Left, an organization mounted by its leaders as the most unfettered expression of the old way of electoral opportunism and parliamentary cretinism in the country.

But the oppressive legacy does not end there. The class struggle of our people has gone to develop into an armed struggle against the old social order, the old State and its reactionary armed forces and police. The revolutionary war is now entering its fifth year. Two of those against the old armed forced themselves. This historical fact has

radically changed the conditions, it has shown how through an armed struggle the obsolete system crumbles and the New Power is built for the people, for the oppressed. This new and irreversible process will continue to develop more and more as the principal problem of the Peruvian State, because it is its negation, its destruction. It is against this process that the old state will have to confront more and more in defense of the exploiting classes and of their imperialist master. The people, the masses, will increasingly joint the peasant war going on in the countryside, since as Lenin stated, hunger itself impulses them:

"In the West, tens of millions of people are suffering the torments of hunger. That is, precisely, what makes the social revolution inevitable, since the social revolution does not emerge out of the programmes but from the fact that tens of millions of people say: 'rather than live and starve, we prefer to die fighting for the revolution.'"

Therefore, we must ask, what are the implications of elections? Do the people need to go to the ballot boxes? It is to the advantage of the people to vote? Seeing our own Peruvian experience, what revolutionary transformation have the people achieved through elections or in parliamentary activities? Every conquest won by the people has been wrested away in the course of the people's struggles. As a result of these struggles, laws were enacted. From the beginning the state started cutting back and initiating a process to reduce the effects of these laws or do away with them entirely, as is shown in the history of labor legislation in the country. The victory of political rights has followed a similar course. All of this clearly has been won outside the frame of the conquest of Power, since for a revolutionary, power is only conquered by means of revolutionary violence. In Peru is simply the armed struggle from the countryside to the city.

Furthermore, let ask ourselves, what benefits have the people really won by the participation in the Constituent Assembly and in the general elections of 80? In the first case, simply to serve the third restructuring of the reactionary Peruvian State in this century, with the results already saw. In the second case, the resurgence of the government of Belaunde that is one of the biggest sellouts of our history and which has drowned our people in widespread hunger and bloodiest genocide.

Moreover, looking in perspective, what can the people hope for, the masses, expect from participating in the general elections of 1985? Well, simply and plainly: To Vote is to avail the social system and to elect another government that will bring more hunger and more genocide! It will help landlord-bureaucratic State to replace, according

to its own laws and conditions, their authorities who shall exert the class dictatorship against the people and in favor of maintaining the semi-feudal and semi-colonial society in whose womb bureaucratic capitalism is developing, for the benefit of the ruling classes and their principal master, Yanqui imperialism. To vote is to help install a government who will bring still more hunger, since this is determined by the needs and the class character of the old State of which it is a part. To vote is to help establish a government which will still be more genocidal than the current one, since this too is determined by the needs of the old state, to defend its decrepit society in the face of the revolution, that way it will also push the Old State to defend their obsolete society facing the people's struggle and mainly before the push of the armed struggle which with guns is destroying the old to create the new: the forms of the New Power, of the New Society, sustained by the people rising up in arms.

The people cannot help their exploiters and oppressors, they cannot help them to resolve their problems, they cannot avail their social system, even less to help elect another government bringing still more hunger and more genocide. Since that is not their road nor it helps their own interests, the only thing that can be presented today is, NOT TO VOTE! ; and the only truly popular answer before the elections by the reactionary State that brings hunger and genocide.

III. EXPAND THE GUERRILLA WAR TO CONQUER POWER FOR THE PEOPLE!

The Communist Party of Peru, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist party reconstituted combating revisionism, including within its own ranks, a party of the new type to conquer Power for the proletariat and the people, assumed its role of applying revolutionary violence by initiating the armed struggle on 17 May 1980. Thus, the class struggle of the proletariat and the people of Peru have taken a leap in its long journey. The political struggle continues as revolutionary war, taking armed struggle as the principal form and the revolutionary armed forces as its main form of organization.

In this manner our party left behind a historical baggage, more than 50 years old, and has overcome a dark and rotten electoral ism imposed on the masses. With dynamite and bullets it began to write the genuine people's liberation, armed and united from the beginning with the people, mainly the peasants, who have always supported the most heroic actions of the Peruvian revolution, and do so today more than ever as the armed struggle has fulfilled the centuries old hope in an un extinguishable bonfire.

As Chairman Mao said: "When its existence is threatened, the exploiting class always resorts to violence. As soon as it foresees revolution, it strives to annihilate it through violence . . . It uses violence also to repress the revolutionary people from the moment in which they launch themselves to the conquest of Power" Or as the second quote at the beginning says: "All reactionaries attempt to eliminate the revolution through mass slaughters . . . "

The old Peruvian State has acted and will continue to do so in the future in accordance with these laws. First they mobilized their police forces: Guardia Civil (GC), Guardia Republicana (GR), Policia de Investigaciones (PIP) and its elite counterinsurgency forces: sinchis, the self-proclaimed "Llapan Atic,", Dircote, etc.; they applied their notorious persecutions, tortures, imprisonments and murders with the brutality and cruelty that are their nature. Then they started their patrols, home searches, and raids in the city and countryside, mainly in the countryside, following the reactionary law of: "Burn all, loot all, kill all." These armed forces at the height of their actions, at most were able to launch three operatives (January and October of 81, and in March of 82), which were highly advertised and inflated by the press, and which despite being led and supported directly by the Armed Forces ended up in total failure, suffering sound defeats at the hands of the revolution, a fact that even the reactionary press had to admit. Thus, the police forces were used as cannon fodder and guinea pigs caught in their own contradictions in the reactionary camp.

Despite the clamor which demanded their participation in the anti-guerrilla warfare, the armed forces of the Peruvian State did not enter the war directly until the end of 1982, due to the opposition of Belaunde, who was fearful that the military would use their participation to stage a coup d'etat against him or take over the government bit by bit. The Armed Forces entered the war all three together: Army, Navy and Air Force, although the first two ones as the principal force, so to be jointly responsible since no one wants to be blamed alone by their counterrevolutionary actions. But from the beginning the self-proclaimed "tutelar institutions of the fatherland" acted using mesnadas, to camouflage themselves, among them, even dressing like peasants and civil guards, to commit atrocities and mass slaughters in the vain attempt to separate us from the masses. They carried out numerous bloody massacres like those in Huambo, Iquicha, Sacsamarca, etc., among them the massacre of the journalists.

These actions of the armed forces were all approved by the Council of National Defense with the express authorization and congratulation of Belaunde himself. Yet, those attempts failed because of the stunning

blows at the hands of the revolutionary forces, and due to the necessity to conduct the municipal elections of November of 83, the Armed Forces carried out generalized massacres. Thus, in less than two months more than 800 people were assassinated in the neighborhoods of Ayacucho, and then begin the disappearances. These were vile, ignominious, and unpunished crimes committed with impunity.

July of 1984 brought important state measures, although they were not public, which is yet another violation of their own judicial system. The Joint Command of the armed forces conferred upon itself the right to intervene in any part and every part of the country 'to fight the guerrillas,' and on their own discretion and request, to create political-military commands and establish emergency zones. Thus the country remains at the control and expense of the Joint Command and the Executive extends carte blanche to the Armed Forces so they can use it as they see fit. This is the so-called Peruvian democracy today. It is under this authority that they carry out new plans, premeditated raking operations and, under death threats, forcefully concentrate part of the masses under pressure to simulate a supposed struggle among peasants, when in fact it is simply and clearly a copy of the "strategic hamlets" used in Vietnam, or the "peasant organizations," formed in Guatemala under Yankee guidance and supervision. The war has been broadened and intensified, especially in the countryside, where the Armed Forces have to confront a genuine peasant war led by the PCP, and despite the sinister genocides they carry on their sinister plan to separate the guerrillas from the masses ending in a total failure.

Therefore, they cannot proclaim victory and recently their own Minister of War himself spoke of the necessity of taking time and having patience to fight the guerrillas, of the need for stronger measures and of the support of all Peruvians. This was a clear confession of the difficulties they have in confronting an armed struggle which follows the principles of the People's War. Such reactionary difficulties are even manifested in the uneasiness of the Pope who, while in Ayacucho, in that Papal meeting with the repressive forces, preceded by more than a month of intense persecutions and raids, the Pope blessed the criminal weapons, consecrated the mass graves of infamy, sanctified the counterrevolutionary war, blessed the genocidal armed forces and police, mainly its bloodthirsty chiefs, exonerated and what is more, supported the government of Belaunde and called on him to annihilate us as soon as possible. And in a bombastic tone he threatened us to change our course, to abandon the revolution, in concrete to submit ourselves to the ruling order, to betray the people. To this

"communique" we have given our immediate, firm and complete reply on February 4th, with the massive blackout which placed all of Lima and the entire central region of the country in the dark.

What has the armed struggle achieved in almost five years? The year 1980 can be defined as the Beginning, 81 and 82 as the beginning of the development of the guerrilla warfare and of the formation of the first People's Committees, embryonic forms of the New Power. From that time to the present, the war has concentrated on establishment/ counter establishment, that is, on the counterrevolutionary war to destroy the New Power and the revolutionary war to defend it, develop it, and build it, by destroying little by little and more each time, the rotten and reactionary old Power. In these nearly five years we have carried out more than 20,000 actions. The Party has multiplied its membership many times and has the prestige as it never had before, within and outside the country; we have constructed a People's Guerrilla Army of thousands of fighters; and what is more important, hundreds of People's Committees have been formed, we strive to develop the support bases and to advance in the formation of the People's Republic of New Democracy, it has emerged, then, the New Power and it is being developed by exercising real state functions.

In synthesis, the PCP is carrying on a successful and growing armed struggle, following the standards of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the one and only genuine communist ideology; an armed struggle which is fulfilled in function of a new democratic revolution, according to Chairman Mao's New Democracy, with the aim of doing away with imperialism, to destroy the subsisting feudal landlords' property, and confiscating the means of bureaucratic capitalism; this is an armed struggle that serves world revolution and receives the support of the international proletariat, mainly of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement in which our Party is a member. We base ourselves on the masses of the country who support us, mainly the poor peasantry. We are not linked nor we will ever be linked to any superpower or any other power, since we firmly serve the revolution guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and the guiding thought which is the application of Marxism to our reality. And today our immediate goal is: To expand the guerrilla warfare to conquer power for the people!

LONG LIVE THE ARMED STRUGGLE! DON'T VOTE!

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU!

LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN GONZALO!

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM!

1986 - Single Document. Demands of the prisoners of war of the Shining Trenches of Combat of Fronton, Lurigancho and Callao.

Lima, Perú, 18 june 1986.

1.- Regarding minutes of July 16th and October 31st of 1985., signed by the representatives of the Ministry of Justice, INPE, Judical Power, Ministry of Public on one side and on the other side by the representatives of the special prisoners.

2.- Guarantees against the new genocide which the government of APRA, the navy and other reactionaries plot against the inmates [on the charge] of "terrorism".

3.- No to the transfer of the judicial processes to provinces; nor of the special prisoners. Repealing of the 2nd article of the Law 24499.

4.- Increase of the alimentary aid to a minimum of I/. 15 00 daily (1), this benefit will be made extensive to all prisons.

5.- Discharge of the president of INPE, Manuel Aquezolo for being accomplice to the genocide on the October 4th 1985. in Lurigancho.

6.- Delivery of the bodies of the killed on October 4th 1985. to their families, complying with the resolution of the First Correctional Tribunal of Lima of October 9th 1985.

7.- Immediate transfer of the 16 inmated for "terrorism" in Canto Grande to the pavilions where the special prisoners of Lurigancho are located.

8.- Ceasure of threats, persecution and detentions of the families of the special inmated by the War Navy, DIRCOTE and APRA government.

9.- Closure of the prison of Canto Grande for being contrary to the human dignity.

10.- That the reduction of Sundays and festive days remains ineffective for the computation of 2 for 1.

11.- Acceleration of the trials; for the respect of the right for defense.

12.- Annulment of the regulation of INPE to prohibit the introduction of all kinds of fruits and plastic containers, for being contrary to the health of the political prisoners and common ones;

13.- Discharge of the provocateur employees Guevara, Gonzalez, Jayo, Aybar and Retes from Fronton, as well as the Chief of Security Isabel Guerrero and the mayor Rosa Lermo in Callao.

14.- Suppression of the rubbish dumps in Lurigancho.

15.- Electric power supply 24 hours per day in Fronton.

16.- Reparation of the water, sewer and electric system in Callao and Lurigancho.

17.- Against requisition for being massacres and robbery of inmates.

18.- Attention, treatment and supply of medicines for the inmates that have fallen ill. Evacuation of the sick to the hospitals.

Increase of the health budget 100%.

19.- No to the intervention of the War Navy in Fronton, nor humiliating body searches of the war prisoners' families by the Navy officials.

20.- Ceasure of the terrible politics of missing persons.

21.- Support to the popular struggle in Peru and for the struggle of the social detainees, political prisoners and war prisoners in the world.

22.- Delivery of clean materials, cots, mattresses, linen, pyjamas for the inmates of Peru.

23.- That the extension of the corresponding benefits to the special prisoners in the whole country becomes effective.

24.- No reprisal against the special inmates, nor against their families and lawyers.

25.- Publication of this agreement and of the minutes from July 16th and October 31st 1985.

26.- Presence of the journalists during agreement signing and the execution of thereof.

1986 - Nothing and nobody can defeat us!

PCP - Central Commitee - Peru, 1986

With deep affection for the love of truth. and Liberty. I have nothing in my hands that remains of the LTC. except this ashtray labor of prisoners of war who now lie on their cowardly murdered bodies. and the abject world, the History the masses. will judge these war criminals. You see all the men of the earth in the bench of the accused and will be sentenced as such war criminals who today must be shaking. Nothing and no one can defeat us, the river increases its natural cause, the overflow is a Law.

There is a logic. The reactionaries generating disturbances and failing until their final ruin.The village also has its Law: fighting - fail. Returning to fight, we can fail again. We will return to fighting until the final Victory that calls us.Bloodshed are banners that call for all people to achieve what we have craved, power. We are condemned to succeed, it's a beautiful sentence. We were born to win.

This is already a grand reality.

They can grind us. Blow us to smithereens. but they can not break our communist morality.

We are ready to die.

The moral of the class is at stake. It must be defended. and we will do it with blood, anguish and tears.

It can not be any other way. It is the only way to blow them to smithereens. And we will do it in a deep storm.

In desperation the reactionaries are losing more control; no more than ever we need not do so. Only teach the world the reactionary nature of the class that they defend, people will simply not exist as such but strictly to change the world in the image and likeness of the working class, organized vanguard of the Communist Party of Peru.

Only the war will deeply touch the people until the last fold of their souls, from the singing to the cries, and from the cries to the singing,

there is no other free way, and we have voluntarily chosen this hard, long and bloody road of the victorious and invincible people's war that the Party and our people carry forward. It is natural that the reactionaries act this way.

We have already been told wisely, the more vile the more deeply the reactionaries will dig their own graves: that's how it is, that's how it will be.

As a fighter of this heroic Shining Trench of Combat who has resisted tenaciously the bombing. of the reactionary genocidal Armed Forces, dishonor of the national heroes. Brave to kill cowardly to die. They know how to kill but don't know how to die.

The people will never forget the blood shed from it's best children.

Beloved people from around the world, your communist children of war will not fail you, especially at this very moment. We will hoist high the red flags of Communism.

We have bright prospects.

What can we do, well our destiny is to succeed. The last word is that we are winning.

We fight clearly for our cause, for Communism.

We'll talk about other issues on another day.

I reaffirm my commitment to our revolution, to the world revolution, with the blood of our people, of our brave fighters with the blood of our communist comrades that flows freely crumbling the old and creating the new. Never again will I see their faces, their smiles but that lives within my heart. I will be the bearer of its ideals that are mine, that are of our people.

I will follow your examples. to fight for our people to serve the people wholeheartedly without any personal motive. with complete selflessness.

Long live Chairman Gonzalo, guarantee of victory! Long live the Communist Party of Peru! Glory to the fallen fighters!

A Fighter - June 19, 1986

NOTE - Letter from a fighter, member of the People's Guerrilla Army

(Ejercito Guerrillero Popular), written on June 19, 1986 ("DAY OF HEROISM"), amid the heroic resistance of the rebellion against genocide, when the sinister reactionary armed forces, commanded by the genocidal Alan Garcia, assaulted the shining trench of combat in Peru's "El Fronton" prison. I hand it over before I die. We publish it, as it was drafted, so that history records it.

1986 - Day of Heroism

Proletarians of all countries, unite!

THE BLOOD DOES NOT DROWN THE REVOLUTION IT WATERS IT

Today , June 19th, we commemorate the 29th anniversary of the Day of Heroism, day imperishable marked in the annals of the history of the Peruvian revolution and the world revolution by the action of the communists, combatants and masses of PCP, which turned-prisoners of war rebelled in the prisons of El Fronton, Lurigancho and Santa Barbara facing the most black and cowardly genocide in defense of the revolution and their lives. The filthy dungeons of reaction were converted into Shining Trenches of Combat of the marxist-leninist-maoism, gonzalo thought people's war, by the prisoners of war, transformed into centers of resistance in cities. Applying the concentric construction and militarization of the party; fighting, mobilizing and producing; defending the fight and resist for the people's war and pluck laurels instead of death. Thus, the reaction not only received the brunt of people's war in the countryside and the city but also in its prisons (real concentration camps for revolutionary prisoners).

With great national and international impact. With the advance of people's war, the reaction led by the fascist genocidal APRA government of Alan Garcia Perez decided to implement in june 19th 1986, his voiced and long-planned genocide against the prisoners of war, continuing the genocide against the people realized by his predecessor Belaunde. But it was not easy for the reaction. The prisoners of war fought with determination and indomitable courage the Armed and Police Forces that were sent to consummate the reactionary genocide and end the rebellion with the use of ground forces, sea and air bombardment, dynamite , flamethrowers and all sort of weapons. With the sacrifice of their own lives 300 prisoners conquered a great political, military and moral victory for the class and the PCP with indomitable courage and heroism that only the people's war can generate and, on the other hand, the fascist government Garcia Perez, his ministers and the highest civilian, military, church authorities as well as the revisionists were smeared in blood and once again demonstrated that the reaction against the revolution will not hesitate to resort to the most horrific genocides and violate all laws and international treaties for the purpose of

seeking to save their system of oppression and exploitation. Genocide unpunished to date because only the people's war will make justice.

The genocide was committed by the Peruvian reaction with advice, support and complicity of the US imperialists, Russians and Chinese social imperialists, German imperialists, Frenchmen, Spaniards, etc., Zionists of Israel and with the support of the social democratic parties of that rotting Second International with Willi Brandt at the head, that these days celebrated one of its international conferences in Lima. These miserable once more were the "bloodthirsty dogs" that were primed in the blood of communists and revolutionary as in January 1919 in Germany with the murder of Rosa Luxemburg, Karl Liebknecht and other communists. But as the world revolution's experience and our own shows us: the blood does not drown the revolution, it waters it.

Today as then, the heroic action of these communists, combatants and masses of people's war summon us to continue the people's war without leaving the weapons until communism. It corresponds to the revolutionaries to persevere on the path washed down with this blood, even more, in the current situation in which international and national objective conditions are much better for the development of people's war then that time. The imperialism is in the last stage of sinking and final sweeping away by the world revolution which entered around the 1980. It's sinking even more in a series of ever longer economic crises, persistent and continuous in a complete series of all kind of wars. The inter-imperialist struggle for raw materials and energy, communication routes, markets for their investments and goods from the third world, for re-division, is even more festering. It's main consequence is the sharpening of all modern world contradictions, mainly the principal contradiction, because the loot of the imperialist dispute are the oppressed countries.

The only hegemonic superpower, the US imperialism, in collusion and contention with the other atomic superpower, Russia, and the others imperialist powers, continues its war of aggression against oppressed or third world countries harvesting failure after failure. The US imperialism plan, with the genocidal Obama at its head, naturalize its war of aggression in Syria, Libya, etc. Or tries to simulate its departure like in Iraq and Afghanistan and then continue controlling the country like in the 60's in South Vietnam (with governments and armies lackeys under its immediate command and other mercenary forces and with the support of their own air attacks and the support of "allies" as well) have already failed and increasingly have to involve themselves in occupation war with huge human and material resources which

cost will wear it down even more. In this way will follow its major military intervention in the Third World with the dispatching of its elite troops (SEALS and others) to 84 countries (Peru included) taking the charge of forming native troops under their command to fight natives. As consequence of its failures Yankee government of Obama is reorganizing the CIA, one of the main instruments of intervention and subversion of the Yankee imperialism, among others the CIA stations in Peru, Central and South America.

These defeats of the imperialism are part of the swept away, because what leads failure after failure to imperialism are the people of the attacked and occupied countries, although they have to face this huge imperialist carnage in relativity difficult conditions because of direction problems of these struggles, because we, the Maoists, haven't advanced enough to endow these peoples of Communist Party to lead them. But the reaction spurs the revolution and so the peoples of the world are developing the new great wave of world proletarian revolution. From that derives the importance in the actual situation to keep developing the campaign for the Maoism and to serve the people's war in Peru, India, Turkey, Philippines, etc. fighting to add the new processes of people's war with the successful development of the process of Communist Parties reconstitution.

This is of great importance in the development of the actual situation and of great strategic perspective to combine the balance of power between revolution and counter-revolution in the world. It's also of great importance the international campaign in development of support to the people's war in India, against the genocide carried out by the fascist government of this country against the people and in defense of the political prisoners of war in India and South Asia. As part of the same international task also to show solidarity with the revolutionaries in the lines of the TKP-ML, the MKP and others prisoners in Turkey; also the leadership of the Turkish workers of ATIK in Europe.

We consider of great necessity support the Palestinian prisoners in the prisons of the zionist State of Israel, of the Maoists held prisoners in Morocco, the campaign for freedom to the Lebanese communist Ibrahim Abdallah held prisoner since 1984 in France, for the revolutionary political prisoners in Italy, etc. In South America is of great importance unite the fight in defense of our war prisoners with the struggle in defense of the political social prisoners in Brazil, demanding freedom for c. Igor Mendes and all who are held prisoners for taking part in the struggles waged by the masses in Brazil against the reactionary government and landlords, big bourgeoisie and

imperialism.

As for the development of the actual situation in our country, the same reaction "experts" (the "senderologists") often writes that the government and Armed Forces "should have caution with the shining path because the material conditions are better than in the 80's". The semi-feudal and semi-colonial society subjected to imperialism, principally Yankee, on which a bureaucratic capitalism is unfolding it is increasingly sunken and with the old state that represents and defends are maintained only by the force of arms and inertia. The fascist, genocidal and traitor government of Humala is the most servant of imperialism, mainly Yankee, more than any of it's predecessors in the government and with its Parliament and judicial, tax and jail system gives samples on each day of great signs of decomposition. Each day new and huge scandals are uncovered by the dispute for the public and private spoils between the authorities and representatives of the old state of all levels. Scandals where they are linked with the mafias of big bourgeoisie and landlords and common delinquency.

Common crime that grows favored not only by this general atmosphere of decay but by state representatives themselves reaching unbearable levels for our people. This government with blood and fire drives more than anyone the sale of the country and as part of it, the great dispossession of peasants from their lands and from communal lands centuries old. Which is not part of "primitive accumulation" as wants to make believe the revisionist and capitulationist LOD of the rats Mirian, Pantoja, Morote, etc., but robbery from the imperialists and its servants of the big comprador and bureaucratic bourgeoisie, so that it does not allow developing the national economy.

That is, these evil revisionists try to deny the semi-colonial situation of the country in order to deny the necessity of the democratic revolution that is done with people's war. Also, as part of this big divestiture, the process of land concentration in favor of the big latifundian property of natives and foreigners along the coast, mountain range and jungle of the country from the middle of the last decade of the last century it has exceeded the levels recorded in the 60s of last century, when the big latifundian property occupied nearly 70% of agricultural surface of the country; Today 84% of rural landowners have only 10% of the land according to the Ministry of Agriculture data of 2013. This, together with new forms of servitude that appear in the form of informal and child labor are denouncing the feudal character of the country. Over this expired basis keeps developing the bureaucratic capitalism subjugated by imperialism.

Add to this that the rural EAP, not counting children under 15 who work in the field, is more than 28% of the economically active population of the country, a figure much higher than that of other sectors of the economy. Besides, these 84% of rural landowners (peasants) they are the ones that are providing food to the national market. Sunday July 21, 2013, in the country's newspapers was read that the Minister of Agriculture Milton von Hessen: "He commented that such is the dynamism of the agricultural sector that one in four people who make up the economically active population (EAP) belongs to this economic sector, although its productivity is 4,3 times lower than the rest of the productive sectors". This "dynamic" with such low relative productivity expressed the backwardness as a consequence of the social relations of production already deciduous. Is important to mention that with the development of the people's war progress was made to sweep semi feudalism as revealed in the official statistics of the agricultural census of 1994 (the third CENAGRO, see table 1) where the latifundian property figure below 30 %.

With weapons in hand and mobilizing the peasantry have advanced to destroy the landlord's' property, for example the so called non-associative and associative companies as the agricultural societies of social interest (SAIS), and with it the new forms of servitude which are rigged. This can not record any reactionary report. But that is the reality. With the resettlement of the old power in large countryside areas because of the direction problems of our people's war, these old relations were established and that's what show us the stubbornness of numbers after this census. The evil rats of ROD revisionist and capitulationist wants to deny this made to say that the country is already capitalist and deny the necessity of the democratic revolution. But if made what was said by Chairman Gonzalo that until we complete the democratic revolution with the seizure of Power in the whole country, these old relations will always be restored. But the reactionary action stirs the revolution.

The big dispossession generates the revival of peasantry struggle, as can't be denied by the own informs of the reactionary institutes: "The countless social and environmental conflicts between local population, at one side, and big companies and the governments, at other side, also makes clear that this phenomenon is produced apart of the rights and the development of thousands of families of small producers and indigenous population of the country" (January of 2011, CEPRES). In these days peasantry mobilization are expressed in the struggle of the Tambo valley, in south of the country, against the imperialist miner company Southern Copper Corporation (SCC) and against the ferocious repression unleashed by the genocidal government of

Humala that has sent its Armed Forces to massacre the people. Development of the mobilization of the peasantry for land and against the big dispossession, great workers mobilizations and of the small bourgeoisie as seen late last year and early this year against further exploitation, unemployment, hunger, misery and suppressing rights laws that have cost blood for the benefit of imperialism, the big bourgeoisie and landlords.

The current national strike of the the SUTEP teachers organized in the National Committee of Struggle and the SUTEP-CONARE against educational laws given by this government against the teachers, students and the people. Mobilization and national strike hits against the national leadership of the Step of the revisionists from the "Patria Roja" sold to the government that together with the rats of the Conare-Movadef betray the struggle of the teachers and the people to use their struggles and fool them to lead the masses after participation in the reactionary elections for replacement of the Old State authorities. These few struggles mentioned as a sign expressing the development of the revolutionary situation.

In all these struggles and mobilizations fighting to give them direction are the communists firmly bound to the headship of the Party and the revolution, the Chairman Gonzalo and gonzalo thought, fighting to death against revisionism of both ROL and old revisionism, that's how the masses are being educated in the revolutionary violence and apply lessons learned from the people's war. It is in this process that the task of general reorganization of the Party is advancing to solve the problem of direction of the people's war so it can be given a new impulse. Corresponds to those in the country who have taken this task to go to those who are working while temporary and relatively isolated and are willing to join under the leadership of Chairman Gonzalo, based on the Basis of Party Unity to drive the pending task. As part of ours tasks we have to keep developing the international campaign in defense of the health and life of Chairman Gonzalo, demanding his public and direct presentation to the national and international press and allowing him to pronounce inextricably with the international campaign to serve and impose Maoism as the only command and guide of the world proletarian revolution.

Honor and glory to the fallen heroes!

Long live the Day of the Heroism!

Long live the XXXV anniversary of the people's war in Peru!

People’s Movement Peru (Reorganizing Committee) June, 2015

1986 - Develop the people's war, serving the world revolution

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Develop the People's War, Serving the World Revolution

"A revolution must go through a civil war. This is a rule. And to see only the ills of war but not its benefits is a one-sided view. It is of no use to the people's revolution to speak unilaterally or one-sided of the destructiveness of the war."

"It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue. It demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work."

Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Context of the Sixth Year

May 17 mark the sixth anniversary of the launching of the People's War in Peru. Six years ago the Communist Party took up arms to carry out the democratic revolution by overthrowing the exploitation and oppression of imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and the subsisting semi feudalism, in order to conquer power for the proletariat and the people, within the context and at the service of the world revolution. Since then, under the invincible banners of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and Guiding Thought, we have march along the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside, and have been waging a revolutionary war taking the countryside and city as a single unit with the countryside the principal theater of armed action and the complementary but necessary. In synthesis, a People's War, in essence a peasant war led by the Communist Party, whose core is the generation of revolutionary base areas.

These years of armed struggle can be summarized as follows: 1980 was the beginning of the armed struggle, of guerrilla warfare; 1981 and 1982 saw the unfolding of a guerilla struggle and the birth of the People's Committees, the new political power of workers, peasants and petite bourgeoisie, a joint dictatorship based on the worker-peasant alliance led by the proletariat through its Party; 1983 and 1984 were years of struggle focusing on restoration and counter restoration, that is, of counterrevolutionary war that try to smash the new political power and restore the old order, and revolutionary war to defend, develop and build the newly arising people's power, a hard-fought struggle waged between the reactionary Armed Forces and the People's Guerrilla Army; from 1985 through today there have been a continuing defense, development and building to preserve the base areas and expand the People's War throughout our mountains from North to South.

Since 1983 the Peruvian revolution evolves under the great political strategic conception of "Building Base Areas" and in military terms of developing People's War, which means principally guerrilla warfare complemented by guerrilla actions such as sabotage, selective annihilation and propaganda and agitation, so as to carry out the central task of building, preserving and developing base areas and spreading the People's War throughout the country, taking into account the variability that the fluidity of guerrilla warfare imposes not just on the new state power but on all forms of revolutionary construction and work. This basic plan of "Building Bases" forms the

context for the present "Plan for the Great Leap," based on the specific political strategy of "two republics, two roads, two poles," that is, the Republic of the old reactionary Peruvian state vs. the New Democratic People's Republic in formation; the old dead-end road of votes which only serves to preserve the old exploiting order vs. the new road of arms which is transforming Peruvian society to serve the people. These are two poles, one of the big bourgeoisie heading up the dictatorship of the ruling classes in the service of imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism and semi feudalism, the black and odious past which is being destroyed, versus the proletarian pole, represented by its Communist Party in the leadership of the democratic revolution whose victory will open the way to socialism and through the course of repeated cultural revolutions, fused with the great epic of the world revolution, someday will lead to communism, humanity's sole, necessary and an inevitable goal that can never be abandoned. Through the military strategy of generalizing People's War, this strategy has taken the concrete form of four campaigns, each with its specific content.

On the Counterrevolutionary War

Since every war is a struggle between two camps, the development of the People's War inevitably led to the unleashing of counterrevolutionary war. The Peruvian state, the dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie and landlords under the protection of imperialism, principally Yankee imperialism, defended their threatened existence. At first they tried to minimize the problem in order to preserve their phony democratic image and not endanger the influx of capital in the form of loans and investment. They sent in their police forces, which despite their abuses, outrages and crimes suffered humiliating defeat and were forced to withdraw from the countryside in the disputed areas and seek refuge in the provincial or departmental capitals. Thus, all the police operations, launched with such loud and confusing propaganda, were soundly defeated and the first People's Committees arose. In the face of the advance of the new state power, the Belaunde government abandoned its reservations to send in the reactionary Armed Forces; the class necessity of the exploiters and oppressors carried the day and the task of restoring public order was handed over to the Armed Forces (the Army, Navy and Air Force), the backbone of the state, supported by the police forces (the Civil Guard, Republican Guard, and Investigative Police).

In December 1982, a state of emergency was declared in the region of Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac, and it was placed under the Armed Forces' political-military command. This status was later extended to other areas in the departments of Pasco, Huanuco and San Martin; it is still in force essentially despite some variations. Military control reached a new and important phase with the imposition of a state of emergency and curfew in Lima and Callao beginning in February 1986, which subjected the capital of the Republic and its more than six million inhabitants to military rule. As a result of these moves, seven and a half of Peru's 20 million people are under military authority: a million and half people live under the absolute andunrestrained political-military authority of the Armed Forces, the new lords over their lives and property, revived feudal tyrants decked out with noose and knife; while six million people in the very capital of this much-touted democracy live without any guarantees or rights, subject to overbearing brutality and disguised murder under a martial law which goes so far as to give itself the right to ban one or another specific artistic performance even in public gathering previously authorized by the military.

How have the Armed Forces carried out the counterrevolutionary war? Basically they have followed the doctrines of their master, Yankee imperialism, with its theories of counterrevolutionary war based on its own experiences, especially in Vietnam, and particularly the lessons it has drawn from its fight against the armed struggle in Latin America, especially Central America. To this fundamental theoretical basis they have added the "antiterrorist" experience of Israel and their chums in Argentina, as well as advice from West Germany, Taiwan, Spain, Britain, etc. On top of all this they throw in their few months of experience in the 1965 anti guerrilla struggle and the more limited experience of La Convencion. Operations are under the leadership of the Armed Forces Joint Command, acting according to the instructions of the National Defense Council headed by the President of the Republic, whether it is Belaunde or Alan Garcia, who have been directly and undeniably responsible for every measure carried out, as well as for the war's overall political leadership, which means they bear the main responsibility for the conduct of the counterrevolutionary war. In short, they have applied world counterrevolutions' well-known strategy against revolutionary struggle, armed subversion and People's War, a strategy which has been defeated many times, smashed and thoroughly and completely beaten by the theory of People's War, time and again demonstrating to the world the superiority of the proletariat strategy over that of imperialism.

Masses Against Masses

When the Armed Forces came in they had already been studying the revolutionary war for three years as well as advising and planning the police actions, so they had certain advantages from the beginning, and obviously they had more and better human and technical resources than the police. They immediately began to implement their plan of setting masses against masses, following the old imperialist doctrine of using natives to fight against natives. First the used pre trained units made up hand-picked army veterans and peasants linked to local tyrants and livestock rustlers, whom they had employed as agents and infiltrators among the peasants, and hooked to the refurbished intelligence network they had begun to set up years before in the 1970s. Based on these agents, infiltrators, spies and stool pigeons, aided by the authorities local tyrants and petty tyrants and their flunkies, they formed vigilante bands under military authority take part in joint actions with police and Armed Forces (who they often acted disguised as peasants or police), unleashing white terror in the countryside assassinating Party members, fighters, mass leaders and

peasants carrying out real witch hunts against revolutionaries and the advanced as well as robbery, rape, torture, looting, arson and slaughter. This is how they carried out the sinister policy of burning all, looting all, and killing all.

Later, they used the white terror and death threats to subjugate a part of the masses, and in this way masses under direct vigilante coercion and control were forced to aid the counterrevolutionary war. These coerced people drafted from among the masses acted as guards, arrested and murdered guerrillas, carried out razing operations against neighboring communities or towns and even more distant ones, and took part in search and pursuit operations against the guerrillas. Later these people were regrouped along with people from neighboring areas into strategic hamlets under direct military rule. Then, in addition to being forbidden to come and go freely, since they are not allowed to go anywhere without the military, even to work, and subject to constant control, they were militarized and organized into "patrols" and "defense committees," forced to take up rudimentary weapons, and, sunk in starvation and poverty, obligated to take part militarily in the white terror and the counterrevolutionary war. In conclusion, while the police forces were also used as cannon fodder by the Armed Forces, as even the soldiers, sailors and aviators have always been, these coerced masses have been the main and real cannon fodder in this sinister plan of pitting masses against masses, of using natives to fight natives.

These coerced masses have been and still are used to spearhead all the reactionary attacks and operations or to surround the repressive forces like a human shield. These coerced masses have suffered 2,600 losses (including vigilantes), almost five times more than the number of uniformed soldiers and police killed (without taking into account the hundreds of infiltrators, agents and informers.)

Genocide

When their policy of masses against masses proved unable to contain the People's War, the reactionary Armed Forces resorted to the most evil, perverted and criminal genocide, one of the greatest infamies in the history of the Republic of Peru. The military showed its genocidal tendencies from the beginning, in Huambo, Iquicha, Huaychao, etc. Belaunde cynically saluted and approved of these incidents as "the Ayacucho peasant's gallant answer to terrorism." It should be made clear that he himself had approved and authorized such actions and not only publicly praised but called for genocide: this is the self-proclaimed democrat, humanist and Christian "President" full of

respect for the Constitution and the law, covered forever in the blood of the people which began to flow in torrents. Among the victims were the journalists cowardly murdered in Uchuraccay.

They began to wipe out the peasants and their communities and small towns in 1983 in the department of Ayacucho. In June of that year, in Espite, in the province of Cangallo, they used helicopters to strife the masses with gun fire, and throw grenades at villagers who were trying to flee through the mountains. In July, in the towns of Occopeja and Uchuraccay, in the province of Huanta, again they used helicopters to strife the masses with bullets, and wiped them out with grenades. In Paccha, a town in Vinchos, in the province of Huamanga, the majority of the population was murdered and the rest carried away to Lima. In July, the first monstrously tortured bodies began to turn up in the streets of the city of Ayacucho and the surrounding areas; during the two months leading up to the November elections, the bodies of more than 800 people were found, people who had been brutally murdered after bestial tortures and their bodies left to rot. In November, in Silvia, in the province of La Mar, in a reprisal for an ambush against the Army, they arrested 60 people and indiscriminately killed 20 of them. A month before, in Sillco, in the province of Huanta, they threw grenades and fired directly on the masses for the first time. Culminating this slaughter, on election day, in Socos, in the province of Huamanga, the local police detachment tortured and murdered more than 50 people who had been taking part in a wedding party. Officially, 37 people were reported dead.

Along with all this reactionary white terror, they began to set up concentration camps in the department of Ayacucho, massive and evil torture centers, under the control of the Army in the "Los Cabitos" barracks in the city of Ayacucho, in Totos (Cangallo) and Qoisa and Pichari (La Mar), and under the control of the Navy in Huanta. In the Totos camp, as of July 1983 they had secretly buried more than a hundred people; more than 20 of them had their throats cut, the prisoners were tortured and buried alive, new prisoners were forced to dig graves more than three meters deep and then were shoved in, while others were thrown in with their hands and feet tied. In Totos the torture is especially brutal and sadistic. To terrify the people, they cut off heads and impale them on stakes.

But the genocide was not confined to Ayacucho. In October 1983, it spread to the department of Pasco, the country's mining center; there, in Chinche, a hamlet of the province of Alcides Carrion, 45 peasants were wiped out. On November 13, the day of the municipal elections, three helicopters were used to strife with machine-gun the population

in Parabama, in Tauacaja province in the department of Huancavelica, killing more than 50 people in retaliation for an ambush that guerrillas had carried out against an Army patrol that day.

During 1984 the genocide became macabre, reaching the heights of horror. The Armed Forces, mainly, as well as the police, unleashed their evil, rotten, inflamed, blind and rabid hatred against the people, in their frustrated efforts to stop the revolutionary war by isolating the guerrillas from the masses of peasants, particularly the poor peasants. Once again, in their own tradition, the armed reaction fed upon the flesh and blood of the unarmed people. Let's look at some of the "heroism" that serves to prop up their false glory and unfounded pride.

The genocidal slaughters

In the department of Ayacucho at the end of June they killed 150 people in the San Francisco area. July 5th, they killed 30 peasants in Chiara; on the 8th, they killed 40 after an operation in the village Rosario; the 12th, they wiped out 30 people in Pomabamba; on the 15th, in a reprisal for an action at Apacheta they killed 17; the 16th, 25 tortured bodies were found along the highway to Huamanguilla. August 3rd, the tortured bodies of 37 people were found in Puramanta; on the 18th the corpses of 17 tortured children and adolescents were found in Cocahuichun, in Via de los Libertadores, and 8 bodies, two of them children, in Leonpata; the 27th, 19 people were found murdered in Sajrarumi and 21 in San Francisco. September 1st, 23 peasants were killed in Churrubamba and Misiquibamba. The same month, in Paraiso, in Mariscal Caceres province in the department of San Martin, they killed 22 peasants. In the department of Huancavelica, between the 15th and 23rd of October, an Army operation killed 75 peasants in Milpo and 15 in Pillo-Pachamarca. November 19th, once again in Ayacucho, they wiped out 50 peasants in Putis and Chullay; in Lucmahuaico, Vilcabamba, in the department of Cusco, soldiers and vigilantes from Andahuaylas killed 22 peasants on the 23rd and 20 more on the 26th. Once again in Huancavelica, December 6th the police killed 38 peasants in Cuni, near Marcas in the province of Acobamba; the same month 16 bodies were found in Ayahuarcuna, in Ayacucho.

Some actions that took place in June and July in Ayacucho as part of this sinister wave of genocide in 1984 should be specifically mentioned. In Vinchos, they killed 40 commissioners of various people's committees. In Remillapata they shot a child nine yeas old and another of 11 together with their mother and their father who was the Security Commissioner; in Mayopampa they threw a

commissioner into a burning building. These vile murders, so merciless and ferocious that children are shot because they happen to be the children of members of the new political power, is a monstrous expression of the hate and fear with which this new political power fills them. In Balcon 70 Marines came in and murdered 18 peasants, among them six children whose bodies they dumped in their trucks. A third of the dead were children, this murder of children is a constant policy to terrorize and break the parents, as well as a disgusting and often-used way of punishing revolutionaries especially. Nevertheless, the Marines came back again the next day, sarcastically and contemptuously offering their victims food, trying to buy them off. The people quite justly became enraged and drove them away. After an ambush in Pichari, the "glorious" Civil Guard came in and stopped a truck carrying passengers, who were taken off and killed. Local forces of the People's Guerrilla Army (PGA) buried these 20 people, but in shameless cynicism the murder was attributed to the PGA. This is another common trick used by the reactionary forces who often disguise themselves in peasant clothes in order to commit atrocities, loot, rape, arson, razing and the most frightful crimes, especially against children, and then blame the guerrillas so as to turn the masses against them. One example of this is the murder of 50 peasants by the Marines in a place called Azangaro, 20 minutes from Luricocha, during this same period.

Another example of their terror tactics took place in San Francisco, when peasants going down to the jungle to harvest were indiscriminately wiped out, without even being asked for their identification papers. In Huamanguilla they killed nine peasants, burning one peasant alive. That is one of their usual ways of terrifying people by showing their mercilessness toward anyone considered a communist or a guerrilla.

A similar example happened in Chuschi, January 10, 1983, where they tied dynamite to a peasant and blew him up while shouting, "This is how terrorists die! " This barbaric policy has been implemented since the beginning of the Armed Forces' intervention and continues today. In this black wave of death razing became widespread. A small example is the operation in Incaraqay, where after stealing everything they burned down 500 houses. The extermination made whole towns disappear; July 15, the Armed Forces backed by vigilantes killed the entire population of Quinua and completely wiped the town off the face of the earth. But even this was not enough for them. The white terror continued fattening on the people's flesh. On August 22, 1984, in a reprisal for an ambush, a Marine unit in Silvia arrested 50 youth at random and shot them at the spotlight; emulating the German

fascists who set Europe aflame during World War II, they murdered 10 sons and daughters of the people for every Marine who fell in combat. November 10th, Marines aided by the Republican Guard finished off 40 peasants in Quimbiri, after having savagely tortured them in Luisiana, a telling example of their ongoing policy of covering their tracks and hiding their crimes by exterminating the victims.

Discoveries of common graves

Another shocking proof of the genocide perpetrated by the Armed Forces has been the discovery of common graves, a macabre and disgusting sight. The inextinguishable death cries of men, women and children shook the national conscience. The broken lives of the people have fueled history's enraged clamor for class justice, a justice that only the advancing armed revolution can and will bring about, as well as the constant and unsilenceable exposure of the barbarism with which the Peruvian state defends itself, using its Armed Forces, under the leadership of whatever government happens to be on duty, whether it is the Popular Action party of Belaunde or Alan Garcia's APRA, because what is at stake is their class dictatorship, their very order of exploitation and oppression. In the department of Ayacucho on August 19, 1984, a grave with 10 bodies was found in Via de Los Libertadores, and on the 22nd, a grave with 30 corpses along the Huanta-Mayo road, 30 kilometers from Huanta. On the 23rd seven common graves with a total of 89 bodies in an advanced state of decomposition were found in Pucayacu, a discovery which profoundly shook public opinion and unleashed the masses' condemnation and repudiation of the Armed Forces and the Belaunde government then in power. The political military command of the region was in the hands of General Adrian Huaman and the officer directly responsible for the massacre was Naval Captain Alvaro Artaza. Garcia tried to reappoint Huaman as the chief of Ayacucho, and Barrantes used to call him "the peasant general." The trial of Captain Alvaro took place within the Navy itself, and the present APRA government gave him a promotion, closed his case and sent him to Spain for his own protection.

The same day a common grave with 30 bodies was found in Ayahuarcuna (Macacharca); on the 25th other bodies were found in Quinua and Muyuri; and the 28th a grave with 12 people whose throats had been cut was found in Cocahuischaca, Via de Los Libertadores. In September peasants exposed the existence of common graves in Toldorumi, Zamatapampa and Usutapampa in the province of Victor Fajardo, and in Pichuyrumi and Qarpaqasa in Cangallo. The authorities and the daily newspapers paid little attention to these

exposures by the peasants, just as they ignored many others in order to hide the real extent of the genocide. September 13th, three new common graves with 50 dead were discovered in Iribamba; on the 14th a grave with five bodies was found in Luricocha and another in Qasa-Orqo with 10 tortured corpses. On the 18th, a grave with five bodies in Yanaorqo. October 18th a grave with 25 bodies in Vado Chico (Huanta); on the 20th, one with eight dead in Capitanpampa, another with three in Ayahuarcuna and a third with five corpses in Iribamba; the 25th, four new graves with 41 bodies in Vado Chico; the 28th, a grave with four dead bodies in Laurente (Huanta). November 13th a grave with 15 bodies in Huamanguilla; the l9th, three graves containing 45 murder victims were found in Las Vegas, at kilometer 25 of the Ayacucho-Huanta road; and the 22nd, three graves with 10 bodies were found in Neque.

The genocide continued in 1985, though not with the same intensity. Right up until Belaunde left office, common graves continued to be discovered in Ayacucho: January 11th a grave was found in Paquec (Huanta) with four bodies; January 16th four graves were uncovered one in Huamanguilla with 11 bodies, a second in Qanqana (Huanta) with five, and in the province of Huamanga, a third in Pava with three bodies and a fourth in Pacha with 16. Two graves with 3 bodies were found March 10th near Huanta. The massacres continue in this region, as these statistic show: February 23rd, in Canaire they killed 50 peasants; on June 26 in Miopata-Suco (Huanta) they annihilated 12. July 9th in Manzanayoq (Cangallo) they cut the throats of eight peasants and cut their bodies into pieces, and did the same to another eight in Pacomarca, also in the province of Cangallo. July 12th they killed 12 peasants and sacked and burned homes Waracayoq; five were killed in Chacari. This genocide also began to spread throughout the department of Huanuco: February 21st, a grave with five bodies was found in Alto Pacae; the 22nd they killed peasants in La Soledad; another grave with seven dead was found the 28th in Aucayacu. In March, they killed 30 people in Arancay. On June 27th a grave with 11 bodies was found in Yanajanja (Nuevo Progreso). Thus, the Action Popular government which had plunged the country into a bloodbath ended its term in office completely soaked in it, covering ex-president Belaunde with the indelible shame of genocide, and leaving us a valuable lesson: the more the various governments, which by turn head the old state, talks about "democracy," "human rights" and "peace" more hunger, poverty, repression, terror, murder and even genocide they furiously unleash against the Peruvian people.

How has the counterrevolutionary war gone since Garcia's government took office, especially regarding the questions we have been referring

to? In political-military zone number five, a principal center of operation in the department of Ayacucho, once again on August 2nd they began an operation that razed villages Huambalpa, Carhuanca, Vilcashuaman, Vischongo and Cangallo; the 10th they razed Huamanmarca and murdered seven peasants. The genocide at Aqomarca August 14th shook all of Peru: in a place called Llocllapampa eight graves were found, containing a total of 69 corpses; in addition two people were murdered in Piteq, one in Yuraqera, one in Mayopampa, two in Ahuacpampa and three in Qeuqeqata, all savagely killed by the Army, which would surround the village, round up the peasants, separate the men from the women and children, and rape, pillage, shoot, finish them off, then cover some of the bodies with Iye, burn the rest and bury the unidentifiable bits and pieces of bodies in pits. In the midst of all the fanfare and demagogic bluster of Garcia about "revolution," "a national, democratic and people's state," "democracy," "respect for human rights, "not answering barbarism with barbarism, " " reconciliation, " "fighting while upholding the law" and other cheap phrases thrown to the wind by the APRA government, the exposure of Aqomarca tore apart their lies and revealed their double-dealing, shattered illusions and once again unmasked their opportunism.

Then came a great hustle and bustle in parliament, a farce of gestures and so-called presidential measures, while the "opposition" rent their clothes and made easy deals, and the people repudiated and condemned all this and advanced further toward becoming clear about the highest ruling circles. Almost a year has gone by since then. Commands have been reshuffled; Lieutenants Hurtado, Paz and Rondon have been held responsible; the various commissions have presented their reports, etc., etc. Today Hurtado has been given a promotion and sent abroad for further training, in the United States or somewhere under U.S. control; Paz also got a promotion and Rivera will undoubtedly get one in 1987. What happened to the investigation, the indictments the Army was preparing? Buried under silence. The sentence of 10 days hard labor the military investigators proposed for Lieutenant Hurtado, has it been carried out? How about justice? Just as in the case of Pucayacu, only the triumphant revolution will bring about justice.

But this smokescreen of "fighting while upholding the Constitution and the law" continued. Between August 28th and September 4th, 60 peasants were murdered in Huambalpa; in Pucayacu on August 28th a new grave containing seven bodies came to light. The "democratic" application of the principle "fighting while upholding the Constitution and the law" went on. The villages of Aqomarca, Umaru, Incaraqay,

Patin, Tankiwa, Cochapata, Mayopamba and Manallasaq were razed between the first and the 25th of September. A new genocide took place September 2rd and 3rd: Umaru and Bellavista, 66 dead, 29 murdered in Bellavista on the 2nd. Immediately afterwards, on the 3rd, 37 peasants wiped out, among them 11 children less than nine years old. September 13th they killed seven eyewitnesses to the Llocllapampa massacre, including a child of nine. The 28th four graves were found with more than 80 bodies, in Totora, near Sachabamba.

In the department of Huanuco, four graves with 14 bodies were found in Huancar (province of Ambo), and in the department of San Martin a grave with the bodies of seven murdered people was uncovered in Situyi (province of Mariscal Cáceres).

On October 4th Peruvian society was once again shaken by another genocide, this time in the very capital of the Republic, in Lurigancho prison where 30 prisoners of war were murdered and 23 wounded, before the eyes of seven thousand prisoners. Following a preestablished plan meant to break the will of the prisoners of war and deal a blow to the revolution, the Llapan Atic, the Republican Guard's anti subversive troops, armed to the teeth, were unleashed against the British Pavilion where those convicted of "terrorism" were being held. When instead of surrender they were met with heroic resistance, they used dynamite and explosive charges to open a breach in the walls, then threw dynamite into the cellblock, along with teargas and incendiary bombs. After the assault, they finished off the wounded, burned alive and brutally beat the survivors and finally burned down the cellblock to hide the evidence of their monstrous criminal genocide. But despite their cynical efforts to cover up their crime and silence all witnesses, the truth got out, further unmasking the APRA government and its undeniable guilt for this new, cold-blooded barbarism.

November 2nd in Uchuyunga, in n the province of La Mar in the department of Ayacucho, they killed 19 peasants; at the end of the year, peasants in San Martin exposed the massacres in Aucayacu, Campo Grande, Venenillo, Madre Mia and Palo de Acero. As 1986 began, this situation continued, as the following facts are enough to show: January 21st in Churrupampa, near Huanta, seven bodies were found; in Uchiza, Huanuco department, 30 people were killed in February; and in the department of Pasco, in the hamlets "Ocho de Diciembre" and "Independencia" five peasants were shot dead on their own doorsteps in retaliation for a guerrilla raid. In short, Garcia's APRA government is continuing the same genocide the Belaunde

government started.

The Disappeared

The policy of making people "disappear" has been part of the regime's genocide since the Armed Forces came in; it intensified greatly at the beginning of 1984 and has continued through today. Now, especially in the last few months, once again there have been more and more reports of people turning it up "missing." The "missing" amount to thousands of people but the exposures and protests bounce up against the official silence which denies or ignores the suits brought against it and stonewalls everything. This perverse policy, long practiced by reaction, has become especially intensified lately. Its immediate precedent was the sinister policy of "disappearances" carried out by the 1970s Argentine military government that bathed its people in blood and even more ignominiously made tens of thousands "disappear." A similar policy is being carried out here, also targeting on the poorest masses, above all peasants, who are not reported missing because of lack of any documentation or because of the restrictions and persecutions their families face, but who undoubtedly make up the bulk of the thousands never found. They lie wrapped in the shadow of as yet undiscovered graves or in clandestine cemeteries in the many concentration camps, together with the remains of other exemplary sons and daughters of the people, of the class and of the revolution. These thousands of "missing" makes up yet another historically implacable accusation that will dig the ground out from under the reactionary Armed Forces and, along with the devastating blows of the armed people, bring about their destruction and so prepare the end of the rotten order of the Peruvian state they hold up.

What has been the result of this genocide? The evil and shameful murder of 8,700 Peruvians, 8,700 sons and daughters of the people, including 4,700 murdered from among the masses, the poorest and most exploited, especially from among the peasants as well as from the neighborhoods and shantytowns of the cities, and 4,000 disappeared, of the same classes, flesh of the same flesh. The policy of genocide carried out by the Armed Forces has cost the people, the proletariat, the peasantry and the petite bourgeoisie 8,700 of its children, who have fallen murdered, and not at all in the way claimed by phony and inconsistent revolutionaries, or those opportunists who pretend to be revolutionaries while preaching the evolution of the existing social order, or those hacks who openly or secretly scribble in defense of the system, or those such as the reaction and its flunkies who claim that the genocide is a result of the People's War. No! The

genocide is clearly and specifically a policy approved and ordered by the government of the Peruvian state, proposed and implemented by the Armed Forces with the help of the police, an evil and barbarous practice begun in 1,983, cruelly and bloodily intensified in 1,984 and systematically carried out through today, and now being worsened and once again intensified by Garcia and his reactionary APRA government whose responsibility must be resoundingly exposed. But what has been the purpose of this genocide? It is to try to contain the People's War, which by the end of 1982 had begun to establish the new political power in the form of People's Committees; to smash the guerrilla war, to separate the masses from the revolutionary war, to destroy the new political power and hold back its development, to hold back the development of the People's War; to achieve the reactionary political objectives of the Armed Forces, the Army, Navy and Air Force, institutions which together and through a division of genocidal labor among them killed 1,767 sons and daughters of the people in 1983 and "disappeared" 730, until that year there was only 14 losses among the masses and no "missing," a total of 2,497 people among the masses murdered in 1983. How about in 1984? The spiraling political genocide against the masses reached 2,522 dead and 2,881 disappeared; a total of 5,403 sons and daughters of the masses murdered, the highest peak of the genocide perpetuated so far by the Armed Forces.

Did they succeed in their objective of smashing the People's War of putting an end to it? No, because the People's War, corresponding its class character, has shown its superiority; it has proven itself capable of confronting persistent cruel violent offensives and genocide of tremendous proportion, and is more tempered, of continuing to develop and grow. In these hard times of forging our steeled heroism the turbulent trumpets of the new state are beginning to be born, pregnant with the future, the masses are showing themselves ready and willing to change our society and they are doing it; the Party, the Communist Party of Peru, leading the People's War, is fully demonstrating that is the vanguard of the proletariat and that it adheres strictly to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and its accurate and correct application to the specific concrete conditions of the democratic revolution and further, with firm resolution the Party is holding the course of the People's War, a war that is and will continue to be marching unwaveringly toward the foundation of the People's Republic of Peru, opening the door to socialism and the final goal.

The People's War has not been smashed, stopped or held back; rather, as the regime's chieftains have been forced to admit even while continually trying to minimize it, and as their fears, frantic maneuvers

and measures especially demonstrate, the People's War is expanding, developing, delivering resounding blows. Thus, the genocidal plans and the genocide itself have failed, as their policy of using masses against masses failed and as their whole reactionary strategy is failing. What has come of using masses against masses, of their genocide, of their reactionary strategy? It has once again covered the Armed Forces of the Peruvian state with the blood of the people, to an extent never before known in the history of the Republic; the genocide they have perpetrated will turn more and more against them and spur on the concentrated class hatred with which their criminal barbarity has filled the masses.

Their new heights of infamy have been registered forever in the memories of countless masses who will mete out crushing punishment to those who are politically and militarily responsible, no matter how long it may take. This blood which has been cynically and perversely spilt today has become a thundering and powerful public accusation against the Peruvian state and its Armed Forces and police, its political leaders and chieftains of crimes against humanity, and it will more and more become the unfurled banner at the center of the revolutionary storm, waving and gleaming as the victorious People's War carries out the complete and thorough justice denied it today.

What we have seen and experienced in the People's War in Peru has reaffirmed even more deeply for us the ineluctable law established by Chairman Mao Tsetung: "All reactionaries try to eliminate the revolution through mass slaughter, and they think the more people they kill the more it will weaken the revolution. But despite the reaction's subjective wishes, facts show that the more people they kill the stronger the revolution becomes and the closer the reactionaries come to their doom. This is an ineluctable law of history."

The Sixth Anniversary of the People's War

The application of Marxism Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of Peruvian society leads to the conclusion that revolutionary violence or violent revolution, the only way to seize state power and transform the world, must take the form of People's War and more specifically a peasant war led by the Communist Party of Peru as the representative of the proletariat, a war which develops as a single unit waged principally in the countryside and complementarily in cities, following the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside whose essence is the establishment of base areas, so that the democratic revolution, culminates in the establishment of People's Republic, a great victory which must be followed by continuing the revolution through socialism and cultural revolutions, under the dictatorship of the proletariat with the firm exercise of its class violence, until achieving, together with all humanity, glorious communism, the realm of true freedom. Based on the above, there are four fundamental questions that arise and must be taken into account: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the ideology of the proletariat; the Party as the leader of the revolution, the People's War, which in our case is specified as a peasant war which follows the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside; and revolutionary base areas or the New Power. Let us examine the sixth year now completed on the light of these relevant points.

On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism

We take the stand of the international proletariat, the last class in history, with its own class interests different from and antagonistic to those of other classes, and with an aim that only the proletariat leading the people's of the world can attain, communism, the only unsurpassable new society, without exploited or exploiters, without oppressed or oppressors, without classes, without a state, without parties, without democracy, without weapons and wars, the society of "great harmony," the radical and definitive new society toward which 15 billion years of matter in motion, that part of eternal matter which we know, and humanity has been inevitably and irresistibly heading, but only by propelling the class struggle forward until it reaches the epic heights of People's War, with gun in the hands of the armed class and masses of people, and counterrevolutionary war is destroyed forever, imperialism and reaction are overthrown and swept off the face of the earth, and in the shadow of the guns of invincible People's War upon which the dictatorship of the proletariat rests, society is

transformed in all spheres, destroying and eliminating all class differences and private ownership of the means of production that gives rise to them, ending war forever, and communism radiates for all humankind.

Since we take the stand of the international proletariat, we based ourselves in its ideology today Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, with Maoism principal as its third stage, the highest point of the proletariat's ideology has reached in its historical process of development. It is within this context that we take up the position and class interests of the Peruvian proletariat as part of the international working class, since only on the basis of the universal doctrine of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is it possible to stand with the proletariat and fight for its interests, here or anywhere else. There is only one proletarian ideology; it is applicable to the whole world and development is a single world process. On the other hand, ever since Marx found Marxism and through the advances made by Lenin and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the basic question has always been the application of this science to the conditions of each revolution; consequently the problem is the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of the Peruvian revolution, and specifically, the application of the universal law of violence, People's War, to the revolutionary war in this country. From this fusion of Marxism with our concrete reality there arises and develops a Guiding Thought, that is, he application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of the Peruvian revolution. In short, our starting point is the outlook of the international proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and the Guiding Thought of President Gonzalo. These are the basis of all our political, theoretical and practical action; without this basis it is not possible to serve the class firmly and consistently.

Regarding the Party

First let's look at the need for a party; then later when we take up its building we'll deal with its present role. Since its very beginnings Marxism has held that there must be a Party to lead the struggle to seize state power; this was reiterated by Leninism and emphatically reaffirmed by Maoism. Without a revolutionary party of a new type, Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, there can be no revolution for the proletariat and the people. This is a great truth that no communist can evade without ceasing to be one, a truth we Peruvian communists had to confront. The Communist Party of Peru was founded on October 7th, 1928 on a solid Marxist-Leninist basis by José Carlos Mariátegui, who

provided it with basic theses concerning Peruvian society, the land question, imperialist domination, the role of the Peruvian proletariat, as well as programmatic points and a general political line and consequent particular lines. But the founder died in 1930, less than two years afterwards; even a first congress remained pending, so that the Party did not have time to consolidate itself before trends that had already been developing took a leap, Mariátegui and his line were openly put into question, and the line was changed by Ravines. Thus opportunism usurped Party leadership and imposed its authority in the two-line struggle within the Party with the gravest consequences for the class and the revolution.

This road led to the parliamentary cretinism manifested in the 1939 elections, in the service of the comprador bourgeoisie represented by Prado. Later, during World War II, there was a phony "founding congress" which adopted the general political line of "national unity" under the guidance of Browderite revisionism, an expression of capitulation to Yankee imperialism's domination and the domestic rule of the comprador bourgeoisie and the feudal landlords, under the pretext of the struggle against fascism. Subsequently, this situation led to the Party's participation in the 1945elections as part of the "National Democratic Front" with the APRA party, with the excuse of bringing about a democratic opening; this new electoral adventure ended when the balloon the Party had become blew up after Odria's 1948 coup d'etat. In the beginning of the sixties the fraction founded by Chairman Gonzalo began to develop within the Ayacucho Regional Committee. By fraction, what is meant is what Lenin taught: "A section in a party is a group of like-minded persons formed for the purpose primarily influencing the party in a definite direction, for the purpose of securing acceptance for their principles in the party in the purest form. For this, real unanimity of opinion is necessary." The fraction arose as the product of the development of the class struggle on the world level, especially the great struggle between Marxism and revisionism that spread Mao Tsetung Thought, as Chairman Mao's development of Marxism-Leninism was known in the mid-1960s. This was the principal and decisive factor giving rise to the fraction.

At the same time, a substantial basis for it was provided by the development of Peruvian society, the advance of bureaucrat capitalism, the sharpening class struggle of the masses, the intensification of political activity and growing propaganda about armed struggle, and by developments in the region itself where the fraction arose, a region where the decrepitude of semi feudalism was becoming increasingly stark and where the peasantry was beginning to awaken in a particularly militant fashion reflecting a similar

process going on throughout the country. Within the Party at that time, the struggle between Marxism and revisionism deepened.

The fraction headed by the Ayacucho Regional Committee fought the revisionism of Del Prado and his followers in the IV National Conference where Del Prado and Company were expelled. From then on the faction developed within the Party nationwide. The development of Marxism-Leninism by Chairman Mao and the great lessons and experiences of the Communist Party of China played a vital and decisive in this initial process. Since then both our initial commitment to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and our application of it to our conditions have developed further.

After the V National Conference in November 1965, in the two-line struggle within the Party the fraction came to fight for building the three magic weapons of the revolution: the party, armed forces and united front, demanding that these tasks are fulfilled in the light of the political line of the Conference which had established the building revolutionary armed forces for armed struggle as the principal task, but in a thousand ways the dead weight of revisionism hindered and opposed the fulfillment of the principal task; under these circumstances the fraction, reaffirming the necessity of an ideologically united and organizationally centralized Party, called for the Reconstruction of the Party" based on "the heroic fighter." This process was carried out in three periods, each with its corresponding political strategy:

1. Defining the problem of Reconstruction, guided by the political strategy of "surrounding the cities from the countryside."

At this point the problem was to build a Party to lead the armed struggle on this road, which meant that the peasant and land question acquired tremendous importance and it was vital to put the Party's center of gravity in the countryside. Further, the decisive question of ideological and political line centered on "basing ourselves on Mao Tsetung Thought," as it was said in those days, and on "reclaiming and developing Mariátegui," with development being the outstanding aspect of this. It was not enough to reclaim him for two key reasons: the development of Marxism-Leninism by Chairman Mao Tsetung, and the development of bureaucrat capitalism in Peru. This phase took place during the struggle against Khrushchevite revisionism and its manifestations in various spheres of Party life and ended with the January 1969 VI Conference which approved "the Reconstruction of

the Party" "on the basis of Party unity around Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tsetung Thought (as was said in those days now it is Maoism), Mariategui's Thought and the general political line. "

2. Carrying Out the Reconstruction

This period was guided by the political strategy of "Reconstruct the Party" in accordance with the Party's basis of unity. October 1968 saw the coup d' etat of Velasco, who took on the task of deepening the development of bureaucrat capitalism, carrying out the corporativization of Peruvian society guided by a fascist political outlook and suppressing the rising mass movements. This period divides into two parts: first the struggle against right liquidationism, a form of revisionism which sought to destroy the Party by centering it on open, masses work and pushing it into legalism; on the strictly political level this line put forward expropriating the land instead of confiscating it and above all denied the fascist character of the government. When these liquidationists couldn't take over the Party, they perversely attempted to destroy it and the fraction took up the Party's defense. In February 1970 a split took place and the fraction assumed the leadership of the Party; from then on it led the process of Reconstruction. In the second part there was a struggle against "left" liquidationism, another variant of revisionism that tried to destroy the Party by shutting it up behind four walls, denying the importance of peasant work and the possibility of any mass work because, according to them, mass work and organizations are impossible under fascism. They reduced fascism to simply a question of violence, and worse, to an irresistible violence in the face of which nothing could be done but wait for better times. They put forward the "relative stability of capitalism" and consequently of the social system. They said "the line is enough" and that there was no reason to develop Mariátegui further, and called Maoism into question, bragging about being "pure Bolsheviks." This "left" liquidationism was smashed in 1975 at a Central Committee plenum.

During this period, our-political understanding of Peruvian society deepened, especially our understanding of bureaucrat capitalism, based on Chairman Mao Tsetung's thesis. This question is fundamental for understanding and leading the democratic revolution. In fact this concept slammed the door on the opportunist tendency to tail a faction of the big bourgeoisie while pretending to unite and struggle with the national bourgeoisie, and to support the Velasco's fascist and corporativist plans, "reforms" and measures, and it continues to be extremely useful today. The ideological-political building of the Party

also advanced, especially regarding the understanding of Mariátegui's thought and general political line synthesised for the first time in five basic points taken from his works as well as the necessity to develop it further. The relationship between secret and open work was delineated and the latter was developed according to the Leninist criteria of areas of support for the Party's mass work; thus, mass organizations were created by the Party to develop the links between the Party and the masses.

3. The Culmination of the Reconstruction

This period was guided by the political strategy of "Culminate and Lay the Basis," in other words, culminate the reconstruction and lay the basis for launching the armed struggle. With the unfolding of the process the Party was approaching the conclusion of its Reconstruction and so had to sum up what had been achieved, define and sanction the general political line, continue the building of the Party on a national level with its center of gravity in the countryside, define the specifics of the armed struggle and lay the basis to launch it by developing the work among the peasants. The left fought tenaciously to attain these objectives, waging intense and sharp struggle against right ism. This rightism developed into a right opportunist line that first opposed the Culmination and then launched an onslaught against the general political line, labeling it "ultra leftist," and ended up rapidly opposing the initiation of the armed struggle. Nevertheless, with firmness and wisdom the left repeatedly defeated right opportunism, another form of revisionism opposed in the last instance to revolutionary violence, to armed struggle, to people's war, to the Party's fulfillment of its role of fighting to seize power for the proletariat and the people, and to the proletariat's advance in its historic mission. In April 1977 the left defeated the right opportunist opposition to Culminate, with the approval of the national plan to build the Party under the slogan "Build for the purpose of launching the armed struggle"; the left again resoundingly defeated the right in September 1978 with the approval of the "Summation of the Reconstruction, " the sanctioning of "Mariátegui's general political line and its development, " and the drafting of the "Outline of the Armed Struggle." Finally, it thoroughly and completely defeated the right opportunist line at the May 1979 IX Expanded Central Committee Plenum, when under the slogan "Define and Decide" the agreement was taken to "Initiate the Armed Struggle."

A long chapter of the Party's history had closed and another one opened: the Reconstruction had been culminated and a new stage

would open, that of the armed struggle. It should be clearly and firmly emphasize that during this period of the Culmination, when Chairman Mao died, the Party pledged to the international proletariat and the revolution that it would always hold high the banners of Marx, Lenin and Mao, and declared that "To be a Marxist today is to be Marxist-Leninist-Mao Tsetung Thought" (now Marxist-Leninist-Maoist) Thus, when the Hua-Deng coup took place, with the latter of course in charge at the end of the day, the Party condemned it as a counterrevolutionary coup against the dictatorship of the proletariat in China, against the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, for the restoration of capitalism and against the world revolution.

In sum, then, the Communist Party of Peru was reconstructed and became a Party of a new type, Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, and so once again there existed the organized vanguard of the proletariat, capable of leading it to the seizure of state power. In this way "Define and Decide" can be considered the first milestone of the people's war unfolding today. Later the Party achieved the second milestone, that of Preparation; a period of the auctioning of the Party Programme, the general political line of the Peruvian revolution and the Party statutes whose norms guide us today, the resolution of strategic political questions regarding revolutionary violence, people's war and the Party, the army and the United Front. The following decision was taken: "Forge the First Company in Deeds! Let violence flourish concretized in initiating and developing the armed struggle; let us open up a new chapter with lead and offer our blood to write it, a new chapter in the history of our Party and people, and let us forge the First Company in deeds! Peru, December 3rd, 1979." And the Communist Party of Peru began to lead the people's war going on today.

On the People's War

Taking international experience as its magnificent starting point, so valuable and rich in positive as well as negative lessons, principally taking people's war as the military theory of the proletariat, and taking the concrete conditions of the country into account, the VIII Central Committee Plenum sanctioned the "Outline of the Armed Struggle. " In essence this plan held that people's war in Peru must develop as a single revolutionary war in the countryside and cities, with the countryside the principal theater of armed actions, following the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside. Furthermore, for social and historic reasons and especially their impact on military affairs, it took into account the importance of the mountains,

especially the stretch that runs from the central to the southern region, as well as that of the capital city. It also analyzed Peru within the context of Latin America as a whole, particularly South America, and within the context of the international situation and the world revolution. With this outline in mind the Party prepared the armed struggle dealing with two types of questions:

1. Questions of political strategy, which define the content and objectives of the people's war in the long and short run, as well as its necessary directives and military plans and the building of the three instruments the Party, Army and Front and their relation to the new state power. 2. The launching of the armed struggle, which is a key and decisive question, merited the Party leadership's very special attention; it was solved with the "Starting Plan" guided by the slogan "Launch the armed struggle! ", the concretization of the overall politics which were to take military form (every plan has an overall political line which guides it). Its contents included, first, the political tasks to be carried out, which is is, to initiate the armed struggle, boycott the elections, foment the peasant struggle for land arms in a hand-and lay the basis for newborn things, especially political power; second, forms of struggle guerrilla fighting, sabotage, armed propaganda and agitation, selective liquidations; third, forms of military organization armed detachments, with or without modern arms; fourth, timetable, starting date and duration of the plan, specific simultaneous actions on specific dates; fifth, the slogans "Armed Struggle!", "Workers and Peasants Government!" and "Down with the new reactionary government! "

The first two periods of the people's war the periods of defining and preparing its beginning were completed. On May 17th 1980 not May 18th as the reaction claims to confuse it with the date of the elections and which others repeat the people's war in Peru began, entering its third period, that of actually beginning it, lasting all of 1980, through two successfully completed campaigns which laid the basis to go over to the fourth period, "Develop guerrilla warfare," in 1981,a period that continues today. May 17th was a political blow, a defiant and far reaching blow which unfurled rebel red flags and raised hammers and sickles proclaiming "It's right to rebel" and "power grows out of the barrel of a gun," calling on the people, on the peasants (especially the poor), to stand up, arms in hand, to light the bonfire and shake the Andes, to write a new history in the fields and every corner of our tumultuous geography, to tear down the rotten walls of the old oppressive order, to conquer the peaks, to storm the heavens guns in hand and bring about a new dawn. The beginning was modest, almost without modern arms; we fought, advanced and built from small to

large, the weak initial fire became the great turbulent and raging flames which are now spreading, throwing off sparks of revolution and exploding the people's war forward.

The Peruvian state launched its counterrevolutionary war and its Armed Forces carried out their infamous genocide and cut down the lives of the people by the thousands; together with this they launched their propaganda, dreaming of smashing the revolutionary war with ink, paper, lies and tricks. Opportunism played its part by snitching, sending in "leaders" to stir up the masses against the revolution, propagandizing and agitating against it and in defense of bourgeois democracy and the vote in pursuit of velvet seats in parliament. World reaction, the superpowers, especially Yankee imperialism as well as the social imperialists, and the other imperialist powers, gave their immediate support and sent the government their advisors; among them an outstanding role was played by the Chinese arch reactionary clique whose black heads Deng, Li Hsien-nien, etc., were among the first to stand up as judges to condemn us. As was to be expected, the reaction opened up its hells and let loose its demons plagues and horsemen of the apocalypse against the People's War; soaked in blood, drunk with arrogance, they bragged of triumphs and victories, crushing defeats, set backs and retreats, withdrawals, and the turning back and defeat of the revolution. But what really has happened? How has the armed struggle and afterwards the genocide unfolded? What has really been the reality of the last two years and of the sixth year of the People's War? The following is the data provided by the Interior Minister:

These figures show the yearly increase of our actions, as well as those of the Armed Forces and their police assistants; their policy's methods and even their genocide have not held back the growth of the armed struggle, at least as far as quantity is concerned, according to the APRA Minister himself. Nevertheless, the total 6758 is very far from correct, firstly because of the state's rather understandable desire to minimize the dimensions of the people's war, and secondly because they don't take into account all the various forms the revolutionary war takes, such as armed propaganda and agitation, for example, nor do they count actions carried out in distant and isolated areas. Consider that actions carried out even in the department of Lima itself aren't reported for a week, and in general, a cover of silence and lies is used to maintain the so-called public calm and the prestige of the repressive forces. During the six years of People's War 30,000 actions have been carried out in all but two of the country's 24 departments, leaving out only Amazonas and Madre de Dios, while including even

the constitutional district of Callao.

These actions developed basically in the Peruvian mountains and principally centered in the region of Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac. They also took place in the coastal region, in its cities and especially in the country's capital, and in the jungle highlands and the important cities there; so the revolution is fighting throughout the whole country. Furthermore, these military actions have developed and increased in quality: blows waged against Armed Forces anti guerrilla bases, ambushes, destruction of strategic hamlets, land invasions, devastating sabotage, higher-level elective annihilations and intensified armed propaganda and agitation-all these show a very important and far-reaching qualitative advance. It should be made clear that more than half of the six years'actions were carried out between June 1984 and today, and a third of the 1980-1986 total have been carried out in the last year. This is the clear and concrete reality. What are the great results of the counterrevolutionary war, its genocide and its offensives of '83 -84? Obviously they failed; they haven't even been able to hold back the development of the people's war, let alone put an end to it.

Table 1 below, shows the four forms of struggle through which the People's War in Peru is developing. The principal form is guerrilla warfare and the other three are complementary forms of guerrilla actions: sabotage, selective annihilations and armed propaganda and agitation. It can be seen that 45.9% of the total actions carried out in the country are guerrilla engagement (fought by detachments in the city and in the countryside by platoons and companies), while sabotage only comprises 11.2% and selective liquidations scarcely 8.2%, and armed propaganda and agitations reach 34.1%. These figures clear show that guerrilla warfare is the essence and heart of the People's War in the country; it is significant that the percentage of guerrilla warfare reaches its highest level, 54.4%, in the region of Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac predominantly peasant zones, and the aim is to develop it in all regions, even, in a specific form, in Lima.

Clearly, guerrilla warfare is the very center of the armed actions and the other forms only serve to complement it and push it forward, because it is the form that most directly aims to destroy the enemy's military organizations, especially the Armed Forces. It is also notable that armed propaganda and agitation make up more than a third of the actions. This shows the important People's War gives to politically educating and mobilizing the masses; obviously this work is directed principally toward the peasants and in the cities toward the

proletariat, and although in the countryside it is mainly carried out in oral form, it is complemented by campaigns with posters and illustrated leaflets. This kind of work is most prominent in new areas, but it is given great importance in all areas, occupying second place overall. Sabotage, for its part, is in third place, with the aim of dealing economic blows to the reaction, especially imperialism and the state economy, big capital and big landlords. In regard to the latter, tearing down the semifeudal relations of production is extremely important to the peasantry. Finally, only 8.2% of the total is made up of selective annihilations of enemies of the people, carried out either against those who have been condemned directly by the masses in people's tribunals or against incorrigible enemies of the revolution who owe blood debts, people who have carried out massacres, torturers, infiltrators, spies, etc. These actions are carried out without any cruelty but rather as simple and expedient justice, and in the majority of cases have been approved by the masses. Nevertheless the media has portrayed them as something monstrous, clumsily distorted them and exaggerated their number. Clearly, we must underline here that the monstrosities imputed to the People's War are crimes cynically carried out by the Armed Forces themselves who then attribute them to the revolution.

In conclusion, the table makes the guerrilla character of all the armed revolutionary actions unmistakably clear and shows that guerrilla warfare, the very substance of People's War, is their principal aspect and essence; thus it completely disproves the absurd accusation that tries to pin the label of "terrorism" on the revolutionary war going on in this country. In fact, as we have been saying since 1980, those who repeat this lie without any proof and there is none are only parroting Reagan and the Peruvian reaction. What is developing in Peru, while the whole world watches, is simply and completely a people's war and nobody with an ounce of brains can deny it.

The region of Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac deserves particular attention. This is where the fraction first became active and in a word was its cradle; furthermore, it is where the first actions of war took place, in Chuschi, and where the heroic people and above all the poor peasants have generously spilt their blood to light the flames of the People's War and keep them burning and ceaselessly rising. The masses of this region have suffered the most vile and insatiable genocide; it is where the reaction has concentrated its Armed Forces and carried out its most elaborate plans; it is where the reactionaries have bragged about their anticipated triumph and about how the area is "almost" pacified, only have to eat their words later in the face of the revolution's new offensives, which never stops them from once again crowing victory. What is the present situation in this region and

how has the revolutionary war developed there in the last two years?

Tables 2 and 3 below show that in the last two years 63.4% of the total actions in the country were carried out in Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac, and that furthermore 75.1 % of the guerrilla actions, 43.3% of the sabotage, 74.0% of the selective annihilations and 52.0% of the armed propaganda and agitation were carried out in this region. So how can it be said that a slackening of the People's War as taken place there? There is no basis whatsoever except the subjective and ever-changing statements of the authorities and military chiefs who have never even given any sort of official report, not the government nor the Joint Command nor the Political-Military Command, despite the fact that the region has been under a state of emergency continuously since March 1982 and sporadically before that during the police operations carried out since the beginning of 1981. Clear and concrete facts show that this region continues to be the main battlefield between the armed revolution and the armed counter-revolution; while the reactionaries dream of sweeping away the people's war it resists all assaults and continues to be like a thunderstorm whose center is Ayacucho. Almost since the beginning of armed action, more persistently since the Armed Forces came in and usually in parallel with the reaction's offensives and campaigns, coffeehouse strategists, scribblers, opportunists, "Senderologists" and mistaken or vacillating revolutionaries have advised or pontificated upon the impossibility of keeping the people's war going in the region of Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac, saying that we should abandon the region and retreat to other areas, in order, as they sometimes said, to "preserve" the armed struggle and launch it again under new and better conditions. We should point out that in general these are the same people who have fought against the People's War either openly or covertly in the name of "widening the democratic space" or simply of "defending democracy."

We are convinced of the great truth of what Chairman Mao said about how an area should not be abandoned until it has repeatedly proved impossible to defend; since the most ferocious genocide in the history of the Republic has been met head-on and overcome in this region for several years now, what else needs to be said? Who would the recommended retreat have benefited? Simply and purely the counterrevolution; it would have been a great favor to the enemy to dismantle and dissolve the best and most proven bastions of the people's war. But irrefutable facts prove that whatever may be said against the people's war, it continues to develop defiantly and proudly in Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac, firmly linked to the masses, brimming with heroism, daily writing new pages in the armed

revolution which is transforming Peruvian society, and which precisely in recent months have been unleashing devastating blows even within the city of Ayacucho itself, blowing up the phony showcase of peace in the country's most militarized city, as was done for example with the car-bombs in the Republican Guard barracks and more recently in the Civil Guard's IX Command headquarters on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the people's war, a blast which shook the city and threw all the repressive Armed Forces and police into confusion and virtual panic. In conclusion, you can't hide the sun with your finger: Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac continue to be the great bonfire of the people's war and the most defiant revolutionary challenge.These figures show the yearly increase of our actions, as well as those of the Armed Forces and their police assistants; their policy's methods and even their genocide have not held back the growth of the armed struggle, at least as far as quantity is concerned, according to the APRA Minister himself. Nevertheless, the total 6758 is very far from correct, firstly because of the state's rather understandable desire to minimize the dimensions of the people's war, and secondly because they don't take into account all the various forms the revolutionary war takes, such as armed propaganda and agitation, for example, nor do they count actions carried out in distant and isolated areas. Consider that actions carried out even in the department of Lima itself aren't reported for a week, and in general, a cover of silence and lies is used to maintain the so-called public calm and the prestige of the repressive forces. During the six years of People's War 30,000 actions have been carried out in all but two of the country's 24 departments, leaving out only Amazonas and Madre de Dios, while including even the constitutional district of Callao.

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reality. What are the great results of the counterrevolutionary war, its genocide and its offensives of '83 -84? Obviously they failed; they haven't even been able to hold back the development of the people's war, let alone put an end to it.

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Clearly, guerrilla warfare is the very center of the armed actions and the other forms only serve to complement it and push it forward, because it is the form that most directly aims to destroy the enemy's military organizations, especially the Armed Forces. It is also notable that armed propaganda and agitation make up more than a third of the actions. This shows the important People's War gives to politically educating and mobilizing the masses; obviously this work is directed principally toward the peasants and in the cities toward the proletariat, and although in the countryside it is mainly carried out in oral form, it is complemented by campaigns with posters and illustrated leaflets. This kind of work is most prominent in new areas, but it is given great importance in all areas, occupying second place overall. Sabotage, for its part, is in third place, with the aim of dealing economic blows to the reaction, especially imperialism and the state economy, big capital and big landlords. In regard to the latter, tearing down the semifeudal relations of production is extremely important to the peasantry. Finally, only 8.2% of the total is made up of selective annihilations of enemies of the people, carried out either against those who have been condemned directly by the masses in people's tribunals or against incorrigible enemies of the revolution who owe blood debts, people who have carried out massacres, torturers, infiltrators, spies, etc. These actions are carried out without any cruelty but rather as simple and expedient justice, and in the majority of cases have been approved by the masses. Nevertheless the media has portrayed them

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The region of Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac deserves particular attention. This is where the fraction first became active and in a word was its cradle; furthermore, it is where the first actions of war took place, in Chuschi, and where the heroic people and above all the poor peasants have generously spilt their blood to light the flames of the People's War and keep them burning and ceaselessly rising. The masses of this region have suffered the most vile and insatiable genocide; it is where the reaction has concentrated its Armed Forces and carried out its most elaborate plans; it is where the reactionaries have bragged about their anticipated triumph and about how the area is "almost" pacified, only have to eat their words later in the face of the revolution's new offensives, which never stops them from once again crowing victory. What is the present situation in this region and how has the revolutionary war developed there in the last two years?

Tables 2 and 3 below show that in the last two years 63.4% of the total actions in the country were carried out in Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac, and that furthermore 75.1 % of the guerrilla actions, 43.3% of the sabotage, 74.0% of the selective annihilations and 52.0% of the armed propaganda and agitation were carried out in this region. So how can it be said that a slackening of the People's War as taken place there? There is no basis whatsoever except the subjective and ever-changing statements of the authorities and military chiefs who have never even given any sort of official report, not the government nor the Joint Command nor the Political-Military Command, despite the fact that the region has been under a state of emergency continuously since March 1982 and sporadically before that during the police operations carried out since the beginning of 1981. Clear and concrete facts show that this region

continues to be the main battlefield between the armed revolution and the armed counter-revolution; while the reactionaries dream of sweeping away the people's war it resists all assaults and continues to be like a thunderstorm whose center is Ayacucho. Almost since the beginning of armed action, more persistently since the Armed Forces came in and usually in parallel with the reaction's offensives and campaigns, coffeehouse strategists, scribblers, opportunists, "Senderologists" and mistaken or vacillating revolutionaries have advised or pontificated upon the impossibility of keeping the people's war going in the region of Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac, saying that we should abandon the region and retreat to other areas, in order, as they sometimes said, to "preserve" the armed struggle and launch it again under new and better conditions. We should point out that in general these are the same people who have fought against the People's War either openly or covertly in the name of "widening the democratic space" or simply of "defending democracy."

We are convinced of the great truth of what Chairman Mao said about how an area should not be abandoned until it has repeatedly proved impossible to defend; since the most ferocious genocide in the history of the Republic has been met head-on and overcome in this region for several years now, what else needs to be said? Who would the recommended retreat have benefited? Simply and purely the counterrevolution; it would have been a great favor to the enemy to dismantle and dissolve the best and most proven bastions of the people's war. But irrefutable facts prove that whatever may be said against the people's war, it continues to develop defiantly and proudly in Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac, firmly linked to the masses, brimming with heroism, daily writing new pages in the armed revolution which is transforming Peruvian society, and which precisely in recent months have been unleashing devastating blows even within the city of Ayacucho itself, blowing up the phony showcase of peace in the country's most militarized city, as was done for example with the car-bombs in the Republican Guard barracks and more recently in the Civil Guard's IX Command headquarters on the occasion of the sixth anniversary of the people's war, a blast which shook the city and threw all the repressive Armed Forces and police into confusion and virtual panic. In conclusion, you can't hide the sun with your finger: Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurimac continue to be the great bonfire of the people's war and the most defiant revolutionary challenge.

As can be seen in these three tables the armed revolution carried out only 8.4% of its total actions in Metropolitan Lima, while carrying out 17% of all sabotage and 15% of the armed propaganda and agitation

there. These data disprove the so-called "retreat" or concentration of the revolution in Lima claimed by the reactionary press, military chiefs and government authorities, who seek in this way to give some basis to their claims that the revolution is suffering hard blows in the Ayacucho region, on the one hand, and on the other to give some explanation for the resounding actions which have shaken the capital in the last two years. An analysis of Table I shows that during the two years studied 60% of the work in Lima was directed at armed propaganda and agitation, 23.7% at sabotage and only 3.8% at selective annihilations. Thus we can see from the percentages of the forms of people's war in Lima and their proportions in relation to the rest of the country that the endless clichés about the revolution's retreat are baseless fabrications. The point is that because of conditions in the capital actions there have big repercussions the large-scale economic concentrations make large-scale sabotage possible, such as the Bayer factory or the Hogar department store; the big central state institutions there can be sabotaged, such as the blows dealt to the Government Palace and the Joint Command; foreign bigshots visit there, so there are occasions for big blackouts such as the one that greeted the Pope; obviously the central authorities are located there, so there are opportunities for selective annihilation such as that of Rear Admiral Ponce Canessa. Furthermore, the repercussions immediately sharpen the contradictions among the reaction the case of this same Rear Admiral is an example while actions there are more difficult to hush up due to the concentration of media and the presence of international news agencies and all kinds of foreign representatives. Thus, the capital cannot be neglected in people's war, all the more if we keep in mind some international experience on this point; what is required is better organised work increasingly capable of warding off blows and infiltration, with stepped-up ideological training so as to be able to face any risk and give priority to the development of work linked to the masses of workers and the neighborhoods and shantytowns. When all positive forces are brought into play, it is these conditions, and not any so called retreat of the work from other areas, which make it possible to wage revolutionary war in the capital as well and to raise it to a higher level.

Ambit and expansion. With the slogan "Stoke the bonfire, spread the flames, unleashes the class struggle of the masses especially in its armed form and let the repression spur us on," the spread of the People's War was taken up with the aim of drawing a compass of action extending from the department of Cajamarca on the border with Ecuador in the northwest down to the department of Puno on the border with Bolivia in Peru's southeast, throughout the mountains that

are the historic axis of Peruvian society and its most backward and poor area, in order to convert this ambit into a great theatre of revolutionary war and advance this war. Achieving this scope was an important part of the "Great Leap Plan" and its concretisation. As can be seen in Table 2, 28.2% of the armed actions were carried out in "Other Regions," that is, outside of the regions of Ayacucho-Huancavelica-Apurimac and Metro Lima, as was 26.2% the guerrilla warfare, 39.7% of the sabotage, 22.1% of the selective annihilation and 33% of the armed propaganda and agitation. In this way the people's war is firmly advancing in the country's central region, vital to the whole economy because of its mining, agricultural products and communication and a transportation trunk lines and because it is at the heart of the state's geopolitical plans. In the same way the revolutionary war is rapidly advancing in the country's North, centered in the mountains, as well as in the Huallaga River basin. Both are large and rich regions with important economic potential and a growing population, especially the North. The People's War is also spreading in the South, similarly centered in the mountain countryside, an extremely poor area, especially in highly explosive Puno. This has come to worry the present government greatly because it is exactly in the area where they plan to build their "showcase of development" that the revolution is hitting them and undermining their plans. Our work there is not something new or only recently taken up; it is as old as the people's war itself, since from the period of preparing the war this work was conceived and organized according to a national plan which established regions classified according to their importance, giving each one its due attention according to specific conditions; of course these regions have developed unevenly. Thus the war was not conceived in terms of one single region but in terms of simultaneous though uneven development in several regions, with one of them principal (which one that is could change according to necessity), all within the framework of a strategically centralized and tactically decentralized plan.

The undertaking of the work in each region and its impact can be judged by the following: in July 1984, in the Huallaga River Basin, the department of Huanuco and Mariscal Caceres province in the department of San Martin were declared under a state of emergency and placed under the control of Political Military Command Number 7. This situation has more or less continued until today. In the central region in November of that same year a state of emergency was declared in the province of Alcides Carrion in Pasco department, under the command just mentioned, and this later spread to the important mining province of Pasco. In the North armed actions have

rocked the departments of Cajamarca, Ancash and especially La Libertad; the countryside has been profoundly shaken by land invasions promoted by the People's Guerrilla Army. The police forces and Army headquartered in Command Number 7 have replied by unleashing repression, but it is being insisted that this region too be placed under a state of emergency and that the Armed Forces come in fully. In the South, above all in Puno which has been thrown into an uproar, police outposts have been assaulted, as happened for instance at San Anton, towns such as San Jose and Chupa have been seized, SAIS (large state-linked farms trans.) have been sabotaged and burned down, and 10,000 peasants have been mobilized in armed land invasions aimed at these SAIS which control immense extensions of land. This has led the police forces to declare "red zones" in the provinces of San Roman, Azangaro and Melgar; reactionary clamor has mounted in favor o the proclamation of a state an emergency and the intervention of the Armed Forces. Poverty, natural calamities and armed action are combining to make Puno an extremely explosive volcano.

To the preceding, we would add that successive guerrilla actions ha penetrated deeply into the department of Apurimac, to the very doorstep of its capital, Abancay. With this, the basic task of extending our scope throughout the central mountains has been practically completed. Today, the People's War is spreading, extending through the Sierras northward to Cajamarca and southward to Puno, from one border to the other, from Ecuador to Bolivia. This great goal was achieved through tenacity, striving and blood; it has opened up new possibilities for the ongoing Peruvian revolution. But although this would be sufficient, there is more: fighting not only in the Sierras but also in the jungle highlands, in two key places, in Apurimac at the strategic convergence of the departments of Cuzco, Apurimac, Ayacucho and Junin, and in the Huallaga River area, a rich region where imperialism and the state plan giant enterprises. Furthermore, the struggle is unfolding on the Coast, especially in its central and northern regions, and, as we've emphasized, in Metropolitan Lima itself, a city whose strategic importance lies in its being the capital and in its tremendous concentration of people, with the majority of the Peruvian proletariat as well as enorrnous masses of the poor in its neighborhoods and shantytowns. In synthesis, the People's War has not only won this expansion throughout the mountain ambit; it is spreading in the Sierras, the jungles and the coast, vigorously pushing ahead, building the new and opening up the future.

To complete this picture let's look at some outstanding actions. In the department of Ayacucho, blows dealt against the Armed Forces anti

guerrilla bases (there are 70 in the region, according to a recent statement by the Minister of War), in San Jos, de Seque and Aqomarca for example, hitting the foundation of the APRA government's pilot project for the region after the genocide of Aqomarca; attack against 14 strategic hamlets forced groupings of peasants carried out by the present government after th farce of the so-called "surrender of Senderistas" at Llochegua whose destruction means liberating the masses from reactionary, military control; ambushes carried out against the Army, Marines and police, in San Pedro, Enimont and elsewhere; engagement and even repeated engagements mocking the Armed Forces' encirclement, wiping out and wounding soldiers; sabotage of the setting up of the microregions (government local economic development projects trans.) which are to serve as the basis for corporativisation; the blowing up of 27 high-tension towers of the new Corbiza-Ayacucho electrical network, sabotaged even before its official inauguration; car-bomb attacks against the Republican Guard and even the IX Civil Guard Command Headquarters in the city of Ayacucho itself as we've already mentioned. In Huancavelica, the blowing up of six bridges and 35 electrical towers of the Mantaro power lines, the main power network in Peru; the razing of the Cinto and Vichincha agricultural enterprises, whose land was seized and livestock redistributed. In Apurimac, a new upsurge of armed actions in the department, including even Abancay, the capital city, where the Matara power plant was sabotaged, as was the plant in Chincheros, and attacks on police outposts.

In Peru's central region, the attacks spread and escalated; ambushes such as the one in Michivilica against the Republican Guard; sabotage of the Centromin (state mines trans.) power substation and its steam-shovels, paralyzing the area's only open-pit mines; sabotage of the SAIS Tupac Amaru; blowing up of the railroad bridge which paralyzed the Huancayo train for months and hindered the shipment of minerals from Huancavelica and Cobriza; sabotage and harassment in Huancayo with exposure of and battles fought against the II Rimancuy. In the northern region, land invasions under the slogan "Seize the land!" mobilized 160,000 peasants and led to the confiscation of 320,000 hectares of land, mainly pastureland, and 12,000 head of cattle, mostly first class, which were redistributed to the peasants; sabotage of the "Norperu," the country's only oil pipeline; sabotage in the APRA's heartland, Trujillo, during the APRA's national birthday celebrations presided over by Garcia personally, right in the main plaza of APRA's "capital." In the South and especially in the convulsed department of Puno, the previously mentioned actions aimed at solving the land problem, the motive force of the class

struggle in the countryside. In the Huallaga River region, the assault on the police outpost at Aucayacu; the attack against the vigilante bands at Agua Blanca; razing of the big tea plantation; ambush of the Republican Guard at La Muyuna; engagement with the UMOPAR (the Civil Guard's Mobile Rural Patrol Unit) at Alto Morona and firefight with a 30-man Army patrol at Patayrrondos.

In the city of Lima, sabotage of embassies, including the biggest blow against a foreign representative so far, the recent attack against Soviet social-imperialism's embassy; sabotage of dozens of APRA's local offices; a car-bomb in the middle of the Plaza de Armas in front of the Government Palace during the visit of Argentine President Alfonsin and the subsequent burning of the Scala store on the same square, which provoked tremendous shooting and threw the palace uards into great confusion; the car-bombings of the police headquarters, the Armed Forces Joint ommand and the international airport; the usual total blackouts such as on December 3rd and during last March and July; fires, such as the Maruy department store, also right on the Plaza de Armas, with the result that the entire capital of the Republic was put under a state of emergency and a curfew established under Armed Forces authority from last February to the present; selective annihilations, including hitting the chairman of the National Elections Board during the general elections, and Armed Forces and police officers and recently a Navy Rear Admiral, as well as the APRA organizational secretary, which sharpened the contradictions within the reactionary camp and gave rise to an enormous political uproar and thunderous threats; and, June 7th, Army Day, the ceremonial pledge of allegiance to the flag presided over by Garcia was sabotaged by explosive charges, one of them only 20 meters away from the official reviewing stands, thus demonstrating that despite the state of emergency and major military and mounted police presence for the preceding 24 hours, the revolution can hit wherever and whomever necessary.

The struggle of the prisoners of war and those who have come to their direct support merits special mention. Although these struggles have been waged for several years now, stubbornly and heroically going up against and overcoming torture, abuses, subhuman conditions, murder plots, reprisals, assassinations and even genocide, turning the reactionary dungeons into luminous trenches of combat, still the struggles taken up since the middle of last year should be given special emphasis.

On July 13, 1985, the prisoners of war in the trenches at El Fronton, Lurigancho and Callao began a united struggle to win special prisoner

status; in daring warrior actions they forced the Belaunde government to sign an agreement and recognize them as such, with the rights that such status implies. This struggle took the government by surprise and dealt it a sounding defeat, turning the period of the transfer of the presidency to good political advantage. The government prepared to get revenge. The new APRA government took charge of carrying this out; it scarcely had taken office when it began to repudiate the agreement. A difficult and complicated struggle arose, with the government trying to manoeuver and double deal; when this failed it, cooked up and hatched the October 4th genocide, deliberately unleashed a few days before the anniversary of the Party's founding, seeking to inflict a moral defeat on the prisoners of war in the trenches and on the revolution. But the Lurigancho prisoners of war not only stood up to the genocidal attack with heroic daring; at the cost of their own blood, they turned it around so it backfired on the government itself, and with class solidarity, especially that of the other imprisoned fighters, they celebrated October 7th with exultant revolutionary communist ardor and exemplary optimism. They continued their struggle, and once again correctly pushing ahead the struggle, on October 31st forced the reactionary APRA government to sign the agreement it had repudiated, only this time it was signed by higher level authorities. But the struggle did not end and reaction never ceases plotting and maneuvering against the sons and daughters of the people. The government proposed the prisoners' transfer to Canto Grande to further its plan to wipe them out; in the face of these the prisoners launched a campaign called "Unmask the Reactionaries and Resist," declaring their firm resolve to oppose the transfer even at the cost of a new genocide, and powerfully exposing the government. This struggle culminated on January 15, 1986, when a clash between family members of the prisoners of war and the Civil Guard led to the killing of one of the relatives and the wounding of 20 others, forcing the Minister of Justice to declare that "there will be no transfer to Canto Grande because the prison is not for 'terrorists." A chapter in the campaign against the new genocide closed but the problem persisted: in violation of their public promises, faithful to their own reactionary nature, they began to transfer new prisoners there, while the press clamors for more transfers and the Navy represses visitors. The struggle continued and new chapters remained to be written, as we'll see when we examine the infamous June genocide. With their high morale and proven combativity the prisoners of war have taught and continue to teach how revolutionaries can and must turn the prisons into luminous trenches of combat. The actions carried out between June 1984 and June 1986 demonstrate a development not only in quantity but especially in quality, across a wide scale; they provide

irrefutable proof of the development of a real People's War through six years of unyielding battle in the countryside and cities of Peru, "and let the traitors say what they like."

On Building the New State Power

To complete the analysis of the People's War in Peru, we must take up the question of the new state power, the new state, the building of base areas, the essence of surrounding the cities from the countryside, the question of political power, the joint New Democratic dictatorship, which must transform the old society so that with the culmination of the democratic revolution, socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat advances and guarantees the march to communism. We'll take up this point within the context of the building of the three instruments, since the state is inextricably linked to the Party and the army.

We have already dealt with why the Party is necessary and how the Communist Party of Peru was reconstituted so that it could take up the task of leading the People's War; still, to be concisely considered are some important further aspects of its development in the course of the last six years. The Party set itself the task of its militarization at the 1979 National Conference, when preparations for the war were being discussed. Concretely, insofar as what needs to be discussed here, we understand the militarization of the Party as the ensemble of the transformations changes and adjustments necessary to lead People's War as the principal form of struggle giving rise to the new state and the joint dictatorship that will transform society and replace the rule of imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism and semifeudalism with a New Democratic People's Republic, thus culminating the democratic revolution, and further, within the framework of world imperialism and reaction which are sinking and will sink in the midst of wars, attacking and seeking to destroy all that is new and revolutionary, especially everything proletarian, to defend and develop the revolution in its socialist stage, preserving the dictatorship of the proletariat and preventing the restoration of capitalism, tightening the omnipresent links with the world revolution by serving as a base area for the joint war of the proletariat and people's of the world to sweep imperialism and reaction off the face of the earth, and continue a long road of repeated cultural revolutions until communism.

It is within these general outlines that we conceive of the development of specific People's War fighting against an equally specific counterrevolutionary war, taking place within the framework of an era of many varied wars in which imperialism is sinking, in short, a

great clash between People's War and counterrevolutionary war on a world level, the highest form of struggle and the one that will decide the issue. Looking at things in the broadest terms, as long as there are classes, the advance to communist itself through cultural revolution will take place in the shadow of People's War as the proletariat's military line, with its ongoing development. Consequently, our Party and all communist parties face this necessity and these prospects no matter what specific forms they may take.

To be specific about the militarization of the Party, our Party as a whole has plunged into the People's War, throwing all its members into it; in short, "Our center is to combat," as our Central Committee decided. Another important question is that of concentric construction, meaning, in brief, to take the Party as the axis around which to build the army, and around these instruments, together with the unleashing of the masses in People's War, to build the new state. An outstanding question is "the training of Party members first an foremost as communists," and as fighters and administrators," so as to carry out the three great tasks demanded by the revolution.

Mass work must be developed through and for the People's War. The leadership is key and there must be a Great Leadership [Jefatura]. The two-line struggle must be firmly and consistently develop, so as to strengthen the Party and other organizations for the People's War. A vital and decisive question is the further development of the political line: We have achieved a considerably deep understanding of Peruvian society; of the political conjuncture and principally of military line, People's War and how to lead it, especially regarding the specifics of war in Peru and how it unfolds simultaneously in the countryside, and city without forgetting that the countryside is principal. Finally, as was inevitable, the number of Party members has increased considerably, with peasants becoming a very high percentage and a considerable number of youth and women entering the Party, which entails some obvious problems but more importantly a great future well, as long as proletarian ideology is strengthened.

As the crowning aspect of our advances, the People's War has allowed the Party to more firmly and clearly grasps Maoism as the third and highest stage of Marxism nd takes up the task of "Upholding, defending and applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoisn" and struggle to put it in command of the world revolution, with the consciousness that this will serve communism, the proletariat and the oppressed peoples; furthermomore firmly grasping the class outlook and fusing it with the People's War has led to the further development of Guiding Thought. Finally, the People's War itself has made it possible to

further train the Party membership in proletarian internationalism.

Regarding our armed combatants, the People's War, the masses of people and the Party have given rise to the People's Guerrilla Army, an army of a new type to carry out the political tasks of the revolution established by the Party and take up the political tasks consecrated by the international experience of the proletariat: to fight, to produce and to mobilize the masses, which means politically educating them, mobilizing them, organizing and arming them. It is a peasant army under the absolute leadership of the Party according to the principle: "the Party commands the gun, and the gun must never be allowed to command the Party." Its foundation is work to build it up ideologically, with Marxism Leninism-Maoism and its application, that is, Guiding Thought, the Party's general line and policies; building the army politically is complemented by organizing the Party within the army, with Party leadership of all political work within the army as well as of the army's mass work. Militarily the army is built on the basis of the theory of People's War and the Party's military line and plans; it is organized in detachments and platoons in the city. Companies and battalions in the countryside, always under the double command system, one political and the other rnilitary, guided today by the slogan: "develop the companies and strengthen the platoons aiming for battalion." This building of the People's Guerrilla Army is also based on Lenin's great thesis regarding the people's militia and its three functions as police, army and administration. Military training take place with the aim of developing bellicosity so that actions are thoroughly and successfully carried out. The armed forces started out as armed detachments without arms, because as Lenin taught the lack of arms cannot be used as a pretext for not organizing an armed apparatus; later they armed themselves with whatever they could, including with dynamite, which is still very important, since rudimentary and traditional weapons play a fundamental role.

Though we strive to get modern weapons by snatching them from the reactionary forces, we follow Chairman Mao Tsetung's great teaching, which history has proven: "Since history began, revolutionary wars have always been won by those whose weapons were deficient, lost by those with the advantage in weapons . . . If one cannot fight unless one has the most modern weapons, that is the same as disarming oneself."

The People's Guerrilla Army, with its thousands of combatants, has proven itself; it has been steeled in the forge of the people's war and is the pillar of the new state power. The new power, the new state in the form of People's Committees, the developing base areas and the New

Democratic People's Republic in formation, this is the highest achievement of six years of People's War. Taking into account Chairman Mao Tse-tung's thesis on the state, we consider this question as very linked to the united front, especially taking into account the specific conditions in which we are developing and the tradition of the opportunist electoral "fronts" in our country.

The Central Committee has instructed that the People's Revolutionary Defense Fronts be built only in the countryside, in the concrete form of the new state power, based on People's Committees; while in the cities, the People's Revolutionary Defense Movement is being built. The People's Committees arose toward the end of 1982, first in Ayacucho, after the police forces were dealt humiliating blows and withdrew from large parts of the countryside. These are united front committees that give concrete expression to the joint dictatorship of the workers, peasants and petit bourgeoisie, the three classes taking part in the armed revolution today: the proletariat, the peasantry and the petite bourgeoisie. These people's committees, taken as a system of state, are the concrete form of the New Democratic dictatorship whose system of government, in turn, is based on the people's assemblies. Although the national bourgeoisie is not taking part in the revolution now, its interests are respected. The Committee is elected by a Delegate Assembly according to the three thirds rule. One-third communists as representatives of the proletariat, one-third poor peasants as representatives of the peasantry, and one-third middle peasants and progressive elements as representatives of the petite bourgeoisie. Like all the forms of the new state power, the Committees are based on the worker-peasant alliance under the leadership of the proletariat represented by the Communist Party and supported by the People's Guerrilla Army.

The Committee is made up of five commissioners, called this to emphasize that they have been commissioned to perform a specific task and can be recalled at any time. Within the framework of the programme of the democratic revolution, the destruction of imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism and semi feudalism, they organize the social life of the masses in all spheres: the organization of production, especially agriculture, and commerce, which are guided toward collective work; justice, education and recreation, as well as seeing to the progress of the people's organizations and guaranteeing collective and individual security. The basis of this work is the introduction of new social production relations. The development of the hundreds of People's Committees and of the base areas for which they are the foundation follows the fluidity of guerrilla warfare, since they are principally a product of guerrilla warfare following the road

of surrounding the cities from the countryside and of the People's War as a whole, and they have suffered the assaults of the counterrevolutionary war. Thus an acute struggle is being waged around the new state power, between the armed revolution and the armed counterrevolution. For instance, the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration waged especially during the years 1983 and 1984 is very significant. On this subject, it is worth pointing out that during the last two years the People's Guerrilla Army carried out 180 counter-restorations and in connection with this sharp contention seized 591 towns. In short, the vortex of the war between the People's Guerrilla Army and the reactionary Armed Forces and police are the question of the new state power, the creation, defense and development of the people's committees, the base areas and the continuing advance in the formation of the New Democratic People's Republic, the new state, which radiates and will continue to radiate against wind and rain, like a blazing, defiant torch calling on the people to surge forward with the flaming waves of the People's War, devouring the past and vigorously opening the future for the proletariat and the people forever.

And what has been the cost in lives? The reactionary policy of setting masses against masses, of genocide and disappearances has already cost the lives of 11,300 of our people. Adding to that the 1,668 dead of the Armed Forces and police, and police agents, informers, feudal tyrants and despots, and the 1,738 fallen of the People's Guerrilla Army, this adds up to approximately fifteen thousand dead as of May 1986. This is the truth, not the doctored statistics the reaction publishes to cover up its sinister genocidal policies.

This is the People's War in Peru. Its analysis and comprehension demand that four questions be taken up: Marxism Leninism-Maoism, the Party, People's War and the new state power, whose consideration has brought us to a clear and concrete conclusion: the People's War in Peru is an authentic People's War which is turning the country upside down; the "old mole" is burrowing deeply in the bowels of the old society and no one can stop him; the future already dwells among us, the old and rotten society is sinking hopelessly and the revolution shall prevail.

LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S WAR! DEVELOP THE PEOPLE'S WAR TO SERVE THE WORLD REVOLUTION! GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM! LONG LIVE THE WORLD REVOLUTION! LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN GONZALO!

1987 - Hoist, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism!

Communist Party of Peru - Communist Party of Spain - May 1st, 1987

The greatest epic in history, which is the struggle of the international proletariat, the last historical class whose grandiose goal is communism, in its heroic process has generated Marxism as the first stage of its invincible ideology; but class struggle and October's triumphant revolutionary storm raised Marxism up to Marxism-Leninism; but the revolution's unceasing forge, the development of the people's war and of the masses such as never had been seen before, made concrete in the triumph of the Chinese Revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, within the context of the turmoiling class struggle at world level and the combat against contemporary revisionism, raised up Marxism once more from its second to its third stage, from Marxism-Leninism to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Thus, today to follor the proletariat's ideology and to be a communist is to be a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, principally Maoist, and only being so one can serve the proletarian world revolution wherever one combats, because Maoism as the third stage is universally valid and consequently it is necessity to hoist it, to defend it and to apply it.

At present, the international class struggle sets us forth three contradictions: 1) oppressed nations - imperialist superpowers (USA and USSR) and imperialist powers; 2) proletariat - bourgeoisie; 3) superpowers against each other, superpowers against imperialist powers and imperialist powers one against another. Of the three contradictions, the first is the principal one and its solution is the development and triumph of revolution of New Democracy; the second one has as its solution the socialist revolution and, in perspective, the proletarian cultural revolution; the third one is the source of imperialist exploitation and oppression and of counter-revolutionary wars and of a new rapine war for world hegemony; in regard with this, the imperialist superpower USA and the socialimperialist superpower USSR are those that directly and at present contend for that hegemony. It is in these conditions that the proletarian world revolution, existing a revolutionary situation in unequal development, has begun to develop its stratgical offensive in

long perspective for decades of the oncoming new century; in which, by means of the people's war making concrete the democratic, socialist or proletarian cultural revolutions shall sweep imperialism and reactionaries from the face of the Earth.

On account of the above, today more than ever rises the need and the decisive importance each time more urgent of counting on Communist Parties, organized vanguards of the proletariat, based on the all-powerful ideology of the international proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Parties forged for and amid the people's war by means of their militarization, more skillful every day in leading the revolution and inexorable in the struggle against revisionism of any kind. Parties that can manage the construction of the instruments for the revolution, of the Party itself, of the revolutionary armed force and of the united front on behalf of the revolution and not on the bastard electioneering opportunism. From Marx to Chairman Mao, passing through Lenin, Marxism has always stood out the decisive and far-reaching importance of the Party; today the communists, holding on this great truth as never before, feel its necessity and struggle for its ideological, political and organizing construction, conscious as never before that without a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party there is no revolution led by the proletariat, the only one that is an authentic revolution.

Such being the state of things, the people's war, the military theory established by Chairman Mao Tsetung, the masses' war led by the proletariat is a great word of command for the present and for the future, within the age of wars in which the old and caducous imperialist and reactionary world order is sinking and will sink. The people's war sets us forth two questions: 1) the people's war has universal validity, this implies that it is applicable to a democratic revolution as well as to one of socialist character, of course keeping in mind the own character of each one of these types of revolution and even more bearing in mind the specific conditions of every concrete revolution in each country; 2) the people's war of universal validity is the answer to the imperialist world war, it implied at present and in perspective the transformation of the imperialist counter-revolutionary war into a revolutionary war, into a people's war, into a war for the conquest of Political Power for the proletariat and the people (be it a State of New Democracy or a State of Dictatorship of the Proletariat); thus, for the Communist Parties the prolem lays not in centering the attention on the imperialist world war but on the people's war, because only from the latter will derive the Political Power led by the proletariat.

And today, May First, day of the international proletariat, when we meditate on its grandiose emancipating epic and its great historical goal; today when we hail the turmoiling and demolishing revolutionary movement of the oppressed nations and the inexhaustible and uncessing struggle of the peoples of the world, we call to Hoist, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism! since only in this way the international proletariat through its Communist Parties will be capable of leading the conquest for Political Power and of emancipating itself as a class.

GLORY TO THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT!

LONG LIVE THE PROLETARIAN WORLD REVOLUTION!

LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S WAR IN PERU!

HOIST, DEFEND AND APPLY MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM, PRINCIPALLY MAOISM!

1987 - Agreements between PCP and PCE

Communist Party of Peru - Communist Party of Spain - May 1st, 1987

1. The Communist Party of Peru and the Communist Party of Spain agree officially to establish relations as fraternal Communist Parties on a common ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, a common revolutionary struggle, the proletarian world revolution and also a common goal, communism.

2. Our two Parties making proletarian internationalism concrete, assume the development of just, correct and steady relations in the assurance that evolving them fully and helping each other like comrades in arms, we will serve united with other fraternal and equal parties so that communism may shine on Earth for the good of all mankind.

3. Both Parties with full conscience and total assurance hoist Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the true and unvanquished ideology of international proletariat, assuming Maoism as its third and principal stage; and, solemnly we commit ourselves to struggle firmly and tenaciously in order that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, be the command and guide of the proletarian world revolution.

4. The PCP and the PCE undersign the statement "Hoist, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism!"

5. The Communist Party of Peru hails the Communist Party of Spain and backs its struggle for providing the proletariat of the Spanish State with an organized vanguard that may lead it to the conquest of Political Power. The Communist Party of Spain hails the Communist Party of Peru and backs the people's war led successfully by it, standing out the meaning and the importance that this war has for the proletarian world revolution.

6. We applaud that the first meeting of our Parties has been an excellent one, which besides being a landmark will inevitably have transcendence in our tasks and common struggle; and we express the decision to transform this beginning into a fruitful development that future meetings will evaluate and make concrete.

7. PCP and PCE deem necessary and of unevadable importance the regrouping of communists, of firm and consistent followers of the proletariat's ideology, of those who are for the world revolution, for the crumbling of the old oppressive order of imperialism and the reactionaries, for the proletariat's leadership through its Communist Parties and for the crushing of revisionism of all types; in synthesis, of those who are for fighting unbendingly for communism. PCP and PCE are for the struggle on behalf of a Future Communist International sustained on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism; and they consider the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement as a stag in that direction, which it will serve so long as it sustains istself on and follows a just and correct ideological and political line.

1987 - To give one's life for the Party and the Revolution

The inexhaustible bosom of the people nourished them with frugal food and made them walk; class struggle shaped their minds; and the Party, as the primary and highest social form, raised their political conscience, arming it with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Guiding Thought, empowered their combativeness by organizing them in the People’s Guerrilla Army and, smelting them with the masses of the poor peasantry, steeled their bodies and souls in the inextinguishable forge of the People’s War. Having become prisoners of war, they never knelt down and, persisted in fighting, mobilizing and producing amid fiery struggles. They converted the sordid dungeons of the decrepit and rotten Peruvian State into shining trenches of combat.

The smashing, well-aimed and implacable blows dealt by the People’s War and its unstoppable advance stirred the reactionaries’ hyena entrails, reverberating everything like continual lashings and peremptory demands in the turgid and disturbed nightmares of the Apra government, which is today already fascist and corporative, even more so in the unbridled ambitions of the apprentice demagogue "führer" who leads them; thus, the reactionaries, the administration and the now genocidal García Pérez dreamt bloodthirsty and dark plans for a devastating and decisive blow that would lead to the crushing of the People’s War. The prisoners of war’s rebellion is the public unmasking and condemnation before the world of these sinister plans for massive killing, in defense of the revolution and their own lives. The monstrous and infamous genocide carried out by the armed forces and repressive apparatuses through governmental orders and given carte blanche, full of blind hatred against the people and perverse homicidal fury, was shattered by the ferocious, unbending iron resistance of the comrades, combatants and children of the masses who raised ideology, courage and heroism daringly displayed in an ardent, warlike challenge. But if the reactionary beast drank blood until satiated in order to impose the peace of the cemeteries, those lives, wretchedly and cunningly cut short, were transformed into imperishable ones, forming the monumental trilogy of shining trenches of combat in El Frontón, Lurigancho and Callao, historical landmarks that will proclaim more and more the greatness of the Day of Heroism.

The would-be devastating and decisive blow wound up falling on the heads of those who engendered it and sank the fascist and corporativist Apra government and the one who acts as president, in violation of his State's legal norms, resulting in a serious political crisis and the enormous loss of prestige from which they cannot yet extricate themselves. The rebellion of the prisoners of war at the cost of their own lives won for the Party and the revolution a grand moral, political, and military triumph. Even more, they notably served the success of completing the great leap with a golden seal and of laying the groundwork for the new plan of developing base areas, whose first campaign has been the greatest setback for the Peruvian State to date and which has had the widest repercussion of the People's War both inside and outside the country. In this way, the prisoners of war, like the great masses of history, go on winning battles beyond the grave, because they live and fight within us, conquering new victories. We feel their vigorous and indelible presence shining and palpitating, teaching us today, tomorrow and forever how to sacrifice our lives on behalf of the Party and the revolution.

Glory to the Day of Heroism

Peru, June 1987

CHAIRMAN GONZALO

1987 - Glory to the Day of Heroism!

LTC Canto Grande - June 1987

A year ago, on June 19, Day of Heroism, prisoners of war from the Shining Trenches of Combat at El Fronton, Lurigancho, and Callao prisons rebelled, raising the Fundamental Truth of marxism-leninism-maoism, President Gonzalo's guiding thought "Rebellion is Justified," against the developing genocidal policy, in defense of the Revolution and their lives, demanding claims for very fair and rational grievances.

The communists and People's Guerrilla Army fighters and children of the masses fought heroically, sealing a landmark of Heroism, bravery and courage, expression of the new human armed with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, guiding thought that only the Communist Party and the People's War is capable of generating, through which they concretized the immortal Day of Heroism, their precious blood bearing fruit of our Great Epic, the People's War, rising like the monumental glinting flag and inexhaustible battle cry that brings us to the inevitable final triumph: COMMUNISM.

With this glorious action, our Communist Party, wisely led by President Gonzalo, achieved a great political, military and moral victory; becoming the decisive action of the Grand Plan of Conquering Bases that has plunged the reactionary APRA government and its head Alan Garcia in the worst crisis he could ever dream of, forcing him to define his predicament and develop his corporate fascist policies and isolating him politically.

Our Communist Party has demonstrated once again that it is a Militarized Party of a New Type, its guiding ideology Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, capable of withstanding genocide and continue fighting; proof of this is that the surviving Heroes and the new prisoners of war have raised Red Flags with hammers and sickles in the fascist Canto Grande prison, converting the prison into a Shining Trench of Combat.

Today we reaffirm our unwavering commitment to follow the shining example of the People's Heroes, developing the People's War serving the World Revolution while fulfilling the course charted by President Gonzalo to conquer the condition of political prisoners and prisoners

of war. We affirm, with historical optimism, our decision of HEROIC RESISTANCE before the newly planned genocide, to which we will fight, resist and defeat, thereby serving our Communist Party, the people and the people's war in the successful completion of the new Great Plan to Develop Bases, led today by the victorious politic of "CULMINATING BRIGHTLY BY ESTABLISHING A HISTORICAL MILESTONE."

LONG LIVE PRESIDENT GONZALO!

GLORY TO THE DAY OF HEROISM!

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM, GUIDING THOUGHT!

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY!

DEVELOP PEOPLE'S WAR IN SERVICE OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION!

ETERNAL GLORY TO THE FALLEN HEROES, LONG LIVE THE REVOLUTION!

Volume 2: 1988-1990

1988 - Fundamental Documents

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On Marxism-Leninism-Maoism

In the furnace of class struggle, the ideology of the international proletariat emerged as Marxism, afterwards developed into Marxism-Leninism and later Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Therefore, the scientific ideology of the proletariat, all-powerful because it is true, has three stages or landmarks in its dialectical process of development: 1) Marxism, 2) Leninism, and 3) Maoism. These three stages are part of the same unity which began with the Communist Manifesto one hundred and forty years ago, with the heroic epic of the class struggle, in fierce and fruitful two-line struggles within the communist parties themselves and in the titanic work of thought and action that only the working class could generate. Today, three unfading lights are outstanding: Marx, Lenin, and Mao Tse-tung who, through three grand leaps have armed us with the invincible ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, which today is principally Maoism.

Nevertheless, while Marxism-Leninism has obtained an acknowledgment of its universal validity, Maoism is not completely acknowledged as the third stage. Some simply deny its condition as such, while others only accept it as “Mao Tse-tung Thought.” In essence, both positions, with the obvious differences between them, deny the general development of Marxism made by Chairman Mao Tse-tung. The denial of the “ism” character of Maoism denies its universal validity and, consequently, its condition as the third, new, and superior stage of the ideology of the international proletariat: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, that we uphold, defend, and apply.

As an INTRODUCTION, in order to better understand Maoism and the necessity to struggle for it, let us remember Lenin. He taught us that as the revolution advanced to the East it expressed specific conditions that, while they did not negate principles or laws, were new situations that Marxism could not ignore, upon the risk of putting the revolution in danger of a defeat. Notwithstanding the uproar against what is new by pedantic and bookish intellectuals, who are stuffed with liberalism and false Marxism, the only just and correct thing to do is to apply Marxism to the concrete conditions and to solve the new situations and problems that every revolution necessarily faces. In the face of the horrified and pharisaic “defenses of the ideology, the class, and of the people” that revisionists, opportunists and renegades proclaim, or the furious attacks against Marxism by brutalized academicians and hacks

of the old order who are debased by the rotten bourgeois ideology and blindly defend the old society on which they are parasites. Lenin also said clearly that the revolution in the East would present new and great surprises to the greater amazement of the worshipers of following only the well-trodden paths who are incapable of seeing the new; and, as we all know, he trusted the Eastern comrades to resolve the problems that Marxism had not yet resolved.

Furthermore, we must keep well in mind that when Comrade Stalin justly and correctly stated that we had entered the stage of Leninism as the development of Marxism, there was also opposition by those who rend their garments in a supposed defense of Marxism. There were also those who said that Leninism was only applicable to the backward countries. But, in the midst of struggle, practice has consecrated Leninism as a great development of Marxism, and thus the proletarian ideology shone victoriously in the face of the world as Marxism-Leninism.

Today, Maoism faces similar situations. All new things, like Marxism, have always advanced through struggle, and similarly, Maoism will impose itself and be acknowledged.

As for the CONTEXT in which Chairman Mao Tse-tung developed and Maoism was forged, on an international level it was on the basis of imperialism, world wars, the international proletarian movement, the national liberation movement, the struggle between Marxism and revisionism, and the restoration of capitalism in the USSR. Three big historical landmarks must be emphasized in the present century: first, the October Revolution of 1917, which opened the era of the world proletarian revolution; second, the triumph of the Chinese Revolution, in 1949, which changed the correlation of forces in favor of socialism; and third, the great proletarian cultural revolution, which began in 1966 as the continuation of the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship in order to maintain the revolutionary course towards Communism. It is enough to emphasize that Chairman Mao led two of these glorious historical feats.

In China, as the center of world revolution, Maoism was concretely expressed within the most complex convergence of contradictions, and the intense and ruthless class struggle which was marked by the pretensions of the imperialist powers of tearing and dividing up China after the collapse of the Manchurian Empire (1911), the anti-imperialist movement of 1919, the revolts of the great peasant masses, the twenty-two years of armed struggle of the democratic revolution, the great contest for the building and development of socialism and

the ten years of revolutionary storms for carrying forward the Cultural Revolution, as well as the sharpest two-line struggle within the Communist Party of China, especially against revisionism. All this was framed within the international situation described above. It is out of this aggregate of historical deeds that we have to extract four events of extraordinary importance: The founding of the Communist Party of China (CPC) in 1921; the Autumn Harvest uprising which initiated the path from the countryside to the city, in 1925; the founding of the People's Republic, 1949; and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution (GPCR), from 1966-1976; in all of which Chairman Mao was a protagonist and the acknowledged leader of the Chinese Revolution.

We can say from Chairman Mao Tse-tung's biography that he was born on December 26th 1893, opening his eyes to an agitated world scorched by the flames of war; son of peasants, he was seven years old when "Boxer Rebellions" began; a student at a Teachers' Training College, he was in his eighteenth year when the empire collapsed and he enlisted himself as a soldier, later to become a great organizer of peasants and of the youth in Hunan, his native province. Founder of the Communist Party and of the Red Army of workers and peasants, he established the path of surrounding the cities from the countryside developing People's War as the military theory of the proletariat. He was the theoretician of New Democracy and founder of the People's Republic; a promoter of the Great Leap Forward and of the development of socialism; the leader of the struggle against the contemporary revisionism of Khrushchev and his henchmen, leader and head of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. These are landmarks of a life devoted thoroughly and solely to the revolution. The proletariat has seen three gigantic triumphs in this century: Two of them belong to Chairman Mao, and if one is glory enough, two are even more.

On the CONTENT of Maoism, of its substance, we must point out the following basic issues:

1. Theory. Marxism has three parts: Marxist philosophy, Marxist political economy, and scientific socialism. The development of all these three components gives rise to a great qualitative leap of Marxism as a whole, as a unity on a superior level, which implies a new stage. Consequently, the essential thing is to show that Chairman Mao, as can be seen in theory and practice, has generated such a great qualitative leap. Let us highlight this with the following points:

In Marxist philosophy he developed the essence of dialectics, the law

of contradiction, establishing it as the only fundamental law; and besides his profound dialectical understanding of the theory of knowledge, whose center are the two leaps that make up its law (from practice to knowledge and vice versa, but with knowledge to practice being the main one). We emphasize that he masterfully applied the law of contradiction in politics; and moreover he brought philosophy to the masses of people, fulfilling the task that Marx left.

In Marxist political economy, Chairman Mao applied dialectics to analyze the relationship between the base and superstructure, and, continuing the struggle of Marxism-Leninism against the revisionist thesis of the “productive forces”, he concluded that the superstructure, consciousness, can modify the base, and that with political power the productive forces can be developed. By developing the Leninist idea that politics is the concentrated expression of economics, he established that politics must be in command, (applicable on all levels) and that political work is the life-line of economic work; which takes us to the true handling of political economy, not just a simple economic policy.

Despite its importance, an issue which is often sidestepped, especially by those who face democratic revolutions, is the Maoist thesis of bureaucratic capitalism; that is, the capitalism which is being developed in the oppressed nations by imperialism along with different degrees of underlying feudalism, or even pre-feudal stages. This is a vital problem, mainly in Asia, Africa and Latin America, since a good revolutionary leadership derives from its understanding, especially when the confiscation of bureaucratic capital forms the economic basis for carrying forward the socialist revolution as the second stage.

But the main thing is that Chairman Mao Tse-tung has developed the political economy of socialism. Of the utmost importance is his criticism of socialist construction in the Soviet Union, as well as his theses on how to develop socialism in China: Taking agriculture as the base and industry as the leading economic force, promoting industrialization guided by the relationship between heavy industry, light industry and agriculture; taking heavy industry as the center of economic construction and simultaneously paying full attention to light industry and agriculture. The Great Leap Forward and the conditions for its execution should be highlighted: One, the political line that gives it a just and correct course; two, small, medium, and large organizational forms in a greater to lesser quantity, respectively; three, a great drive, a gigantic effort of the masses of people in order to put it in motion and to take it through to success, a leap forward

whose results are valued more for the new process set in motion and its historical perspective than its immediate achievements, and its linkage with agricultural collectivization and the people's communes. Finally, we must bear well in mind his teachings on the objectivity and the subjectivity in understanding and handling the laws of socialism, that because the few decades of socialism have not permitted it to see its complete development, and therefore a better understanding of its laws and its specification, and principally the relationship that exists between revolution and the economic process, embodied in the slogan "grasp revolution and promote production". Despite its transcendental importance, this development of Marxist political economy has received scant attention.

In scientific socialism, Chairman Mao further developed the theory of social classes analyzing them on economic, political, and ideological planes. He upheld revolutionary violence as a universal law without any exception whatsoever; revolution as a violent displacement of one class by another, thus establishing the great thesis that "political power grows out of the barrel of a gun". He resolved the question of the conquest of political power in the oppressed nations through the path of surrounding the cities from the countryside, establishing its general laws. He defined and developed the theory of the class struggle within socialism in which he brilliantly demonstrated that the antagonistic struggle between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, between the socialist road and the capitalist road, and between socialism and capitalism continues. That in socialism it was not concretely determined who would defeat whom, that it was a problem whose solution demands time, the unfolding of a process of restoration and counter-restoration, in order for the proletariat to strongly hold political power definitely through the proletarian dictatorship; and, finally and principally, the grandiose solution of historical transcendence, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as the continuation of the socialist revolution under the proletarian dictatorship.

These basic questions, simply and plainly stated but known and undeniable, show the Chairman's development of the integral parts of Marxism, and the evident raising of Marxism-Leninism to a new, third and superior stage: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism.

Continuing with this brief synthesis, let us look at other specific points which, although deriving from the above, should be considered even if only enumeratively, to emphasize and pay due attention to them. = = =

2. The New Democratic Revolution. Firstly, it is a development of the Marxist theory of the State, establishing three types of dictatorships:

1) Dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, in the old bourgeois democracies like the United States, a type in which the dictatorships of the oppressed nations such as the Latin American ones can be assimilated;

2) proletarian dictatorships, like the ones in the Soviet Union or in China before the usurpation of power by the revisionists; and

3) New Democracy, as a joint dictatorship based on the worker-peasant alliance, led by the proletariat headed up by the Communist Party, which was formed in China during its democratic revolution, and which is concretely expressed in Perú today through the People's Committees, in the base areas and in the People's Republic of New Democracy in formation. It is fundamental to emphasize, within this development of the theory of the state, the key differentiation between a state system as a dictatorship of a class or classes that hold political power, which is principal, and a system of government, which is understood as an organization for the exercise of political power.

On the other hand, New Democracy, one of the extraordinary developments made by Chairman Mao, masterfully materializes for us the bourgeois revolution of a new type, which only the proletariat can lead. In synthesis, it is the democratic revolution within the new era of world proletarian revolution in which we evolve. The New Democratic Revolution implies a new economy, a new politics, and a new culture, obviously overthrowing the old order and upholding the new one with arms, the only way to transform the world.

Finally, it is important to emphasize that New Democracy is a democratic revolution. Although it mainly fulfills the democratic tasks, it also complementarily advances in some socialist tasks, so that the question of two stages, democratic and socialist, which corresponds to countries like ours, is thoroughly solved by guaranteeing that once the democratic stage is concluded, it will be continued as a socialist revolution, without any intermissions or interruptions.

3. The three instruments. The problem of the construction of the instruments of the revolution presents the Party with the problem of understanding the interrelationship between the Party, the army and the united front; and to understand and correctly handle the interconnected construction of the three instruments in the midst of

war or in the defense of the new State based on the power of the armed people, expressing in that way a just and correct task of leadership. Their construction is guided by the principle that a just and correct ideological line decides everything, and it is on this ideological-political basis that the organizational construction is simultaneously developed in the midst of the struggle between the proletarian line and the bourgeois line and within the storm of the class struggle, mainly in war, as the principal form of current or potential struggle.

Regarding the Party, Chairman Mao starts from the necessity of the Communist Party, a new type of party, a party of the proletariat. Today, we would say a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party: a party whose aim is to conquer political power and to defend it, and therefore it is inextricably bound to people's war in order to initiate it, develop it or wage it to defend itself. A party sustained by the masses of people, be it by way of people's war which is a war of the masses, or by the united front which, being a front of classes, is based on the broad masses. The Party develops and changes itself according to the stages of the revolution and the periods that these stages may have. The driving of its development is the contradiction which materializes in its heart as the two-line struggle, the proletarian line and the bourgeois or in general non-proletarian line, which is in essence and mainly a struggle against revisionism. This leads to the decisive importance of ideology in the life of the party and to the development of rectification campaigns that serve a greater adjustment of all the systems of party organizations and the membership to the just and correct ideological and political lines, guaranteeing the predominance of the proletarian line and keeping the Party leadership in its iron grip. The Party serves the establishment of political power for the proletariat as the leading class of the New Democracy, and principally for the establishment, strengthening and development of the proletarian dictatorship, and through cultural revolutions the conquest of the great, final goal: Communism. Because of this, the Party must lead everything in an all-around way.

The revolutionary army is of a new type. It is an army for the fulfillment of the political tasks that the Party establishes in accordance with the interests of the proletariat and the people. This characteristic is concretely expressed in three tasks: To combat, to produce in order to pose no parasitical burden, and to mobilize the masses. It is an army based on the political development of the proletariat's ideology, from Marxism-Leninism-Maoism (today), and from the general political line as well as the military one that the Party may establish. It is an army based on people and not on

weapons, an army that surged from the masses with whom it has always been linked, serving them wholeheartedly, which allows it to move among the people like fish in the water. Without a people's army the people have nothing, said Chairman Mao, at the same time he taught us the necessity of the Party's absolute leadership over the army and his great principle: The Party commands the gun and we will never permit it to be otherwise. Besides having thoroughly established the principles and norms for the construction of a new type of army, the Chairman himself called for preventing the use of the army for the restoration of capitalism by usurping the leadership through a counterrevolutionary coup d'etat and, developing Lenin's thesis on the people's militia, he carried out farther than anyone the general policy of arming the people, thus opening a breach and pointing out the path towards the armed sea of masses that will lead us to the definite emancipation of the people and the proletariat.

It was Chairman Mao who for the first time developed a complete theory on the united front and established its laws. A front of social classes based on the worker-peasant alliance as a guarantee of the proletariat's hegemony in the revolution, which is led by the proletariat represented by the Communist Party; in synthesis, a united front under the leadership of the Communist Party, a united front for the people's war, for the revolution, for the conquest of power for the proletariat and the people. In synthesis, the united front is the grouping of the revolutionary forces against the counter-revolutionary forces in order to wage the struggle between revolution and counter-revolution mainly through the armed people's war. The united front, obviously, is not the same in every stage of the revolution and, furthermore, it has its specifications according to the various historical periods of each stage; likewise, the united front in a concrete revolution does not equal the one on a world level, although both follow the same general laws. Apart from this, it is important to emphasize the relation between the front and the State that Chairman Mao established when the war of resistance against Japan was evolving, setting forth that the united front is a form of joint dictatorship, a question that deserves to be especially studied by those who face democratic revolutions.

4. The People's War is the military theory of the international proletariat; in it are summarized, for the first time in a systematic and complete form, the theoretical and practical experience of the struggles, military actions, and wars waged by the proletariat, and the prolonged experience of the people's armed struggle and especially of the incessant wars in China. It is with Chairman Mao that the proletariat attains its military theory; nevertheless, there is much

confusion and misunderstanding on this issue. And much of it springs from how the People's War in China is seen. Generally, it is considered derisively and contemptuously simply as a guerrilla war; this alone denotes a lack of understanding. Chairman Mao pointed out that guerrilla warfare achieves a strategic feature; but due to its essential fluidity, the development of guerrilla warfare is not understood as it exists, how it develops mobility, a war of movements, of positions, how it unfolds great plans of the strategic offensive and the seizure of small, mid-sized, and big cities, with millions of inhabitants, combining the attack from outside with the insurrection from within. Thus, in conclusion, the four periods of the Chinese revolution, and mainly from the agrarian war until the people's war of liberation, considering the anti-Japanese war of resistance between both, shows the various aspects and complexities of the revolutionary war waged during more than twenty years amidst a huge population and an immense mobilization and participation of the masses. In that war there are examples of every kind; and what is principal has been extraordinarily studied and its principles, laws, strategy, tactics, rules, etc. masterfully established. It is, therefore, in this fabulous crucible and on what was established by Marxism-Leninism that Chairman Mao developed the military theory of the proletariat: The People's War.

We must fully bear in mind that subsequently, Chairman Mao himself, aware of the existence of atomic bombs and missiles and with China already having them, sustained and developed people's war in order to wage it under the new conditions of atomic weapons and of war against powers and super-powers. In synthesis, people's war is the weapon of the proletariat and of the people, even to confront atomic wars.

A key and decisive question is the understanding of the universal validity of people's war and its subsequent application taking into account the different types of revolution and the specific conditions of each revolution. To clarify this key issue it is important to consider that no insurrection like that of Petrograd, the anti-fascist resistance, or the European guerrilla movements in the Second World War have been repeated, as well as considering the armed struggles that are presently being waged in Europe. In the final analysis, the October Revolution was not only an insurrection but a revolutionary war that lasted for several years. Consequently, in the imperialist countries the revolution can only be conceived as a revolutionary war which today is simply people's war.

Finally, today more than ever, we Communists and revolutionaries,

the proletariat and the people, need to forge ourselves in: “Yes. We are adherents to the theory of the omnipotence of the revolutionary war. That it is not bad thing; it is good thing. It is Marxist”; which means adhering to the invincibility of people’s war.

5. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution in a historical perspective is the most transcendental development of Marxism-Leninism made by Chairman Mao; it is the solution to the great pending problem of the continuation of the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship: “It represents a more profound and wider new stage in the development of the socialist revolution in our country.”

What was the situation that presented itself? As stated in the Decision of the Communist Party of China on the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution states: “Although overthrown, the bourgeoisie still tries to avail itself of the old ideas, culture, habits and ways of the exploiting classes in order to corrupt the masses and to conquer the minds of the people in its endeavors to restore its power. The proletariat must do exactly the opposite: It must deal merciless, frontal blows to all the challenges by the bourgeoisie in the ideological arena and change the spiritual composition of the whole society using its own new ideas, culture, habits and ways. Our present aim is to crush, through struggle, those who occupy leading posts and follow the capitalist road, to criticize and repudiate the reactionary bourgeois ‘authorities’ in the academic fields, to criticize and repudiate the ideology of the bourgeoisie and other exploiting classes, and to transform education, literature, and art and the rest of areas of the superstructure that do not correspond to the economic base of socialism, in order to facilitate the consolidation and the development of the socialist system.”

It was in these conditions that the most Earth-shaking political process and the greatest mass mobilization the world has ever seen broke out, and whose objectives were thus outlined by Chairman Mao: “The present GPCR is completely necessary and very timely to consolidate the proletarian dictatorship, to prevent the restoration of capitalism, and to build socialism.”

We also emphasize two questions:

1) The GPCR implies a landmark in the development of the proletarian dictatorship towards the proletariat’s securing political power, concretely expressed in the Revolutionary Committees; and

2) The restoration of capitalism in China after the 1976 counter-revolutionary coup is not a negation of the GPCR but is plainly part of

the contention between restoration and counter-restoration, and, on the contrary, it shows us the transcendental historical importance of the GPCR in the inexorable march of mankind towards Communism.

6. World Revolution. Chairman Mao emphasizes the importance of the world revolution as a unity, on the basis that revolution is the main trend while the decomposition of imperialism is greater each day, and the role played by the masses grows more immense each year, masses that make and shall make their transforming and unstoppable strength be felt, and reiterates the great truth: Either we all reach Communism or nobody does. Within this specific perspective in the era of imperialism, the great historical moment of the "next 50 to 100 years", and within this context the opening period of struggle against Yankee imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, paper tigers that contend for hegemony and threaten the world with an atomic war, in the face of which, firstly we must condemn it, and secondly, we must prepare ourselves beforehand in order to oppose it with people's war and make the revolution. On the other hand, starting from the historical importance of the oppressed nations and, furthermore, from their perspective both in the economic and political relationships that are evolving on account of the process of decomposition of imperialism, Chairman Mao stated his thesis that "three worlds delineate themselves". All of which leads to the necessity of developing the strategy and tactics of world revolution. Regrettably, we know little or almost nothing about Chairman Mao's writings and statements on these transcendental questions; nevertheless, the very little that is known shows the grand perspectives which he watched closely and the great outlines that we must follow in order to understand and serve the proletarian world revolution

7. Superstructure, ideology, culture, and education. These and other related issues have been subtly and deeply studied by Chairman Mao. For that reason, this is also another basic question that deserves attention.

In conclusion, the contents seen in these fundamental issues show clearly to whoever wants to see and understand that we have, therefore, a new, third, and superior stage of Marxism: Maoism; and that to be a Marxist in these days demands to be a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist and mainly Maoist.

All that has been explained in the contents leads us to two questions:

What is fundamental in Maoism? Political Power is fundamental in Maoism. Political power for the proletariat, power for the dictatorship

of the proletariat, power based on an armed force led by the Communist Party. More explicitly:

1) Political power under the leadership of the proletariat in the democratic revolution;

2) Political power for the dictatorship of the proletariat in the socialist and cultural revolutions;

3) Political power based on an armed force led by the Communist Party, conquered and defended through people's war.

And, what is Maoism? Maoism is the elevation of Marxism-Leninism to a new, third, and superior stage in the struggle for proletarian leadership of the democratic revolution, the development of the construction of socialism and the continuation of the revolution under the proletarian dictatorship as a proletarian cultural revolution; when imperialism deepens its decomposition and revolution has become the main tendency of history, amidst the most complex and largest wars seen to date and the implacable struggle against contemporary revisionism.

On the STRUGGLE AROUND MAOISM. Briefly, the struggle in China for establishing Mao Tse-tung Thought began in 1935 at the Tsunyi Meeting, when Chairman Mao assumed the leadership of the Communist Party of China. In 1945 the VII Congress agreed that the CPC was guided by Marxism-Leninism Mao Tse-tung Thought, a specification suppressed by the VIII Congress, since a rightist line prevailed in it. The IX Congress in 1969 resumed the GPCR and ratified that the CPC is guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought; that was as far as it advanced.

On an international level, it acquired influence from the 1950s onwards; but it is with the GPCR that it intensely spread out and its prestige rose powerfully and Chairman Mao was acknowledged as the leader of the world revolution and originator of a new stage in Marxism-Leninism; thus, a great number of Communist Parties assumed the denomination of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. On the world level, Maoism confronted contemporary revisionism openly unmasking it profoundly and forcefully, and likewise it did so in the CPC's own ranks, all of which raised the Chairman's great red banner still more: The new, third, and superior stage of the ideology of the international proletariat. At present (1988), Maoism confronts the triple attack of Soviet, Chinese and Albanian revisionism. But today, even among those who acknowledge

the Chairman's great contributions, including the development of Marxism, there are some who believe that we are still in the stage of Marxism-Leninism, and others who only accept Mao Tse-tung Thought but by no means Maoism.

In this country, obviously, the revisionists who follow the baton of their diverse masters, Gorbachev, Teng, Alia or Castro have continuously attacked Maoism; among them one must condemn, unmask, and implacably combat Del Prado's callous revisionism and his gang, the so called "Peruvian Communist Party"; the abject deviousness of the self-proclaimed "Communist Party of Peru, Patria Roja" who, after raising themselves up as "great Maoists" became Teng's servants, after having condemned him when he was defenestrated in 1976, as well as the anti-Maoism of the so called "Izquierda Unida" (United Left), in whose heart swarmed all the revisionist and even anti-Marxist positions passed off by false Marxists and opportunists of many kinds. We must raise Maoism as a revealing mirror for revisionists in order to combat them implacably, working for the development of the People's War and the triumph of the democratic revolution underway, which is an unavoidable and unrenounceable task of a strategic character.

The Communist Party of Peru, through the fraction led by President Gonzalo, who propelled its reconstitution, took up Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought in 1966; in 1979 the slogan "Uphold, defend, and apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought!"; in 1981: "Towards Maoism!"; and, in 1982, took Maoism as an integral part and superior development of the ideology of the international proletariat: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. It is with the People's War that we have understood more deeply what Maoism implies and we have taken up the solemn pledge to "Uphold, defend, and apply Marxism-Leninism- Maoism, principally Maoism!" and to work relentlessly in helping to place it as leader and guide of the world revolution, the always red and unfading banner that is the guarantee of triumph for the proletariat, the oppressed nations, and peoples of the world in their inexorable, combative march of iron legions towards the golden and always brilliant goal of Communism.

Concerning Gonzalo Thought

All revolutions, in their process of development, through the struggle of the proletariat as the leading class and, above all, the struggle of the Communist Party that raises their unrenounceable class interests, give rise to a group of leaders and principally one who represents and leads it, a leader with acknowledged authority and influence. In our reality this has taken shape, on account of historical necessity and causality, in President Gonzalo, leader of the Party and of the revolution.

Moreover, and this is the basis upon which all leadership is formed, revolutions give rise to a thought that guides them, which is the result of the application of the universal truth of the ideology of the international proletariat to the concrete conditions of each revolution; a guiding thought indispensable to reach victory and to conquer political power and, moreover, to continue the revolution and to maintain the course always towards the only, great goal: Communism; a guiding thought that, arriving at a qualitative leap of decisive importance for the revolutionary process which it leads, identifies itself with the name of the one who shaped it theoretically and practically. In our situation, this phenomenon specified itself first as guiding thought, then as President Gonzalo's guiding thought, and later, as Gonzalo Thought; because it is the President who, creatively applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of Peruvian reality, has generated it; thus endowing the Party and the revolution with an indispensable weapon which is guarantee of victory.

Gonzalo Thought has been forged through long years of intense, tenacious, and incessant struggle to uphold, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, to retake Mariátegui's path and to develop it, to reconstitute the Party and, principally, to initiate, maintain and develop the People's War in Perú serving the world revolution, and that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism be, in theory and practice, its sole command and guide.

It is of substantive necessity for the party to study Gonzalo Thought for a more just and correct understanding of the general political line, and mainly of the military line, aiming at deepening the understanding of the particularities of the Peruvian revolution, what is specific and particular that President Gonzalo has masterfully

emphasized. In this way we serve “the great plan to develop base areas”, the development of the People’s War and the perspective of conquering political power countrywide.

We must study Gonzalo Thought, starting from the historical context that generated it; examine the ideological base which sustains it; explain its content, more substantially expressed in the general political line and in the military line which is its center; aiming at what is fundamental within it, the problem of political power, of the seizure of power in Perú, which is inextricably linked to the conquest of power by the proletariat in the whole world; and we must pay close attention to its forging in the two-line struggle.

In synthesis, these fundamental issues can be dealt with by applying the following scheme:

Historical Context

International context

In relationship to historical events:

1) the development since the Second World War onwards;

2) the powerful national liberation movement and, within it, the process and triumph of the Chinese Revolution;

3) the Cuban Revolution and its repercussion on Latin America;

4) the great struggle between Marxism and revisionism;

5) the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. But the key point is to see how, in this great class struggle on the world level, Gonzalo Thought considers that a third stage of the proletarian ideology arises: First, as Marxism-Leninism, Mao Tse-tung Thought; then Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought; and later, it is defined as Maoism, understanding its universal validity; and in this way reaching Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, as the present expression of Marxism.

National Context

1) the postwar Peruvian society and within it the political struggle, the so called National Democratic Front, the action of APRA, Odría’s coup d’etat and the struggle against his Eight Year Rule, the contest between APRA followers and Communists; and particularly, the

development of bureaucratic capitalism in the 1960s and part of the 1970s and the sharp class struggle that accompanied it; “Velasquism” and its so-called revolution, the contention and collusion between the comprador bourgeoisie and the bureaucratic bourgeoisie (factions of the big bourgeoisie), and opportunism and mainly revisionism by their supporters;

2) the class struggle in the peasant movement;

3) the process of the working class movement;

4) the intellectual movement;

5) the armed struggle in the country, especially by the MIR [Movement of the Revolutionary Left] and the ELN [National Liberation Army] in 1965, as well as their antecedents in Blanco, Vallejos, and Heraud; and

6) the problem of the Party: How a Party founded on a clear Marxist-Leninist basis degenerated into a revisionist party, the need to retake Mariátegui’s path, develop it, and to reconstitute the Party, the Communist Party of Perú that Mariátegui himself founded in 1928, and how through this reconstitution a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party was built. Here it is fundamental how Gonzalo Thought profoundly understood Peruvian society, and focused on the crucial problem of bureaucratic capitalism, and saw the need to reconstitute the Party and to conquer Political Power and defend it with the People’s War.

Ideological Basis

Without Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought cannot be conceived, because the latter is the creative application of the former to our reality. The key question on this point lies in the understanding of the historical process of the development of the proletarian ideology, of its three stages shaped in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and with Maoism as principal; and, principally, it is the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as a universal truth to the concrete conditions of the Peruvian revolution; hence Gonzalo Thought is specifically principal for the Communist Party of Perú and the revolution it leads.

The guiding thought, having reached a qualitative leap of decisive importance for the Party and the revolution, has evolved into Gonzalo Thought, thus stamping a milestone in the Party’s life.

Contents

a. Theory. How it understands and applies the three integral parts of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism; it emphasizes the importance that Marxism gives to philosophy, the necessity of forming ourselves in it, and especially its application of the law of contradiction in the study of every problem, always aiming at defining the principal aspect and the process of things; in political economy, the concern about the relations of exploitation, and especially about bureaucratic capitalism, orienting itself towards ripening the revolution and the repercussion of the People's War on the base, as well as paying attention to the economic relations of imperialism, looking for their political consequences; in scientific socialism it centers on the People's War and its concrete expression in the country, since it always has the problem of political power in mind and, particularly, its shaping and development as a New State.

b. On the contents. The most substantive and developed part of Gonzalo Thought is found in the Party's general political line; this thought directly sustains, therefore, the line and its five elements, with the point of departure being how it understands and maintains the Programme firmly on course.

c. In Gonzalo Thought we must highlight the remarkable fulfillment of the demands stated by Chairman Mao: theoretical solidity, understanding of history, and a good practical handling of politics.

What Is Fundamental

What is fundamental in Gonzalo Thought is the problem of political power; concretely, the conquest of political power in Peru, wholly and completely throughout the country, as a consequential application of the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in our revolution. But, being a Communist thought, it understands the conquest of political power in Perú as a part of the conquest of power for the proletariat on a world level; and that the conquest of power in the country, shaping itself today in the People's Committees, base areas, and People's Republic of New Democracy in formation within the perspective of establishing the People's Republic of Peru, serves to establish the proletarian dictatorship in our country, because without it, it is impossible to march towards Communism. And, all of this is a function of firmly and decisively serving the setting up of people's republics and mainly the proletarian dictatorship throughout the whole world, under the leadership of Communist Parties, with

revolutionary armies of a new type, through people's war and the development of cultural revolutions, so that Communism may illuminate all of the Earth.

Forged in the Two-Line Struggle

It is through a persistent, firm, and wise two-line struggle, defending the proletarian line and defeating the opposing lines that Gonzalo Thought has been forged. Among the most outstanding struggles that deserve to be emphasized are those waged against contemporary revisionism, represented here by Del Prado and his henchmen; those against the rightist liquidationism of Paredes and his gang; those against left liquidationism headed by the one who was called Sergio and his self-proclaimed "Bolsheviks"; and against the right opportunist line that opposed the initiation of the armed struggle. Without struggle, Gonzalo Thought could not have been developed; and his remarkable handling of the two-line struggle within the Party is a fundamental question which we must study and grasp.

To study and principally to apply Gonzalo Thought is decisive in order to better serve the Party, the development of the People's War and the world revolution. Likewise, to learn from President Gonzalo is decisive in order to wholeheartedly serve the people.

Programme and Statutes

Programme

The Communist Party of Perú is based on and guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism and, specifically, by Gonzalo Thought as a creative application of the universal truth to the concrete conditions of the Peruvian revolution, as made by President Gonzalo, chief of our Party.

The Communist Party of Peru, organized vanguard of the Peruvian proletariat and integral part of the international Proletariat, especially upholds the following basic principles:

Contradiction as the only fundamental law of the incessant transformation of eternal matter;

The masses make history and “it is right to rebel”;

Class struggle, dictatorship of the proletariat and proletarian internationalism;

The need for a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Communist Party that firmly applies independence, autonomy and self-reliance;

To combat imperialism, revisionism, and reaction unbreakably and implacably;

To conquer and to defend power with the People’s War;

Militarization of the Party and concentric construction of the three instruments of the revolution;

Two-line struggle as the driving force of Party development;

Constant ideological transformation and to always put politics in command;

To serve to the people and the world proletarian revolution; and,

An absolute unselfishness and a just and correct style of work.

The Communist Party of Perú has Communism as its final goal; given that the current Peruvian society is oppressed and exploited by imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism, and semi-feudalism, the

revolution has first a democratic stage, then a second socialist one that will later develop successive cultural revolutions. Presently with the People's War the Party develops the democratic revolution, having as its immediate goal to seize power countrywide. Because of this we raise the following objectives:

General Programme of the Democratic Revolution

1. Demolition of the Peruvian State, the dictatorship of the exploiters led by the big bourgeoisie, and of the armed forces and forces of repression that sustain it and of all it's his bureaucratic apparatus.
2. To sweep away all imperialist oppression, mainly Yankee, and that of Soviet social-imperialism and of any power or imperialist country. In general to confiscate their monopolies, companies, banks and all forms of their property including the external debt.
3. To destroy bureaucratic capitalism, private as well as state owned; to confiscate all their properties, goods and economic rights to benefit of new state, as well as those belonging to imperialism.
4. Liquidation of semi-feudal property and everything subsisting on it, in the countryside as well as in the city.
5. Respect the property and rights of the national bourgeoisie, or middle bourgeoisie, in the country as well as in the city.
6. Fight for the setting-up of the People's Republic of Perú, as a united front of classes based on the worker-peasant alliance led by the proletariat headed by its Communist Party; as a mold for the new democracy that carries forward a new economy, a new politics, and a new culture.
7. Develop the People's War that, through a revolutionary army of a new type under the absolute control of the Party, destroys the old power a piece at a time, mainly their armed forces and other repressive forces. This serves to build the new power for the proletariat and the people.
8. To complete the formation of the Peruvian nation, truly unifying the country to defend it from all reactionary and imperialist aggression, safeguarding the rights of the minorities.
9. To serve the development of the Peruvian proletariat as part of the international working class, and the formation and strengthening of real Communist Parties and their unification in a revived international Communist movement guided by the Marxism-Leninism-Maoism; all as a function of the proletariat fulfilling its great historical mission as the final class.

10. To defend the freedoms, rights, benefits, and conquests that the working class and the masses have achieved at the cost of their own blood, recognizing them and guaranteeing their authentic enforcement in a “Declaration of the Rights of the People”. To observe, particularly, the freedom of religious conscience, but in its widest sense, of believing as not to believe. Also to combat all arrangements harmful to the popular interest, especially any form of unpaid work or personal burden and the overwhelming taxes imposed on the masses.
11. Real equality for women; a better future for the youth; protection for the mothers and the children; respect and support for the elderly.
12. A new culture as a combat weapon to solidify the nation, that serves the popular masses and is guided by the scientific ideology of the proletariat. Special importance to education will be given.
13. To support the struggles of the international proletariat, of the oppressed nations, and of the peoples of the world; fighting against the superpowers, the United States and Soviet Union, imperialism in general, and international reaction and revisionism of all types, conceiving the Peruvian revolution as part of the world proletarian revolution.
14. To struggle tenaciously and heroically for the complete victory and of the democratic revolution nationwide and after completing this stage, at once, without pause, to begin the socialist revolution so that, together with the international proletariat, the oppressed nations and the peoples of the world, through cultural revolutions, will continue the march of humanity towards its final goal, Communism.

But considering that the democratic revolution in the country crosses a period characterized by:

1. deepening of the general crisis of Peruvian society, mainly of bureaucratic capitalism;
2. greater reactionarization of the State, today with an Aprista government, fascist and corporativist, headed by the genocidal García Pérez;
3. sharpening of the class struggle, with the masses accepting more and more the need for combating and resisting;
4. the People’s War developing vigorously and growing; and,
5. the people’s need for a People’s Republic built according to the principles of New Democracy.

1988 - Bases of Discussion of General Political Line : Democratic Revolution

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INTRODUCTION

Upholding, defending and applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, President Gonzalo establishes that the Peruvian revolution in its historical course must first be a democratic revolution, then a socialist revolution which in turn must unfold cultural revolutions in order to reach Communism, all in an uninterrupted and specific process carried out by the application of people's war. To reach this conclusion, his point of departure was Marx's teaching, that Germany needed to replay the peasant wars of the XVI century, which would have channeled the democratic energy of the peasantry.

Lenin developed this point further, holding that since the bourgeoisie is a decrepit class and since the peasantry have raised the necessity of destroying feudalism, they could only fulfill a democratic revolution under the leadership of the proletariat. Later, Chairman Mao established in On New Democracy that as part of the world proletarian revolution, a transitional stage consisting of a joint dictatorship of the revolutionary classes must be formed in opposition to the bourgeois dictatorship, which can only be fulfilled under the leadership of the proletariat.

President Gonzalo takes into account the specific conditions of Peru that are characterized as follows: In the historical process of Peru there has not been a bourgeois revolution, since the bourgeoisie were incapable of leading it. Consequently, the land question and the national question are two pending problems to be solved. We are in the era of imperialism and of the world proletarian revolution, therefore, the proletariat is the class that has the task of destroying imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and semi-feudalism, not for the benefit of the bourgeoisie but rather for the proletariat, the mainly poor peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie. The Peruvian proletariat has matured with a Communist Party of a new type capable of leading the revolution.

The democratic revolution of the old type is no longer appropriate, but instead a bourgeois revolution of a new type is needed; and that this type and all revolutions today can only be fulfilled through people's war, the principal form of struggle, and by the revolutionary armed forces, the principal form of organization. Thus, he establishes the character of Peruvian society as a semi-feudal, semi-colonial one in which bureaucratic capitalism develops. He also sets the targets of

the revolution, the tasks to undertake, and finally he defines the social classes and outlining the essence of the democratic revolution, its practicality today and its perspectives.

1. THE CHARACTER OF CONTEMPORARY PERUVIAN SOCIETY

Based on historical materialism, he analyzes the Peruvian process of history and shows that in the old society an agrarian order unfolded based on the ayllu, which was a communal agrarian order which was beginning to develop a form of slavery, the Incan empire erected through wars of conquest. Later in the XVI Century, the Spanish brought a decrepit feudal system and imposed it by force of arms against the resistance of the natives, and Peru became feudal and colonial; later, with independence, Spanish dominance was broken, but the feudal system was not.

The emancipators were landowners and the peasants did not achieve the conquest of the land. The XIX Century expresses an intense struggle between England and France to dominate us; and by the mid-century, the first sprouts of capitalism begin to develop on the existing feudal base. All this process in Peru is going to mean a change: The passage from feudalism to semi-feudalism and from colonialism to semi-colonialism. In characterizing contemporary Peruvian society, President Gonzalo says: "… contemporary Peru is a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society in which bureaucratic capitalism develops."

Although Mariátegui had defined it well in the third point of the Program of the Constitution of the Party, this character is the light of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly of Maoism. President Gonzalo has demonstrated how this semi-feudal and semi-colonial character maintains and develops itself through new modalities, and in particular how bureaucratic capitalism has developed on this base throughout the entire process of contemporary society. This a problem of transcendental importance in order to understand the character of society and of the Peruvian revolution.

Bureaucratic capitalism is a fundamental thesis of Chairman Mao that it is not yet understood nor accepted by all the Marxists throughout the world, which for obvious historical reasons was not known by Mariátegui, and that President Gonzalo applies to the concrete conditions of our country. He maintains that in order to analyze the contemporary social process, one must start from three intimately linked problems:

The periods that bureaucratic capitalism is going through; the process accomplished by the proletariat in its highest expression, the

Communist Party; and the road that the revolution must follow. He teaches us that since 1895 three historical moments can be differentiated in contemporary Peruvian society:

1st moment. The development of bureaucratic capitalism. The constitution of the PCP. Definition and outlining of the path of surrounding the cities from the countryside;

2nd moment. The development of bureaucratic capitalism. Reconstitution of the PCP. Establishment of the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside;

3rd moment. The general crisis of bureaucratic capitalism. The leadership of the PCP in the People's War. Application and development of the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside.

At the same time, he proposes that contemporary Peruvian society is in a generalized crisis, a serious and incurable illness that can only be transformed through the armed struggle. The Communist Party of Peru is leading the people in this, as there is no other solution.

Why is Peru semi-feudal?

President Gonzalo states: "The decrepit semi-feudal system continues subsisting and characterizes the country from its deepest foundations to its most elaborate ideas. In essence, it persistently maintains the land question unresolved, which is the motor of the class struggle of the peasantry, especially of the poor peasants that are the immense majority." He stresses that the land question continues subsisting because the semi-feudal relationships of exploitation allow semi-feudalism to evolve, and it is the basic problem of society that is expressed in land, servitude, and gamonalismo.

["The term gamonalismo designates more than just a social and economic category: that of the latifundistas or large landowners. It signifies a whole phenomenon. Gamonalismo is represented not only by the gamonales but by a long hierarchy of officials, intermediaries, agents, parasites, etc. The literate Indian [sic, — Trans.] who enters the service of gamonalismo turns into an exploiter of his own race. The central factor of the phenomenon is the hegemony of the semi-feudal landed estate in the policy and mechanism of the government." J.C Mariátegui, Seven Interpretive Essays on Peruvian Reality, p. 30. Quote added by translator.] We must see these conditions in all their aspects, economic, political, and ideological, in both the base and

superstructure.

The peasantry constitutes about 60% of the population, which for centuries has worked the land but it is tied to the big property and to servitude. Hence, a great concentration of land exists in a few hands, with both associative and non-associative forms. The immense majority of the peasantry are the poor peasantry that do not have land, or if they have it they are very few, thus giving the position of the minifundio [small landowner] submitted to the voracity of the latifundio. [Large landowner–Trans.] This condition crushes the peasantry in a system of servitude that as Lenin taught presents itself in a thousand forms, but its essence is personal subordination. Thus we see forms centered around servile relationships such as unpaid work in the SAIS [agrarian societies], CAPS, peasant groups, in Cooperación Popular [Servile labor in government works during the Belaúnde regime.], PAIT [Assistance programs], PROEM [Emergency program run by the government.], etc.

Beyond this, it is known that in the countryside for every three peasants able to work only one works, and the State tries to channel the unused labor to benefit itself with unpaid labor. We can also observe (particularly in the Sierra region) an autarchic economy outside of the national economy. Reaffirming himself in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, President Gonzalo unfurls the principle that the agrarian reform consists in the destruction of the feudal landlord property; in the individual distribution of land to the peasantry under the slogan of “land to the tiller” [“tierra para quien la trabaja”], which is achieved through the People’s War and the New Power, led by the Communist Party.

This is equivalent to Lenin’s thesis that there are two roads in agriculture: The landlord’s road which is reactionary, evolves feudalism and supports the old state, and the peasant’s road which is advanced, destroys feudalism and tends towards a new state. He analyzes the character and the results of the agrarian laws passed by the old state, proving with certainty the subsistence of semi-feudalism, whose existence today is often denied. Thus, the Law of Bases of Pérez Godoy of 1962, the Law 15037 of 1964 and the Law 17716 of 1969 (essentially corporative that encourage big associative property) are characterized as being three laws of purchase/sale, executed by the bureaucratic apparatus of the state to develop bureaucratic capitalism.

He warns that the Law of Promoting Cattle Ranching of 1980 treats the land question as resolved and at the same time advocates associative property and the return of the gamonales to invigorate

bureaucratic capitalism, which is also under the control of the big bankers with the direct participation of Yankee imperialism. This is the path that the fascist and corporativist Aprista government takes [referring to the government in 1988–Trans.], which is returning to the fascist and corporative "agrarian reform" of Velasco, raising cries of "revolutionizing agriculture" and thus strengthen gamonalismo, which treats the land question as resolved and centers around productivity, gives the law of communities, the law of peasant rondas in order to deepen bureaucratic capitalism and to spread it to every corner of the country, calling the masses to corporativization, aiming at the peasant communities as the base of their corporative zeal, which equally serve the creation of the micro-regions, the regions, CORDES [A development corporation] and other fascist and corporative creations.

All of this does not mean anything except new modalities of concentration of the old latifundista property, still not destroyed, and it is the old path of landowner policies followed in contemporary Peru that was brought up in the 1920s, deepened in the 1950s and especially in the 1960s, which is followed today under new conditions. This road of the landowner is expressed politically in the old state through gamonalismo; as Mariátegui says, gamonalismo does not only designate a social and economic category but an entire phenomenon represented not just by the gamonales, but which also encompasses a large hierarchy of officials, intermediaries, agents, parasites, etc., and that the central factor of the phenomenon is the hegemony of big semi-feudal property in politics and in the mechanism of the state, which should be attacked at its root.

President Gonzalo specifically emphasizes the manifestations of semi-feudalism in politics and in the mechanism of the state by conceiving that gamonalismo is the political manifestation of semi-feudalism upon which this regime of servitude is supported, in which bosses and lackeys, who change outfits according to the government in turn, represent the old state in the most remote villages of the country. Since this is an agrarian war, this is the factor which the spearhead of the democratic revolution is targeted at.

Why is it semi-colonial?

Modern Peruvian economy was born in submission to imperialism (the final phase of capitalism), which was masterfully characterized as monopolistic, parasitical and dying. Imperialism, even though it allows our political independence, as long as it serves its interest, still controls the entire economic process of Peru: our natural wealth,

export products, industry, banking and finances. In brief, it sucks the blood of our people, devours the energies of a nation in formation, and most strikingly today it squeezes us and other oppressed nations with the external debt.

President Gonzalo reaffirms himself in Lenin's thesis, later accurately developed by Chairman Mao, to define the semi-colonial character of our society. In synthesis, Lenin outlined that there are many forms of imperialist domination, but two are typical:

The colony, which is the complete domination by the imperialist country on the oppressed nation or nations, and an intermediate form;

The semi-colony, in which the oppressed nation is politically independent but economically subjugated. It is an independent republic, but one that finds itself subjected to the ideological, political, economic, and military web of imperialism no matter if it has a government of its own.

Thus, the term "neocolony" used by revisionism in the 1960s is rejected. It was based on the conception that imperialism applies a softer form of domination and which led them to derive the characterization of a "dependent country." Therefore, applying Chairman Mao's thesis that a period of struggle was opening against the two superpowers that contend for the repartition of the world, one must specify who is the principal enemy of the moment. He defined that the principal imperialism that dominates Peru is Yankee imperialism, but asserted that one must ward off Russian social-imperialism that penetrates the country more each day, as well as the actions of the imperialist powers that are not superpowers.

Thus, the proletariat in leading the democratic revolution will not be tied to any superpower or imperialist power and must maintain its ideological, political, and organizational independence. In conclusion, he demonstrates that Peruvian society continues to be a nation in formation, and that its semi-colonial character continues, showing itself as such in all fields and under new conditions.

Bureaucratic Capitalism.

President Gonzalo states that the understanding of this issue is key to the comprehension of Peruvian society. Following Chairman Mao's thesis, he specifies five characteristics:

that bureaucratic capitalism is the capitalism that imperialism

develops in the backward countries, which is comprised of the capital of large landowners, the big bankers, and the magnates of the big bourgeoisie;

it exploits the proletariat, the peasantry, and the petty bourgeoisie and places constraints upon the middle bourgeoisie;

it is passing through a process by which bureaucratic capitalism is combined with the power of the State and evolves into state monopoly capitalism, comprador and feudal, from which can be derived that in a first moment it unfolds as a non-state big monopoly capitalism and in a second moment, when is combined with the power of the state, it unfolds as state monopoly capitalism;

it ripens the conditions for the democratic revolution as it reaches the apex of its development;

and, confiscating bureaucratic capital is key to reach the pinnacle of the democratic revolution and it is decisive to pass over to the socialist revolution.

In applying the above, he conceives that bureaucratic capitalism is the capitalism that imperialism generates in the backward countries, which is linked to a decrepit feudalism and in submission to imperialism which is the last phase of capitalism. This system does not serve the majority of the people but rather the imperialists, the big bourgeoisie, and the landowners. Mariátegui has already pointed out that the bourgeoisie, for example upon creating banks, generates a capital owed [enfeudado] to imperialism and linked to feudalism.

President Gonzalo masterfully establishes that the capitalism that is unfolding in Peru is a bureaucratic capitalism hindered by the surviving shackles of semi-feudalism that bind it on the one hand, and on the other hand is subjugated to imperialism which does not permit it to develop the national economy; it is, then, a bureaucratic capitalism that oppresses and exploits the proletariat, the peasantry, and the petty bourgeoisie, and that constricts the middle bourgeoisie. Why? Because the capitalism that develops is a delayed process that only allows an economy to serve imperialist interests.

It is a capitalism that represents the big bourgeoisie, the landowners and the rich peasants of the old type, the classes that constitute a minority but which exploit and oppress the large majority, the masses. He analyzes the process that bureaucratic capitalism has followed in Peru, the first historical moment in which it develops from 1895 to

the Second World War, in which, during the 1920s, the comprador bourgeoisie assumes control of the State, displacing the landlords but preserving their interests.

The second moment is from the Second World War to 1980, a period of its expansion, during which a branch of the big bourgeoisie evolves into the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, which began in 1939 in the first government of Prado, at the time when the participation of the State in the economic process begins. Subsequently, this participation has grown even more, and was due to the fact that the big bourgeoisie, due to a lack of capital, is not capable of deepening bureaucratic capitalism. Thus a clash between both factions of the big bourgeoisie was generated, between the bureaucratic and the comprador.

In 1968, the bureaucratic bourgeoisie takes the leadership of the state through the armed forces by way of the military coup of Velasco, which in turn generated a great growth in the state economy. The number of state-owned companies, for example, increased from 18 to 180; the state passes has become the motor of the economy led by the bureaucratic bourgeoisie, but it is during this moment that the economy enters into a deep crisis. The third moment is from 1980 onward, in which bureaucratic capitalism enters into a general crisis and its final destruction, a moment which begins with the People's War.

Since it is a capitalism that is born critically, sick, rotten, and bound to feudalism and subjugated to imperialism, at this time it enters into a general crisis, to its final destruction, and no measure or reform can save it. It will lengthen its agony at best. On the other hand, like a beast in agony, it will defend itself by seeking to crush the revolution. If we see this process from the people's road, in the first moment the PCP was constituted with Mariátegui in 1928, and the history of the country was split into two; in the second, the PCP was reconstituted as Party of a new type with President Gonzalo and revisionism was purged; and in the third, the PCP entered to lead the People's War, a transcendental milestone which radically changes the history by taking the superior qualitative leap of making the conquest of power a reality by way of armed force and the People's War.

All of this merely proves the political aspect of bureaucratic capitalism that is rarely emphasized, but which President Gonzalo considers as a key issue: bureaucratic capitalism ripens the conditions for revolution, and today as it enters into its final phase, it ripens the conditions for the development and victory of the revolution. It is also very important to see how bureaucratic capitalism is shaped by non-state

monopoly capitalism and by state monopoly capitalism, that is the reason why he differentiates between the two factions of the big bourgeoisie, the bureaucratic one and the comprador, so as to avoid tailing one or the other, a problem that led our Party to 30 years of wrong tactics.

It is important to conceive it this way, since the confiscation of bureaucratic capitalism by the New Power will facilitate the completion of the democratic revolution and to advance into the socialist revolution. If only the state monopoly capitalism is targeted, the other part would remain free, the non-state monopoly capital, and the big comprador bourgeoisie would remain economically able to lift its head to snatch away the leadership of the revolution and to prevent its passage to the socialist revolution. Furthermore, President Gonzalo generalizes that bureaucratic capitalism is not a process peculiar to China or to Peru, but that it follows the late conditions in which the various imperialists subjugate the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America, at a time when these oppressed nations have not yet destroyed the vestiges of feudalism, much less developed capitalism.

In synthesis, the key issue to understand the process of contemporary Peruvian society and the character of the revolution, is this Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Though thesis on bureaucratic capitalism, which is a contribution to the world revolution that we Marxist-Leninist-Maoists have firmly assumed with Gonzalo Thought.

What type of state is sustained by this semi-feudal and semi-colonial society, upon which bureaucratic capitalism is unfolding?

Based on the analysis of contemporary Peruvian society and the masterful Maoist thesis “On New Democracy” which proposes that the many state systems in the world can be classified according to their class character into three fundamental types:

Republics under the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie, which also include the old democratic states and the states under the joint dictatorship of landowners and the big bourgeoisie;

republics under the dictatorship of the proletariat;

and republics under the joint dictatorship of the revolutionary classes.

President Gonzalo establishes that the character of the old reactionary state in Peru is of the first type, a joint dictatorship of landowners and the big bourgeoisie, bureaucratic bourgeoisie or comprador that in

collusion and contention struggle for the leadership of the State. Since the historical trend in Peru is that the bureaucratic bourgeoisie imposes itself, this necessarily implies a very acute and long struggle, especially since today the bureaucratic bourgeoisie is in command of the old landlord-bureaucratic state. At the same time there are differences between the state system and the system of government.

They are parts of a unity of opposites; the state system is the place that classes occupy within the state and the government is the form in which power is organized. Chairman Mao taught that the main thing is to define the class character of a state. The forms of government that are introduced can be civilian or military, with elections or by decree, liberal-democratic or fascist, but they always represent the dictatorship of the reactionary classes; to not see the old state this way is to fall into the trap of identifying a dictatorship with a military regime and to think that a civilian government is not a dictatorship, thus tailing one of the factions in the big bourgeoisie behind the tale of “defending democracy” or “avoiding military coups”, positions that instead of destroying the old state support it and defend it, as is the case in Peru with the revisionists and opportunists of the United Left.

The old state is subordinated to imperialism, in our case mainly Yankee imperialism, which is propped up by its spinal column, the reactionary armed forces, and counts on a increasingly growing bureaucracy. The armed forces have the same character as the state that they support and defend. President Gonzalo tells us clearly: “It is this social system that yields their usufruct that the ruling classes and their master Yankee imperialism defends with blood and fire, through their landlord-bureaucratic state, sustained by their reactionary armed forces; constantly exercising their class dictatorship (of the big bourgeoisie and landlords), either through a de facto military government … or through governments stemming from elections and so-called constitutional ones…” and, “…this decrepit system of exploitation, destroys and halts the powerful creative forces of the people, the only forces capable of the deepest revolutionary transformation…”.

2. TARGETS OF THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

President Gonzalo teaches us that there are three targets of the democratic revolution: imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and semi-feudalism, with one of them being the principal target according in which the revolution crosses takes place. Today, in the period of the agrarian war, the principal target is semi-feudalism. Imperialism, mainly Yankee, because for us it is the principal imperialism that dominates and that tries to ensure its dominance more and drives home our situation as a semi-colonial country; but we must also ward off penetration by Russian social-imperialism and of the other imperialist powers.

We must use the various factions of the old state to sharpen their contradictions and isolate the principal enemy in order to defeat it. Bureaucratic capitalism is the constant obstacle of the democratic revolution that acts to maintain semi-feudalism and semi-colonialism at the service of imperialism. And semi-feudalism that subsists today with new modalities but that still constitutes the basic problem of the country.

3. TASKS OF THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

1st: To destroy imperialist domination, mainly Yankee imperialism in Peru's case , while warding off the actions of the other superpower, Russian social-imperialism and of the other imperialist powers.

2nd: To destroy bureaucratic capitalism, confiscating both the big state and non-state monopoly capital.

3rd: To destroy the property of the feudal landlords, confiscating both the big associative and non-associative properties, with individual distribution of the land under the slogan "Land to the tiller" [La tierra para quien la trabaja], primarily and principally to the poor peasants.

4th: To support middle capital, which is allowed to work while imposing conditions. All of this implies the collapse the old state through the People's War with armed revolutionary force and the leadership of the Communist Party in building a new State.

4. SOCIAL CLASSES IN THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

President Gonzalo has defined the social classes which must be united according to the conditions of the revolution: the proletariat, the peasantry (mainly the poor peasants), the petty bourgeoisie and the middle bourgeoisie. The classes we aim against are: landlords of the old and the new mold, and the big bureaucratic bourgeoisie or comprador bourgeoisie. President Gonzalo tells us: "… the peasantry is the principal motive force…. who for centuries fundamentally demand 'Land to the tiller', which despite their courageous struggles has yet to achieve it"; "… the proletariat… the leading class of our revolution… that in the long, arduous struggle has torn only starvation wages and has conquered only crumbs from their exploiters, only to lose them through each economic crisis that the society suffers; a proletariat that debates within a sinister iron circle…"; "a petty bourgeoisie with broad layers, which corresponds to a backward country, who sees their dreams shattered in time to the inexorable pauperization that the prevailing social order imposes to them"; and, "a petty bourgeoisie, a national bourgeoisie that is weak and lacks capital, which develops unevenly, zig-zagging and split between revolution and counter-revolution….". "Four classes that historically make up the people and the motive forces of the revolution, but of them all it is mainly the poor peasantry who are the main driving force".

A particular importance is attached to the scientific organization of poverty, a thesis that comes from Marx and that for us implies organizing the mainly poor peasantry and the poorest masses in the cities into a Communist Party, a People's Guerrilla Army and a New State that is concretized through People's Committees. A series of relationships is established. Thus, to speak of the peasant question is to speak of the land question, and to speak of the land question is to speak of the military question, and to speak of the military question is to speak of the question of power, of the New State which we will reach through the democratic revolution led by the proletariat through its Party, the Communist Party.

In the People's War, the peasant question is the base and the military question is the guide. Furthermore, without the peasantry in arms there is no hegemony in the Front. It is, then, of great significance to understand that the peasant question is basic and it sustains all of the actions in the democratic revolution. It is important even in the

socialist revolution. The proletariat is the leading class. It is the class that guarantees the Communist course of the revolution, that unites with the peasantry, it makes up the worker-peasant alliance, the basis of the Front.

The Peruvian proletariat that is concentrated largely in the capital and is proportionally greater than in China, but in terms of percentage decreases day by day, a specific situation that presents itself as we apply the democratic revolution, for which we wage the People's War in the cities as a complement. A class that has arrived today to the formation of a Communist Party, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought party that has generated a People's Guerrilla Army which it leads absolutely and a New State which it leads in a joint dictatorship, a Party that through almost 20 years of reconstitution and seven in leadership of the People's War has given the people a great historical leap. It is vital to understand its leading role in the democratic revolution, since it guarantees the correct course towards Communism; and, without the leadership of the proletariat the democratic revolution would evolve into an armed action under the leadership of the bourgeoisie and would fall under the tutelage of a superpower or imperialist power.

To the above two classes are added the petty bourgeoisie, and taken together they are the solid trunk of the revolutionary Front, which is no more than a Front for the People's War and a framework of the alliance of classes that make up the New State, the People's Committees in the countryside and the Revolutionary Defense Movement of the People in the cities. Concerning the middle bourgeoisie, today it does not participate in the revolution but its interests are respected. It is not a target of the democratic revolution; it is a class that suffers ever-greater restrictions from the reactionaries but it is of dual character and in the course of the democratic revolution can join the side of the revolution at any moment.

If the interests of the middle bourgeoisie are not taken into account then the revolution would change character, it would no longer be democratic but socialist. In sum, the New State that we are forming in the democratic revolution will be a joint dictatorship, an alliance of four classes led by the proletariat through its Party, the Communist Party: a dictatorship of workers, peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and under certain conditions the national or middle bourgeoisie; a dictatorship that today is of three classes, since the middle bourgeoisie do not participate in the revolution, but their interest are respected. These classes make up the dictatorship of New Democracy in the state system, and a People's Assembly as a system of government.

5. FUNDAMENTAL CONTRADICTIONS IN THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

In the democratic revolution there are three fundamental contradictions: The contradiction between nation-imperialism, the contradiction between the people and bureaucratic capitalism, and the contradiction between the masses and feudalism. Depending on the periods of the revolution, any one of these can be the principal contradiction. As we develop an agrarian war today, if we carefully take note of the three, the principal contradiction is between the masses and feudalism. This has a process of development in the different phases of the war, thus in our case the principal contradiction of masses-feudalism has unfolded as masses-government, and later will be between the new state — old state, and its perspective is Communist Party — reactionary armed forces.

6. STAGES OF THE REVOLUTION

President Gonzalo teaches us that the democratic revolution is the indispensable first stage in the oppressed nations, which will pass through various periods according to how such contradictions are resolved. There is an unbreakable relationship and an uninterrupted road between the democratic revolution and the second stage, which is the socialist revolution, and its perspective is a series of cultural revolutions to arrive at Communism, serving the world revolution.

As such, we have a maximum program and a minimal one, the minimum being the program of the democratic revolution that is specified in each period and which implies a new politics: the joint dictatorship of four classes; a new economy: confiscation of big imperialist capital, of bureaucratic capitalism, and of the big feudal landlord property, with individual land distribution to the mainly poor peasants; a new culture: national, or rather anti-imperialist, democratic, or rather for the people, and scientific, or based on the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought.

The maximum program implies that we, as Communists, aim to eliminate the three inequalities between town and countryside, between intellectual and manual work, and between workers and peasants. Two programs for which we give our lives against every kind of injury, taunt and abjectness. Only the Communists can fight for the revolution to maintain its course. President Gonzalo stated: “What in essence is this democratic revolution? It is a peasant war led by the Communist Party, which intends to create a new state comprised of four classes to crush imperialism, the big bourgeoisie, and the landlords in order to fulfil its four tasks.

The democratic revolution has a principal form of struggle: The People’s War, and a principal form of organization: the armed force, which is the solution to the land question, the national question, and the question of the destruction of the landlord bureaucratic state and the reactionary armed forces, the vertebral column that sustains it, in order to fulfill the political objective of building a new state, a state of new democracy, and to make the People’s Republic of New Democracy, advancing immediately to the socialist revolution. In synthesis, the democratic revolution is concretized by a peasant war led by the Communist Party; any other modality is only a service to the landlord bureaucratic state.” In synthesis, President Gonzalo demonstrates the force of the two stages of the revolution in the

oppressed nations and establishes that the world proletarian revolution has three types of revolution. As such, by making the democratic revolution, the Communist Party of Peru is serving the world revolution and President Gonzalo is contributing to the world revolution. We, with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, have assumed the line on the democratic revolution established by President Gonzalo

7. HOW IS THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION BEING APPLIED TODAY?

In over seven years of the People's War in Peru, the justness and correctness of Gonzalo Thought is demonstrated, and we see that the Communist Party of Peru, with the leadership of President Gonzalo, is leading the poor peasantry in arms, is forming a joint dictatorship of workers, peasants, and the petty bourgeoisie under the hegemony of the proletariat, is observing the interests of the middle bourgeoisie, and is destroying thirteen centuries of the reactionary state. It is a dictatorship that marches within the People's Committees, today clandestine, which are expressions of the New State that exercises power through People's Assemblies, in which everyone expresses opinions, chooses, judges, or sanctions by applying true democracy.

They do not hesitate in using the dictatorship, force if necessary in order to maintain their power and to defend it from the exploitative classes or their oppressors, gamonales or lackeys; thus specifying a new politics and an advance in the seizure of Power from below. It is destroying the basis of this society, semi-feudalism, and it is introducing new social relations of production by applying a new economy, taking into account the agrarian tactic of combating the evolution of semi-feudalism by aiming at associative property and avoiding non-associative property, neutralizing the rich peasantry, winning over the middle peasantry and basing itself on the poor peasantry; and the agrarian program of "Land to the tiller" through confiscation and individual distribution through a process: with plans of razing, whose concrete objective is to destroy semi-feudal relations in order to disarticulate the productive process, directing the spearhead of the revolution at dislocating the power of the gamonales with armed actions; applying sowings and collective crop harvestings although we do not yet have power and while the EGP is not sufficiently developed, all the peasants work everyone's land, always collectively favoring the mainly poor peasantry.

In the event of a surplus, a form of taxes is calculated and produce or seeds is distributed to the poorest and to the middle peasants. The lands of the rich peasants are not touched unless such land is needed, but conditions are imposed on them. This political policy has had highly positive results, it has benefitted the poorest, it has increased the quality of the products and above all it is defended better; the perspective of this policy is the invasion of lands and individual allotment. Also, particularly in new peasant zones, we have applied

invasions of lands and individual allotment, lighting the struggle in the countryside and disturbing the plans of the old state, of each government in turn, in each specific conjuncture, organizing the armed defense.

Today, we have generalized the land invasions countrywide. Furthermore, the organization of production of an entire people is being achieved, with the exchange of produce or seeds, the collection of firewood or cochinilla [a type of plant used in making dyes — trans.], for example, communal shops, trade, and mule driving. This process serves the actions in cities, sabotages against demo-bourgeois or corporative-fascist state organizations, state or private and imperialist banks, imperialist centers of the superpowers or powers, industrial or "research" sites, businesses of bureaucratic capitalism, for example Centromin Perú; also the selective annihilation of recalcitrants and the agitprop campaigns and armed propaganda.

And on the basis of this new politics and new economy, a new culture is being erected that beats in the hearts of mainly the poor peasants; basic education is a problem that deserves our fundamental attention and is unfolding under coeducation, education and work, with a basic program for the children, adults, and for the masses in general; it is truly important. The problems of health and recreation of the masses are also of vital importance. Thus, the masses are organized, forming their mobilization, politicization, organization and armament, aiming towards the armed sea of masses, based on the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, under the leadership of the Party, with the experience of the People's War and above all and principally with the new power, exercising it, conquering it, defending it and developing it, as People's Committees, Bases of Support and advancing the People's Republic of New Democracy.

This is the democratic revolution that the Party is specifying for Peruvian society, overthrowing imperialism, bureaucratic capitalism and semi-feudalism in the country through a united People's War, principally in the countryside and with an urban complement, and it is not the "democratic revolution" falsely proclaimed by the current fascist and corporatist Apra government that denies the character of Peruvian society, classes and the class struggle, especially the landlord-bureaucratic dictatorial character of the old state, as well as the need for violence to topple it. It is a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought democratic revolution that constitutes an ardent and growing flame serving the world proletarian revolution which is guaranteed by the masterful leadership of President Gonzalo.

DOWN WITH THE LANDLORD-BUREAUCRATIC STATE!

FOR THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF NEW DEMOCRACY!

LONG LIVE THE PERUVIAN REVOLUTION!

1988 - Bases of Discussion of General Political Line : Military Line

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INTRODUCTION

Upholding, defending, and applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, President Gonzalo established the military line of the Party. In the First Expanded National Conference of November, 1979, it was agreed upon as being central to the general political line and it is now being developed through the People's War.

President Gonzalo has persistently integrated the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism with the concrete practice of the Peruvian revolution, combating and crushing revisionism and the right opportunist line. By applying dialectical materialism to the question of war, the military line also expresses the philosophical thought of President Gonzalo and summarizes the laws of war, of revolutionary war in general, and the specific laws of the revolutionary war in Peru. The military line is vital to our ideological, political, military, economic, and cultural work and permits us to differentiate between the proletarian military line and the bourgeois military line.

The military line consists of the laws that govern the People's War for the conquest of Power and its defense. It contains three elements:

1. People's war, specified in our case as unified People's War, principally in the countryside, with its complement in the city; 2. Construction of the revolutionary armed forces, applied here as the People's Guerilla Army, which has the particularity of incorporating the militia in order to advance towards the sea of armed masses, and; 3. Strategy and tactics that are formed through the encirclement and annihilation campaigns and the counter-campaigns of encirclement and annihilation. In our case this element is specified by applying political and military plans that have a political and military strategy developed in campaigns with specific objectives.

I. THE PEOPLE'S WAR

1. ON THE PEOPLE'S WAR IN PERU

President Gonzalo, reaffirming himself on the universal law of revolutionary violence, follows the military theory of the proletariat established by Chairman Mao: The people's war has universal validity and is applicable in all types of countries, in accordance with the conditions of each revolution. The World People's War is the principal form of struggle that the proletariat and the oppressed peoples of the world should launch to oppose imperialist world war. The people's war is a war of the masses and can only be accomplished by mobilizing the masses and being supported by them. He says: "The masses give us everything, from the crusts of bread that are taken from their own mouths to their precious blood which stirs jointly with that of the combatants and militants, which nourishes the road of the People's War for the New Power."

The masses should be organized into armed units in the People's Guerilla Army. In the rural Base Areas all the men and women of each People's Committee are organized militarily. In the cities, the People's Guerrilla Army also acts and is bound more and more to the masses in the various new organizations in and for the People's War. The Revolutionary Movement in Defense of the People is the realization of the Front in the cities. Its objective is to mobilize the masses in resistance, to serve the war, and serve the future insurrection.

He holds that in order to carry forward the People's War we must take into account four fundamental problems:

1. The ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism that must be specified as a guiding thought, therefore we base ourselves on the Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, primarily the latter; 2. The need for the Communist Party of Peru that leads the People's War; 3. The People's War specified as a peasant war that follows the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside; and 4. Base Areas or the New Power, the construction of the Base Areas, which is the essence of the path of surrounding the cities from the countryside.

He analyzes the historical process of our people and demonstrates that they have always struggled, that it "has been nurtured and advanced through revolutionary violence. It is through this violence, in its diverse forms and degrees, that our people have conquered their

economic gains [reivindicaciones], rights, and freedoms, since nothing fell from the sky, nor was it handed out. 'Damn the words of traitors'; everything was won in fact through revolutionary violence, in ardent battles against the reactionary violence; that is how the eight hour day was won, our lands were conquered and defended, our rights were won and tyrants were overthrown. Revolutionary violence is, therefore, the very essence of our historical process… it is easy to understand that the development and victory of the Peruvian revolution, of our democratic revolution, the emancipation of the people and the class, will be achieved solely through the greatest revolutionary war of our people, raising the masses in arms through the People's War".

He draws the historical lesson that these political and military realities have defined the major transformations in the country. First comes the military deed and later political change. This shows once again that war is the continuation of politics by other means. He teaches us how the masses of our people have fought against exploitation. Since the VII century, in which the Peruvian state emerged, the masses have combated oppression and exploitation. The Incan empire established its domination through wars of conquest which culminated in the battle of Yahuarpampa [Quechua for "bloodfields"–Trans.] against the Chancas Predominant cultural group in the region of Ayacucho and Apurímac.. The empire further expanded through war. This is a political and military fact.

The conquest by the Spanish crown was another political and military fact that was imposed, crushing the resistance of the indigenous people and using the infightings among the conquered. However, we should highlight among others the struggle of Manco Inca, who led a rebellion against the Spanish.

The imposition of the Vice-royalty was another political and military fact that was used to crush the conquistadors themselves. To maintain itself it had to face large peasant uprisings such as the one led by Juan Santos Atahualpa, and in 1780 the powerful movement of Túpac Amaru that raised 100 thousand men, extending from Cusco and Puno into Bolivia, putting the dominance of the Vice-royalty at serious risk, having repercussions in Argentina, Colombia, and Mexico and thus shaking up the American continent. While the movement was defeated, it had weakened and undermined the Vice-royalty, thus preparing the conditions for Emancipation. To see its class character, we should recall that Túpac Amaru was a cacique. [A cacique was a chief of the indias in the area of Cusco, appointed by the Viceroy–Trans.]

The Emancipation was another military and political fact and has three moments: First, in the XVIII Century, peasant uprisings, Túpac Amaru, for example; second, the uprisings in the cities, such as that of Francisco de Zela in Tacna and the guerrillas, especially those of Cangallo and Yauyos among many others; third, confrontations of large armies that ended with the liberating epics of San Martín and Bolivar in the battle of Ayacucho in 1824. It is important to understand that even though the Emancipation was led by the creoles [criollos], it had the merit of breaking the domination of the Spanish crown; that San Martín was a great military strategist and Bolivar proved to be both a political and military strategist. Both of them fought for the emancipation of several American countries without seeking personal gain, showing that to serve a great cause we must always put the general interest first and never the personal, and they did so without being Communists.

In the Republic the landlords remained in power but facing with fire and blood great peasant struggles, among them those of Atusparia and Uscho Pedro, or that of Llaccolla Autsparia, Uscho Pedro, and Llaccolla were leaders of rebellions in southern Peru. in Ocros. Here we have the dark chapter of the war with Chile where both countries faced each other manipulated by the interests of the English and the French that were seeking our wealth in guano and nitrates. This was a war that halted the incipient capitalist development of the country and revealed the dirty role of the dominant classes, part of which capitulated to Chile. But one must emphasize the heroic resistance of the masses against the invader in defense of the people and territorial integrity, a resistance that was especially strong in the mountainous Central and Southern regions of the of the country where guerrillas were formed; Cáceres [Andres A. Caceres organized a strong guerrilla movement against the invaders–Trans.], who was a landowner-soldier, played an important role in that circumstance.

The war with Chile was waged from 1879 to 1883, and it led to the collapse of the Peruvian economy. Shortly thereafter, in 1895 it entered the beginning of bureaucratic capitalism that initiates the development of contemporary Peruvian society. As the XIX Century passes, Peru goes from a colony to a semi-colony and from feudal to semi-feudal. Bureaucratic capitalism bound to Yankee imperialism begins to develop, thus replacing the English one. Finally, the modern proletariat emerges which changes the terms of the political struggle.

From this historical process the following lessons are drawn:

The people have always struggled, they are not peaceful and they

apply revolutionary violence with the means at hand.

The peasant struggles are those which have most shaken the foundations of society, and these struggles have not triumphed because they lacked the leadership of the proletariat represented by the Communist Party.

The political and military deeds determine the major social changes.

From the position of the military line, contemporary Peru has three moments linked to the appearance of the proletariat that founds its Party to conquer Power through revolutionary violence, specifying its road, which is synthesized in the process of the military line of the Party.

The first moment. (1895 to 1945) The Communist Party of Peru is constituted and, concerning the military line, Mariátegui establishes the “Indication and outline of the road.” The heroic workers’ struggles for better wages, the eight hour day, for decent working conditions, the peasant movements for lands and the agricultural proletarian movements of the southern Sierra, and the movements to reform the university, led to a complex sharpening of the class struggle in which the Peruvian proletariat matured and in which Mariátegui founded the Communist Party of Peru, on October 7, 1928, under the banner of Marxism-Leninism.

Mariátegui pointed out and outlined fundamental ideas on revolutionary violence. He said: “There is no revolution that is moderate, balanced, calm, placid.” “Power is conquered through violence… it is preserved only through dictatorship.” He conceived the revolutionary war as being protracted in nature: “A revolution can only be fulfilled after many years. Frequently it has alternating periods of predominance of either the revolutionary forces or the forces of counter-revolution.” He established the relationship between politics and war; understanding that the revolution generates an army of a new type with its own tasks different from those of the exploiters; he also understood the nature of the peasantry and the vital participation of the working class in a leading role, that the revolution will come from the Andes, that “with the demolition of the latifundista feudalism, the urban capitalism will lack forces to resist the growing working class”; that in order to make revolution, guns, a program and doctrine are needed. He conceived the revolution as a total war in which there is a conjunction of political, social, military, economic and moral elements, and that each faction puts in tension and mobilizes all the resources that it can. He totally rejected the

electoral road.

Mariátegui died in April, 1930. The Right led by Ravines is going to usurp the leadership of the Party and the questioning and denial of Mariátegui's road occurs. They invoke insurrection in words but degenerate into electoralism. The so-called "Constitutional Congress" of the Party in 1942 sanctions the tactics of capitulation of the "National Union", both in internal politics as well as internationally. The Party is influenced by Browderite ideas, a predecessor of contemporary revisionism, where there is a clear abandonment of revolutionary violence and an electoral tactic is promoted focussing on the "National Democratic Front". Nevertheless, the red line in the Party struggled to defending the Marxist-Leninist positions, although it was bitterly resisted and the internal struggles were resolved through expulsions.

The second moment. (1945 to 1980) The Communist Party of Peru is reconstituted, and with respect to the military line, President Gonzalo establishes the "Definition and Basis of the Road". This second moment has two parts: The first, in the period from 1945 to 1963, which is one of "New impulses for the development of the Party and the beginnings of the struggle against revisionism." The second part, from 1963 to 1980, is one of the "Establishment of the general political line and reconstitution of the Party".

In the first part of the second moment, by the mid-1950s, the struggle for reactivating the Party that had remained unfinished after Odría's coup d'état begins. Afterwards, the Party starts the opening step in the struggle against revisionism. This process occurs in the midst of the repercussions of the Cuban revolution. At the same time, at the world level, the unfolding of the struggle between Marxism and revisionism begins. The revolutionary road is discussed, the armed struggle is discussed again and, in the IV Congress of the Party, in 1962, it is agreed that in Peru the so-called "two roads" are feasible: "The peaceful road and the violent one." Also, "the revolution can follow the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside or from the city to the countryside." But in spite of this talk, the Party in essence was hanging on to the old electoral strategy then taking the form of the so-called "National Liberation Front." This was the revisionism of Khrushchev. At this time the political positions of President Gonzalo began to emerge, laying the foundations of the red line which adhered to the positions of Chairman Mao in the struggle between Marxism and revisionism.

In the second part of the second moment, from 1963 to 1980, we have

the “Establishment of the general political line and reconstitution of the Party”, this task was carried forward by President Gonzalo in constituting the red fraction of the Party in an intensive struggle of more than fifteen years and through three political strategies:

From 1963 to 1969 he guided the red fraction under the political strategy of following the “Road of surrounding the cities from the countryside.” From 1969 to 1976 he led the Party with the political strategy of “Reconstitution of the Party for the People’s War.” From 1976 to 1979 there was the political strategy of “Complete the Reconstitution and Establish Bases” for the beginning of the armed struggle.

During the first strategic period following the “Road of surrounding the cities from the countryside,” the Communists of Peru are profoundly shaken by the struggle between Marxism and revisionism, and Marxist positions seep into the organization. In the 1960s there is a great peasant movement that mobilized 300 to 500 thousand peasants which fought for land but that was precluded from the armed struggle by a revisionist leadership; a great movement of labor strikes occurs in the working class, and the university struggle is developed to a higher level. All these events had repercussions on the Party and President Gonzalo forged the red fraction in Ayacucho, with clear ideas that the Party must seizing power, and that it must be based on Marxist theory.

A frontal struggle is unleashed against revisionism that had its center in the Soviet Union, and adheres firmly to the positions of the Chinese Communist Party and principally with those of Chairman Mao. He sustained that: “The countryside is in a powerful revolutionary ferment”, “we must lend special attention to the countryside and to the poor peasants”, that “our revolution will be from the countryside to the city.” In the IV National Conference of January, 1964, he met with the different bases of the Party to expel revisionism and its crusty representatives Jorge del Prado, Acosta and Juan Barrio. Our Party is going to be one of the first in breaking and expelling revisionism from its ranks.

President Gonzalo began to consolidate the Party in the Regional Committee of Ayacucho; the center of Party work was focused in the countryside; in the city he organized the poor masses in the Neighborhoods’ Federation, and reorganized the Revolutionary Student Front. But what is of transcendental importance, is that despite the opposition of the new central leadership, President Gonzalo applying a Party agreement launched the “Special Work”,

which was the military work of the Regional Committees by giving them three functions: political, military, and logistical.

Afterwards, in sharp two-line struggle against the positions of the central leadership that wanted to control the military work, he combated militarism, mercenaryism and foquismo. [Refers to the "foco" theory of Che Guerara–Trans.] In these circumstances the guerrillas of the MIR [Movement of the Revolutionary Left–Trans.] develop, a position that expressed the struggle of our people from a petit-bourgeois outlook, which follows a militaristic line and ignores the Party. In spite of being out of step with the rise of the peasants, this movement showed the feasibility of the perspective of armed struggle, provided that it was led by a just and correct line under the leadership of the Party. For that reason, President Gonzalo was opposed to dissolving the Party in order to tail the MIR and the ELN [National Liberation Army–Trans.] in a supposed Front.

At the September 1967 meeting of the Expanded Political Bureau, he outlined a Strategic Plan which contained a set of measures that the Central Committee had to take for the construction of the three instruments, having as its principal task the forming of the armed forces that was agreed upon at the V National Conference of 1965. This occurs in the midst of a factional struggle where most notably the fractions of "Patria Roja" and of the Right liquidationism of Paredes contended for the leadership of the Party. Paredes intended to replay the tactic of tailing a faction of the big bourgeoisie, while those of "Patria Roja" went on to plunge into Right opportunism.

During the second political strategy of "Reconstitute the Party for the Peoples' War," President Gonzalo outlined the underlying revisionism within the Party and that its reconstitution on the Basis of Party Unity, upholding Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought, the thought of Mariátegui and the general political line was necessary. These positions were opposed by the aforementioned fractions. The mishandling of the two-line struggle by Paredes is going to lead to the break-up of the Party. President Gonzalo understood the need for the reconstitution of the Party and the need for waging an internal struggle to make it a reality by sweeping away revisionism, as evidenced by the editorials he wrote in Bandera Roja [Official journal of the PCP–Trans.] of December 1967, "Develop in Depth the Internal Struggle," and that of April 1968, "Deepen and Intensify the Internal Struggle in Revolutionary Practice." He worked tirelessly for the channeling of revolutionary violence in a people's war, for the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside, thus accomplishing the principal task demanded by the Party:

The construction of the revolutionary armed forces. He proposed that the indispensable base in this undertaking was the development of revolutionary peasant work, that without good work in the peasant masses, that is, work guided by Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung thought and led by the Communist Party, there cannot be a development of the armed forces nor of the People's War. Afterward, he proposed that the Party must not only retake the continuing validity of Mariátegui's thought, but must also develop it.

He established the Agrarian Program of the Party in May of 1969. In 1972, the Strategic Plan of the Regional Committee of Ayacucho was established. Right liquidationism is defeated, and in the Party two fractions remain: the red fraction fundamentally in Ayacucho, led by President Gonzalo, and the "Bolshevik" fraction, acting mainly in Lima. This second one developed a left liquidationist line, a form of revisionism that isolated the Party from the masses. Their conception was that fascism could not be fought, that a correct line was sufficient. They had a military line that was opposed to the People's War. They were crushed in 1975 and their leaders fled.

During the third political strategy to "Complete the Reconstitution and to Establish Bases" to begin the armed struggle, the problem was to finish, to consider the Reconstitution of the Party as complete, and to establish bases to begin the armed struggle. This issue was settled in the VII Plenum of April, 1977, in which all the Party worked under the slogan of "Construction serving the armed struggle", in struggle against the seeds of a right opportunist line (ROL), which sustained that Velasco [Military regime from 1968-1972–Trans.] had made the agrarian reform, that there was a need to organize the peasants in connection with the Peasant Federation of Peru and that the People's War needed to be waged for the "deepest claims of the masses", forgetting about the problems of land and of power. In the cities, they developed "workerism", focusing the class in labor unions [gremialismo] and opposed to the class playing its leading role. Once these positions were crushed, President Gonzalo launched the "National Plan of Construction" in June of 1977; dozens of cadre were sent to the countryside in the interests of the strategic needs of the People's War and to build Regional Committees taking into account the future Bases Areas. In the VIII Plenum of July of 1978, the "Outline for the Armed Struggle" was established. In essence, this outlined outlined that the People's War in Peru must be developed as a unified whole in both the countryside as well as in the city, with the countryside being the principal theater of armed actions, following the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside. Furthermore, it must take into account the historical social process of the country,

especially the military aspect, the importance of the Sierra and principally from the Central and Southern part in our history, the importance of the Capital, and the need to pace Peru within the context of Latin America, in South America particularly, and within the international context and the world revolution. All the Party was put into a general reorganization, placing the countryside as central to develop the principal form of struggle and organization. Thus, the basis of the construction of the three instruments of the revolution was laid down.

In synthesis, the entire process of Reconstitution led us to a Party of a new type prepared to begin the People's War and to lead it until the conquest of power countrywide. In this process the historical contingent was forged, who with the ideology of the proletariat under the leadership of President Gonzalo was prepared to assume the conquest of Power through the People's War.

The third moment. (1980 to the present) The Party begins to lead the People's War. Its military line is formed with the "Application and development of the Road." This third moment has four milestones:

1. Definition; 2. Preparation; 3. Initiation; and 4. Development of the guerrilla war.

1) Definition. In essence, the Party takes up the historic and transcendental agreement of initiating the People's War in Peru, which was agreed upon in the IX Expanded Plenum of June, 1979. This agreement was achieved in the midst of three intense struggles: The first was against the right opportunist line that was opposed to beginning the armed struggle, denying the revolutionary situation and declaring its conditions as nonexistent, and that there was a condition of "stability." After the expulsion of this line, the Party agreed upon a new stage and a new goal. The second struggle was against a new Rightist line that believed that the armed struggle was impossible, that it was a "dream", that there was no need of taking up that agreement because it was a matter of principle. The third struggle was with the divergences in the Left [the left line within the PCP–Trans.], one in which the details were discussed on how to develop the People's War. It was established that the proletarian position was President Gonzalo's and therefore was the one which should be implemented; all the Party made a commitment to be guided by the leadership of President Gonzalo.

Concerning the organization of the armed forces, it was agreed to form military cadres, specific groups for action and to undermine the

reactionary forces, aiming at soldiers. In strategy and tactics, the organic system was restated.

2) Preparation. In this milestone event, the Program of the Party is sanctioned, along with the general political line of the Peruvian revolution and the Party statues. Problems related to political strategy, revolutionary violence, the People's War and the Party, the Army and Front United are resolved. The following Decision is assumed: "Forge the First Company in Deeds! Let violence flourish towards the initiation and development of the armed struggle; we open with lead and offer our blood to write the new chapter of the history of the Party and of our people forging the First Company in deeds. Peru, December 3, 1979."

The Party prepared the armed struggle dealing with two problems: 1) Problems of Political Strategy that give both the content and the objectives of the People's War in perspective and in the short term, as well as the guidelines that the People's War should have, the military plans and the construction of the three instruments and their ties with the new Power; 2) The Initiation of the armed struggle. This decisive and essential problem had merited the most special attention from President Gonzalo, who established the "Plan of Initiation" guided by the slogan "Initiate the armed struggle!" that was the gist of the principal politics that had to be developed militarily. Its contents included:

First, the political tasks that had to be fulfilled during the initiation of the armed struggle, to boycott the elections, to promote militarily the armed struggle for the land and to establish the bases for the new conquests, especially the new Power;

Second, forms of struggle: guerrilla warfare, sabotage, propaganda, armed agitation, and selective annihilation;

Third, organizational and military forms: armed detachments, with or without modern weapons;

Fourth, a chronology, date of the initiation and duration of the Plan, and simultaneous actions for specific dates.

The Preparation began with the struggle against the Rightist positions within the Party that were denying the revolutionary conditions, and they were saying that the Party was not prepared or that the masses would not lend us support. The leader of these positions deserted and they were crushed.

3) Initiation. On May 17, 1980, the People's War in Peru began. It "was a defiant political blow of transcendental significance that, displaying rebellious red flags and hoisting hammers and sickles, proclaimed: 'It is right to rebel' and 'Power grows from the barrel of a gun.' It summoned the people, especially the poor peasantry, to stand up in arms, to light the bonfire and to shake the Andes, to write the new history in the fields and hidden features of our tumultuous geography, to tear down the rotten walls of the oppressive order, to conquer the summits, to storm the heavens with guns to open the new dawn. The beginnings were modest, almost without modern weapons. It was fought, it was advanced and it was built from the small to the large and from the weak material and initial fire came the great turbulent fire and mighty roar that grows, sowing revolution and exploding into ever more impetuous People's War."

This third milestone lasted from May to December of 1980, resolving the problem of how to initiate the armed struggle, of going from the times of peace to the times of war. In this context, the militarization of the Party through actions and the masterful Plan of Initiation were key. This was how the new was born: the principal form of struggle, the armed struggle and the principal form of organization, the detachments and squads. The most outstanding actions in the field were the guerrilla actions of Ayrabamba and Aysarca [localities in Ayacucho–Trans.] and, in the city, setting fire to the Municipal Building of San Martín [a district in Lima–Trans.]. The boycott of the elections by the people of Chuschi was the action that initiated the beginning of the People's War. This plan was fulfilled, defeating the Rightist positions that were saying that the Plan was "Hoxhite" and that the actions were centered in the city. Their arguments confused appearances with reality and distorted the essence of the struggle, since reactionary propaganda gave big headlines to the sabotages in the cities and minimized the actions in the countryside. It is a characteristic of the People's War in Peru to make the countryside the principal theater of action and the cities a necessary complement.

4) Development of the guerrilla war. It has been fulfilled through three military plans: To deploy guerrilla warfare, to Conquer Bases and to Develop Bases.

Regarding the Deployment of guerrilla warfare. This was completed by a plan that lasted from May 1981 to December 1982 and had a pilot period in January 1981. The slogan "Open guerrilla zones serving as Base Areas" implied an ideological-political leap by putting Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, guiding thought of President Gonzalo as the basis of party unity. Militarily, they opened the guerrilla war

throughout the country seeking to “Capture weapons and the means for war, stir up the countryside with armed actions and go forward toward the Base Areas.” These plans were partially completed with the last one, “Go forward”, being the link with the subsequent plan. It advanced by razing the feudal relationships of production aiming against the gamonales [semi-feudal landlords–Trans.] as the spearhead and fighting against the joint police operations. A multitude of assaults on police posts and selective annihilation of gamonales were carried out, generating a great mass mobilization of peasants that volunteered themselves for the militia, giving rise to a power vacuum for the reactionaries. The People’s Committees emerged, which grew and multiplied. Their appearance defines the Base Areas.

We should emphasize actions such as the assault on the city jail of Ayacucho where the First Company acted for the first time, occupying the city and freeing tens of prisoners of war; the assaults on the police posts of Vilcashuamán, of Totos, of San José de Secce; the sabotages to the power grid and communication lines; the razings like those of Pincos, Toxama, Allpachaca, Huayllapampa among others. In the cities, there were the sabotages to bureaucratic capitalism and to imperialism, as well as support to strikes by armed actions.

Here the Rightist positions that were combated were those of personal power and fealty and the retreat from actions. Deploying the guerrilla war gave us the most important conquest: The new Power, the clandestine People’s Committees that are the backbone of the Base Areas.

In the face of the advance of the People’s War, the reactionary government of Belaúnde launched from the very beginning the persecution, repression, torture, the imprisonment and death of the militants, fighters and the masses. They have mounted independent police operations and jointly with their police forces, Civil Guards, Republican Guards, Investigative Police, along with the counterinsurgency corps known as the “sinchis”. They promulgated the D.L. [Decreed Law — Trans.] No. 046, a truly terrorist law that violates the most elementary principles of bourgeois criminal law. But the result of all their plans has been the most categorical failure, the masses rejected and resisted their aggression. The emergence of the new Power broke the reticence of the government of Belaúnde, which from the beginning minimized the problem to maintain their bogus democratic facade and strengthened the class necessities of the two exploiters, the big bourgeoisie and landlords under the protection of Yankee imperialism. Belaunde then entrusted the armed forces (Army, Navy and Air Force), the backbone of the State, to reestablish public

order with the support of the police forces, imposing a state of emergency under political-military control in the regions of Ayacucho and Apurímac, from December of 1982 until today (1988).

President Gonzalo, with the development of the People's War and the counter-revolutionary response that implied a qualitative leap, outlined the Great Plan of Conquering Bases in the Expanded Central Committee from January to March 1983 where four political tasks were defined: a general reorganization of the Party, the creation of the People's Guerrilla Army and the Revolutionary Defense Front of the People and their consolidation as People's Committees in the countryside and as the Revolutionary Defense Movement of the People in the cities and the Military Plan of Conquering Bases. Politically, the contradiction between the new State and old State was advancing under the slogan of "Defend, Develop and Build" the Base Areas. A sharp armed conflict developed in which the reactionaries struggled to re-establish the old Power and the revolution struggled to counter-establish the new Power. This is what we call the struggle between restoration and counter-restoration encompassing the years 1983 and 1984. Military plans were specified for the zones applying the tactics of encircling and striking the enemy's weak point. Two successful campaigns were completed in which the new Power was tempered passing its first test of fire; the Party was forged and the People's Guerrilla Army was developed.

The reactionary armed forces pursued the counter-revolutionary war, following the concepts of their Yankee imperialist master, theories established by their experience in counter-revolutionary war, mainly extracted from Vietnam and particularly drawn from the combat against the armed struggle in Latin America, especially in Central America. That is the basic theoretical source combined with the "anti-terrorist" experience of Israel and its counterpart in Argentina, along with the Federal Republic of Germany and its advisors in Taiwan, Spain, etc. This adds to their experience of the few months of anti-guerrilla struggle of 1965 and the more limited experience of fighting in La Convención [a province in Cusco where there was guerrilla struggle in 1965]. The operations are under the direction of the Joint Command of the armed forces that acts according to the will of the National Defense Council headed by the President, today under Alan García, who holds direct responsibility. This counter-revolutionary strategy has been defeated many times. It has been crushed and defeated completely and thoroughly by the People's War, showing to the world again and again the superiority of the strategy of the proletariat over that of imperialism.

A summary of the specific policies that were applied by the genocidal government: masses against masses; genocide, mass graves; disappearances of entire villages. In sum, they unleashed the white terror in the countryside, especially in Ayacucho, Huancavelica and Apurímac. The result of this genocide is eight thousand seven hundred Peruvians dead. Of these, four thousand seven hundred of the murdered were the poorest and the most exploited, mainly peasants and in the neighborhoods and slums of the cities, where four thousand disappeared. This genocide has not produced the result they wanted; it did not crush the People's War. On the contrary, "the People's War grows stronger, developing and striking powerful blows", evidence of what Chairman Mao taught, that repression is what arouses and feeds the revolution.

Within the Plan of Conquering Bases is the "Plan of the Great Leap" that is subject to the specific political strategy of "Two Republics are expressed, two roads, two axes" and the military strategy of "generalize the guerrilla warfare." Four successful campaigns were carried out under the political guidelines of: "Open our political space", "Against the general elections of 1985, disrupt and destabilize them and impede them wherever feasible", "Against the ascension to power by the new Aprista government," and "Undermine the fascist and corporativist Aprista assembly." The People's War developed in the region of Ayacucho, Huancavelica, and Apurímac and was expanded to Pasco, Huánuco and San Martín, covering an area from the department of Cajamarca, on the border with Ecuador in the Northwest, to Puno on the border with Bolivia in the Southeast of the country, striking and shaking-up the cities, especially in the capital. The People's War fundamentally takes place in the sierra, the historical axis of Peruvian society and its most backward and poorest part, by transforming it into the grand theater of the revolutionary war. It advanced to the edge of the jungle and to the headlands of the coast. Thus, the People's War was not conceived in a single region was developed simultaneously in several regions, although in unequal form, with the principal area that can vary as necessary. All activities were conceived within a strategically centralized and a tactically decentralized plan.

Among the most salient actions, we see the blows to the anti-guerrilla bases in the department of Ayacucho; the destruction of the counter-subversive settlements [nucleamientos] disruptions in the establishment of the local micro- regions; in Huancavelica the demolition of the electrical grid and the destruction of the highway system; the destruction of the agricultural cooperatives Cinto and Vichincha with cattle redistribution and appropriation of lands;

breakthroughs in Apurímac. In the Central region, there were ambushes such as in Michivilca, sabotage to the substation of Centromín [state mining corporation–Trans.], sabotage to SAIS [state-run cooperative] Túpac Amaru. In the North, land seizures under the slogan "Seize the Land!" that mobilized 160 thousand peasants and confiscated 320 thousand hectares, mostly pastures, and 12 thousand head of livestock; sabotage to the oil pipeline "Norperuano", and to the headquarters of the APRA in the city of Trujillo. In the South, the land seizures mobilized more than 10 thousand peasants; in Huallaga, an assault on the police post of Aucayacu, destruction of the large company Tealero, ambush of the Republican Guards; in Metropolitan Lima, sabotages against the embassy of the Russian social-imperialists, against dozens of local offices of the APRA party, against banks and factories, all leading to a state of emergency with military control in February of 1986.

Alan García Pérez continued the counter-revolutionary policy of his predecessor and sought to crush the People's War through genocides such as those of Accomarca, Llocllapampa, Umaru and Bellavista in the countryside. In the capital of the Republic, he unleashed two genocides against the prisoners of war, the first on the 4th of October, 1985, where 30 militants and combatants were annihilated in the shining trench [refers to a prison–Trans.] of Lurigancho. That did not break the heroic resistance of the prisoners of war who, with their blood, formed the Day of the Prisoner of War. On the 19 of June, 1986, the most vile and despicable premeditated crime was unleashed to crush the People's War and to annihilate the prisoners of war, who with a ferocious resistance inflicted the most serious political, military, and moral rout to the genocidal Aprista government. This brought out and defined their dilemma of serving the bureaucratic faction of the big bourgeoisie, in order to develop corporativist fascism, García and the Aprista party remaining forever bathed in the blood of the genocide. Thus the Day of Heroism was formed with the monumental trilogy of 250 dead in the shining trenches of combat of El Fronton, Lurigancho, and Callao.

We unmask and condemn opportunism and revisionism in its various incarnations: The pro-Russian, the pro-Chinese, the false Mariateguists, all those who have acted and continue to act as informers, tailing after the counter-revolution, denying and combating the People's War and branding it as terrorism, repeating what Reagan and the Peruvian and world reactionaries say. They can never hope to prove their accusations and simply hurl adjectives and condemn violence "whatever the source," and continue with their old electoral posturing with the aim of hoodwinking the people with parliamentary

cretinism, sinking further each day into the embrace of the old order, their rotten parliament, their electoral farces, their constitution and their laws, living in quivering fear and reverential dread before the reactionary armed forces and the bluster of the old State. We condemn the groveling attitude and capitulation of Barrantes Lingán and others of his ilk [secuaces y compinches].

Since 1983, the political strategy of the Great Plan of Conquering Bases was completed through two campaigns of defending, developing and building Parts I and II, and of the Plan for the Great Leap with its four campaigns up to December of 1986. These plans show us the advance of the People's War, that we are solidly linked to the masses, contrary to everything they say, since the facts are undeniable. The People's War has conquered an area that is being extended through the Sierra, the Jungle and the Coast, marching vigorously and strong, building what is new and opening the future. The Base Areas which are the foundation of the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside have been already established.

The Great Plan of Developing Bases. This has a special role in the People's War since the essence of the People's War is to develop support; therefore the Great Plan of Developing Bases has to do with the construction of the new Power and its development, it has to do with the perspective that is being opened for the conquest of power countrywide. The political strategy is to develop Base Areas and the military strategy is to develop the People's War serving the world revolution, a plan that is being fulfilled through a pilot plan.

The triumph of the revolution begets and crushes a powerful counter-revolution. We are entering decisive years in which the APRA government continues without having a strategic plan; they talk of a "new strategy" but there is none. What remains is only greater repression: Political, economic, and social laws, strengthening the military to facilitate the actions of the armed forces to unleash new genocides under new conditions, for us as well as for them. For us, the genocide under way presents itself under new circumstances. We have passed through the genocide of 1983 and 1984 that demonstrated the great popular repudiation and the strengthening of the revolution. The reaction can only apply genocide, but that will strengthen the People's War. There might be initial withdrawals or inflections, but we will prevail by persisting in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, in our politics of the five developments, in the invincibility of the People's War and in the support of the people who make history always under the leadership of the Communist Party.

On the concrete situations and possibilities that are presented us in the new Great Plan of Developing Bases we must be aware of:

1. Armed groups such as the MRTA and the CRP [the short-lived People's Revolutionary Commando–Trans.] have appeared. They have been recast and they do not have a definite Marxist conception. Thus, they march to serve imperialism, social-imperialism, and the supposedly fascist dialogue to which they have already given unilateral truces. 2. APRA has already begun to unfold fascism and corporativism. It faces serious and increasing difficulties, such as its growing and sinuous collusion and contention with the comprador bourgeoisie, among other more important contradictions. 3. The class struggle sharpens and intensifies more, the masses begin to defend themselves and resist; if social explosions occur in the urban areas, they could be used by social-imperialism and the reactionaries in general, through their political representatives. 4. A coup d'etat is possible at any moment. The same García Pérez may promote a self-coup in order to preserve his political future. 5. In perspective, the reactionaries can also play with an Allende-type government, using the Aprista Barrantes or someone similar; within this possibility one must consider the sinister role of the United Left. 6. The Peruvian State has border problems that can be inflamed at any moment, as is shown by the experience of other Latin American countries. This problem must be seriously addressed. 7. The sending of Yankee troops is already a real fact and not a simple possibility. Their presence is linked to a similar presence in other countries, especially on the border and it must be seen in the context of military measures taken by Brazil. 8. The imperialist wars and their aggressions continue to increase. The World War for hegemony between the USA and the USSR continues being prepared through collusion and contention of a global dimension. Consequently, the People's War is a peremptory necessity and the world People's War is an inevitable perspective.

All these possibilities must be taken seriously into account to handle the People's War with politics in command, and, particularly with an eye toward the conquest of power countrywide that may present itself and which must be taken up. For all these reasons, we must be ideologically, politically and organizationally prepared.

The First Campaign of the Pilot Plan of the Great Plan of Developing Bases has meant the largest shake-up with national and international repercussions. It is fracturing the old State more and more, which had never been shaken up this way by anyone in Peru. Now it is up to us to fulfil the historical and political necessity of "Finish by brilliantly establishing a historical milestone!" in the Second Campaign.

Understand that the Pilot Plan is like the initial battle of the Great Plan of Developing Bases.

In conclusion, after close to eight years of People's War we have completed more than forty five thousand actions that reveal their high quality; the militarized Party has been tempered; the People's Guerrilla Army has been developed and has increased its belligerence; and we have hundreds of organizations of the new Power with the poorest masses increasingly in support of us. The People's War has raised the class struggle of our people to its highest form and that impinges on the struggle of the masses themselves, impelling them to be incorporated by leaps and bounds into the People's War. The "People's War is turning the country upside down, the 'old mole' [el topo viejo] is rotting profoundly in the entrails of the old society. No one can stop it, the future already dwells among us, the old and rotten society is sinking irrevocably, the revolution will prevail. Long Live the People's War!" Our task is to develop the People's War serving the world revolution under the banners of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought.

2. THE ROAD OF SURROUNDING THE CITIES FROM THE COUNTRYSIDE AND THE BASE OF REVOLUTIONARY SUPPORT

Chairman Mao established the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside. At its heart are the Base Areas, taking into account that the powerful imperialists and their reactionary Chinese allies were entrenched in the principal cities. If the revolution refused to capitulate and wanted to persevere in the struggle it had to convert the backwards rural zones into advanced and solid Base Areas, into great military, political, economic and cultural bastions of the revolution to fight against the fierce enemy that was assaulting the rural zones using the cities, and to carry the revolution step by step to a complete victory through a protracted war.

True to this basic Maoist thesis, President Gonzalo has established the carrying forward of a unified People's War where the countryside is the principal theater of armed actions: Since in our country we have an immense majority of peasant masses, that is where we must build the Base Areas. As Chairman Mao said: "The protracted revolutionary struggle supported in such revolutionary base areas is fundamentally a guerrilla war of the peasants led by the Chinese Communist Party. Therefore, it is wrong to ignore the necessity of using the rural zones as revolutionary base areas, to disregard the arduous work among the

peasants and to neglect the guerrilla war." Going further, President Gonzalo specifies that in the cities armed actions should be carried forward as a complement, since international experience, as well as our own, demonstrates that this is feasible. He draws lessons from, for example, what happened to the guerrillas in the Philippines which recast themselves in the countryside and left the cities quiet, especially the capital, resulting in the isolation of the guerrillas. In Brazil, the revolutionaries also carried out armed actions in the countryside and city, only they neglected to specify which was principal. In Vietnam, important armed actions were carried out in the cities. Thus, taking into account the peculiarities of the cities in Latin America, where the percentage of the proletariat and of the poor masses in the cities is high, the masses are ready to develop actions complementing those in the countryside. In the cities, however, the New Power or Base Areas are not being built, rather the Front is materialized through the Revolutionary Defense Movement of the People (MRDP) with Resistance Centers that carry out the People's War and prepare the future insurrection, which will occur when the forces of the countryside assault the cities in combination with the insurrection from within.

The Base Areas are the strategic bases which the guerrilla forces rely on to fulfil their strategic tasks and to achieve the objective of preserving and increasing their forces as well as annihilating and throwing back the enemy. Without such strategic Bases there would not be anything from which to carry out any one of our strategic tasks to reach the war's objective.

Chairman Mao outlines three reasons for the creation of Base Areas: To have armed forces, to defeat the enemy and to mobilize the masses. These were specified in our People's War in 1982, when applying the Plan of Deployment the guerrilla war in its role of beating the enemy, we aimed at destroying the old feudal relations of production. Police posts were assaulted, selective annihilation of landlord power was applied, and the police forces abandoned the countryside and were regrouped in the provincial capitals. The authorities of the old Power massively resigned which created a power vacuum, while tens of thousands were mobilized. It is in these conditions that the Base Areas emerged and were specified in the clandestine People's Committees. Therefore, it is wrong to take the Chinese experience dogmatically since if the conditions were given and principles were in effect, we would have had sufficient reason to build the Base Areas. To agree with this thesis implied a struggle against Rightism that was arguing that we had not defeated large enemy forces, when the problem was that the enemy forces had abandoned the field as a consequence of the

rout of their political and military plans.

President Gonzalo has established a system of Base Areas surrounded by guerrilla zones, zones of operations and points of action taking into account the political and social conditions, the history of struggle, the geographical characteristics and the development of the Party, the Army and of the masses.

It is fundamental to support the validity of the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside and its heart, the Base Areas, because with only wandering guerrillas of insurrection the People's Guerrilla Army would not have the Base Areas as a rearguard that sustains it and neither would the new Power be built. We are totally against foquismo.

3. THE PROTRACTED WAR

The People's War is protracted because it derives from the correlation between the factors of the enemy and ourselves that are determined by the following four fundamental characteristics: The first is that Peru is a semi-feudal and semi-colonial society, one in which a bureaucratic capitalism unfolds. The second is that the enemy is strong; the third is that the People's Guerrilla Army is weak; and the fourth is that the Communist Party leads the People's War. From the first and fourth characteristics we can derive that the People's Guerrilla Army will not grow too rapidly and will not defeat its enemy soon. These peculiarities determine the extended character of the war.

The enemy is strong and we are weak; in that fact resides the danger of our defeat. The enemy has a single advantage–the numerous contingents of its forces and the armaments they rely upon. But every other aspect constitutes their weak points. Their objective is to defend the old and rotten Power of the landlord-bureaucratic State. It has a bourgeois military line; it is a mercenary army. It does not have conscious discipline and its moral is low. It has profound contradictions between officers and soldiers, and it is discredited before the masses. Furthermore, the very base of the reactionary army are of worker and peasant origin, which can disintegrate during the course of an unjust war. Apart from this, the Peruvian armed forces have never won a war and they are expert in defeats. Furthermore, they have repeatedly counted on the support of international reaction, but we count on the support of the oppressed nations, of the peoples of the world and the international proletariat, which are the new forces.

The People's Guerrilla Army has a single weak point, its insufficient development but the remaining aspects constitute valuable advantages: It carries forward a People's War to create a new Power; it has a proletarian military line, led absolutely by the Communist Party; it is based on class valor and revolutionary heroism and on a conscious discipline. Its morale is high and there is a close union between officers and soldiers and it is an army composed of the people themselves, mainly poor workers and peasants.

But the objective fact is that there is a large disparity between the forces of the enemy and our forces and for us to go from weak to strong requires a period of time, one in which the defects of the enemy are exposed and our advantages are developed. Therefore, we say that our army is apparently weak but in essence it is strong and the enemy's army is apparently strong but in essence it is weak. Thus, to go from weak to strong we must carry forward the protracted war and this has three stages: The first is the period of the strategic offensive of the enemy and the strategic defensive of our forces. The second will be the period of the strategic consolidation of the enemy and of our preparation for the counteroffensive. The third will be the period of our strategic counteroffensive and of the strategic withdrawal of the enemy.

President Gonzalo teaches us that the People's War is protracted, long and bloody but victorious and tells us that the time of its duration will be extended or shortened within the scope of its protracted character. The time will depend on the extent that we fight within the proletarian military line, since Rightism is the principal danger that can cause serious setbacks to the war.

Today, we find ourselves in the period of the strategic offensive of the enemy and of our own strategic defensive. We must strengthen the People's War by applying guerrilla warfare, establishing bases for the next stage, paying whatever cost is necessary but fighting to minimize it.

II. CONSTRUCTION OF THE PEOPLE'S GUERRILLA ARMY

To wage the People's War we must count on the principal form of organization, which is the People's Guerrilla Army, since the backbone of the old State is the reactionary armed forces and to destroy the old State one must first destroy its reactionary army. The Party must count on a powerful army: "Without a peoples' army the people have nothing," as Chairman Mao taught us.

The construction of the Army is seen in the line of construction based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. In synthesis, President Gonzalo has contributed in bringing the incorporation of the militia into the People's Guerrilla Army. Its creation is a step toward the sea of armed masses and the solution of going from disorganized masses to masses who are militarily organized.

III. STRATEGY AND TACTICS

President Gonzalo emphasizes seven points on strategy and tactics of Chairman Mao specifying some of them. We must pay close attention to these in order to lead the People's War.

1. On Strategy and Tactics.

He departs from Chairman Mao's thesis that the task of strategy as a science is to study the laws of leading military operations that influence the situation of the war in its entirety. The task of the science of campaigns and tactics is to study the laws of leading military operations of a partial character. He makes a strategic development of how to wage the war in each zone and in the country as a whole, taking into account its ties to the international situation. He outlined for us the axes, sub-axes, directions of movement and lines of movements which permit us to maintain the strategic course of the war under any circumstances and to face all types of political and military operations that the counter-revolution launches. On this basis he established the National Military Plan that is strategically centralized and tactically decentralized, departing from the premise that all plans reflect an ideology, that they must reflect both the reality and vagaries it must express. Taking up Stalin, he links strategy with tactics and establishes the strategic-operational Plans that are the concrete way that strategy is linked to tactical operations. As a result, each Committee must elaborate its strategic-operational plans within the strategic-operational Plan common to the entire Party.

The correct disposition emanates from the just decision of the commander; all military plans must be based on the indispensable recognition and careful study of the situation of the enemy, the actual situation and the interrelationship of both. That is, we must always keep in mind "the two hills"; we must be guided by a political strategy and by a military strategy.

For the elaboration of the Plans always take into account the following general features:

1. The international class struggle between revolution and counter-revolution; ideology; the international communist movement; the RIM. 2. The class struggle in the country; the counter-revolution. 3. The development of the People's War; its balance; laws and lessons. 4. The need for investigation. 5. The People's War and its construction.

6. The People's War and the masses. 7. The two-line struggle. 8. Programming and Chronology. 9. Attitude and slogans. "Rise above the difficulties and conquer greater victories!"

In almost eight years of the People's War, we have had four plans: Plan of Initiation; Plan of Developing the People's War; Plan of Conquering Bases; and, Plan of Developing Bases.

2. The basic principle of the war.

All the orienting principles of military operations originate with a single basic principle: do everything possible to preserve our own forces and to annihilate the enemy's forces. All war imposes a price, sometimes it is extremely high. To preserve our own forces, we must annihilate those of the enemy; but to annihilate the enemy, we must pay a price in order to preserve the whole. President Gonzalo teaches us that one must be prepared to pay the highest cost of the war, but we should fight so that it will always be the smallest possible cost. It is a contradiction and the problem resides in attitude and good planning. It is mainly a question of leadership. He forged us in the "challenge to the death", in "revolutionary heroism" and in "conquer laurels in death." In war we always see the two aspects, the destructive and the constructive and the principal aspect is the second one.

3. The guerrilla tactics or basic tactics.

"When the enemy advances, we retreat; when the enemy is stalled, we harass him; when the enemy is tired, we attack him; when the enemy withdraws, we pursue him." This basic tactic must be incorporated and applied, maneuvering around the enemy and seeking his weak point to smash it.

4. Campaigns of "encirclement and annihilation" and the counter- campaigns, principal form of the People's War.

It is a law that the counter-revolution in seeking to crush the revolution unleashes campaigns of "encirclement and annihilation" against each unit of the People's Guerrilla Army or against the Base Areas. The operations of the People's Guerrilla Army adopt the form of counter-campaigns and Chairman Mao has established nine steps to crush a campaign of "encirclement and annihilation":

1. The active defense; 2. The preparation of a counter-campaign; 3. The strategic withdrawal; 4. The strategic counteroffensive; 5. The

initiation of the counteroffensive; 6. The concentration of forces; 7. The mobile war; 8. The war of rapid decision; and, 9. The war of annihilation.

President Gonzalo, applying this law to the conditions of our People's War, has outlined the five parts of the campaign which permit us to defeat the political and military plans of the reactionaries. Each campaign has a specific political and military objective, fulfilled by the element of surprise, attacking them when we want, where we want and as we want. He also specified the five steps that must follow each military action always serving the political objective, opposing the criteria of action for action's sake. He stresses the importance of differentiating between the essence and the appearance of the enemy's movements. He has also established for us the four forms of struggle of the People's War:

1. Guerrilla action with its two forms, the assault and the ambush; 2. sabotage; 3. selective annihilation; and 4. Propaganda and armed agitation, as well as its diverse methods.

5. The strategic role of guerrilla warfare

Chairman Mao raised guerrilla warfare to a strategic level. Prior to him, it was only considered as a tactical problem that did not decide the outcome of the war; but even though the guerrilla war does not decide the war's outcome because this requires conventional warfare, it fulfils a series of strategic tasks that carry forward to the favorable outcome of the war. We conceive guerrilla war on a vast scale, generalized guerrilla warfare that must support the protracted and bloody war. From there, we apply the six strategic problems of guerrilla warfare:

1. Initiative, flexibility and planning in the realization of offensive operations within the defensive war, battles of rapid decision within the protracted war and operations in the exterior lines within the war in the interior lines. 2. Coordination with the regular warfare. 3. Creation of Base Areas. 4. Strategic defense and strategic assault in the guerrilla war. 5. Transformation of the guerrilla war into mobile warfare. 6. Relationships of command.

6. The ten military principles.

In December 1947 Chairman Mao masterfully synthesized the just and correct strategic line followed in more than 20 years of People's War in 10 military principles. This is seen in his article: "The current

situation and our tasks," Third part. We apply these principles and it is very important to broaden their application.

7. Brilliant summary of strategy and tactics.

Chairman Mao has summarized in a brilliant way the strategy and the tactics of the People's War in the following phrase: "You fight your way and we'll fight ours: We fight when we can win and we retreat when we cannot."

"In other words, you are supported by modern armament and we by the popular masses with a high level of revolutionary conscience; you fight to the fullest with your superiority, and we fight with ours. You have your combat methods and we have ours. When you want to assault us, you are not permitted to do so and cannot even find us. But when we attack you, we reach the target, we inflict accurate, sure blows and we annihilate it. When we can annihilate it, we do so with deliberate decision; when we can not annihilate it, neither do we allow ourselves to be annihilated by you. To not fight when there is a possibility of winning is opportunism. To persist in fighting when there is no possibility of winning is adventurism. Our strategic orientation and tactics are based on our will to fight. Our recognition of the need for retreating is based first of all on our recognition of the need for fighting. When we retreat, we always do so with an eye to future combat so that we may finally and thoroughly annihilate the enemy. Only by supporting ourselves in the broad popular masses can we bring about these strategies and tactics. And in applying them, we can put into full play the superiority of people's war and confine the enemy to the passive position of being beaten, although they are superior in equipment and no matter what means they employ. We always preserve the initiative in our hands."

From "Long Live the victory of the People's War!", September 1965.

The application of this principle allows us to demonstrate the invincibility of the superior strategy of the People's War, because the proletariat as the last class in history has created its own superior form of war and no other class, including the bourgeoisie with its greatest political and military strategists, are capable of defeating it. The reactionaries dream about elaborating "superior strategies" to the People's War, but are condemned to failure since they are against history. Our People's War after nearly eight years blazes victoriously, demonstrating the invincibility of the People's War.

As militants of the Communist Party of Peru, we assume completely

and thoroughly the military line of the Party, established by President Gonzalo, which based on the highest creation of the international proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, has specified our military line with Gonzalo Thought, endowing us with an invincible weapon, the unified People's War principally in the countryside together with the city as a complement. As the principal form of struggle we carry it forward, it is a bright torch before the world, proclaiming the universal validity of the forever living Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

LONG LIVE THE MILITARY LINE OF THE PARTY! THE PEOPLE'S WAR IS INVINCIBLE!

1988 - Bases of Discussion of General Political Line : Construction Line

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INTRODUCTION

President Gonzalo established the PCP's line of construction of the three instruments of the revolution by upholding and applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism.

He teaches us that Marx said that the working class creates organizations in its image and likeness, in other words, its own organization. In the XIX century, with Marx and Engels, we started off provided with a specific conception, our own doctrine, our own objective, our own goal, how to conquer Power and the means of doing it: Revolutionary violence; all that was achieved in a very hard two-line struggle. Marx established that the proletariat can only act as a class by constituting itself as a political party different and opposite to all the political parties created by the propertied classes. Therefore, since its appearance in a prolonged process the proletariat has created its own forms of organization. As a result, the Party is the highest form of organization, the army the principal form of organization and the Front is third instrument, these three instruments are to seize Power by means of revolutionary violence. He tells us that by the end of the XIX century, Engels came to the conclusion that the class did not have either the proper organic forms or the proper military forms to take Power and hold it. Yet, he never said we should abandon the revolution but the we should be working on finding a solution to these pending problems. This must be well understood since the revisionists twist it to sell their opportunism.

In the XX century Lenin understood that the revolution was ripe and created the proletarian Party of new type, molding the form of struggle: The insurrection; and the form of organization: The detachments, which were mobile forms and superior to the barricades of the previous century, which were stationary forms. Lenin set forth the need to create new, clandestine organizations, since going on to revolutionary actions meant the dissolution of the legal organizations by the police and that step was only possible if it is taken by going over the old leaders, going over the old Party, destroying it. The Party should take as example the modern army, with its own discipline and with its united will and be flexible.

With Chairman Mao Tse-Tung, the class understands the need to build the three instruments of the revolution: Party, Army and United Front in an interrelated way. That way it solves the construction of the three instruments in a backwards, semi-feudal and semi-colonial country, by

way of the People's War. Concretely, it resolves the issue of building the Party around the gun and that it is the heroic fighter who is the one leading its own construction, the Army and the Front.

President Gonzalo set forth the militarization of the Communist Parties and the concentric building of the three instruments. The militarization of the Communist Parties is the political directive with a strategic content, since it is "the set of transformations, changes and readjustments it need to lead the People's War as the main form of struggle that will generate the new State." Therefore, the militarization of the Communist Parties is the key for the democratic revolution, the socialist revolution and the cultural revolutions.

He defines the principle of construction: "Based on the ideological-political base, to simultaneously build the organizational forms in the amidst of the class struggle and the two-line struggle, all of these within and as a function of the armed struggle and the conquest of Power."

In addition, the PCP links the entire process of construction with the fluidity of the People's War, which based on Chairman Mao's theses that "the mobility of military operations and the variability of our territory provide all works of construction with … a variable character."

Hence, to understand the line of construction, we must start from the form of struggle and the forms of organization; from the principle of construction and construction linked to the fluidity of the People's War which is the main form of struggle in today's world.

1. ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PARTY

A. CHARACTER OF THE PARTY.

We base ourselves in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, mainly Gonzalo Thought, on the ideology of the proletariat, the highest expression of humanity, the only truthful, scientific and invincible. We struggle for the Communist Programme whose essence is to organize and lead the class struggle of the proletariat so it can conquer political Power, carry out the democratic revolution, the socialist revolution and the cultural revolution on the way to Communism, the unwavering goal which we march towards. We rely on the general political line of the revolution, based on the laws governing the class struggle for the conquest of Power, which words established by President Gonzalo. The PCP political line has five elements:

1. International line; 2. Democratic revolution; 3. Military line; 4. Line of construction of the three instruments of the revolution; and 5. Mass line.

The military line is the center of the general political line. We forge ourselves in proletarian internationalism as we conceive our revolution as part of the world proletarian revolution. And we maintain ideological, political and organizational independence supported by our own efforts and by masses.

The PCP is a Party of the new type which generated the leader of the Peruvian revolution, President Gonzalo, the greatest living Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, who leads the Party [After the “Bend in the Road” of Sept. 1992, the Central Committee leads the Party and the People’s War–Trans.] the guarantee of the triumph of the revolution and will carry us to Communism.

B. THE MILITARIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY AND CONCENTRIC CONSTRUCTION

President Gonzalo established the thesis that the Communist Parties of the world should militarize themselves for three reasons:

First, because we are in the strategic offensive of the world revolution, we live during the sweeping away of imperialism and reaction from the face of Earth within the next 50 to 100 years, a time marked by

violence in which all kinds of wars take place. We see how reaction militarizes itself more and more, militarizating the old States, their economy, developing wars and aggression, trafficking with the struggles of the peoples and aiming at a world war, since revolution is the main tendency in the world, the task of the Communist Parties is to raise revolution making reality the main form of struggle: The People's War, to oppose the world counter-revolutionary war with world revolutionary war.

Second, because capitalist restoration must be confronted. When the bourgeoisie loses Power, it reintroduces itself inside the Party, uses the army and seeks a way of usurping Power, of destroying the dictatorship of the proletariat to reinstate capitalism. Therefore, the Communist Parties must militarize themselves and exercise the overall dictatorship of the three instruments, forge themselves in the People's War and empower the armed organization of the masses, the people's militia, so as to engulf the army. Towards this end, President Gonzalo tells us to "forge all militants as Communists, first and foremost, as fighters and as administrators"; for that reason every militant is forged in the People's War and remains alert against any attempts of capitalist restoration.

Third, because we march towards a militarized society. By militarizing the Party, we complete a step towards the militarization of society which is the strategic perspective to guarantee the dictatorship of the proletariat. The militarized society is the sea of armed masses which Marx and Engels spoke about, that guarantees the conquest and defense of the conquered Power. We take the experience of the Chinese Revolution, of the anti-Japanese base at Yenan, which was a militarized society where everything flowed out of the barrels of guns, Party, Army, State, new politics, new economics, new culture. And that way we develop war communism.

In the First PCP National Conference (November 1979), President Gonzalo proposed the thesis of the necessity to militarize the Communist Party of Peru (PCP); then, in the early months of 1980, when the Party was getting ready to launch the People's War, he proposed to develop the militarization of the Party by ways of actions, based on what the great Lenin said about reducing the non-military work and to center it in the military, that the times of peace were ending and we entered the times of war so that all forces should be militarized. Thus taking the Party as the axis of everything, build the Army around it and with these instruments, with the masses in People's War, build the new State based on both. The militarization of the Party could only be carried forward through concrete actions of

the class struggle, concrete military type actions; this does not mean we will carry out various types of military actions exclusively (guerrilla actions, sabotages, selective annihilation, propaganda and armed agitation) but that we must carry out mainly these forms so as to provide incentive and development to the class struggle, indoctrinating it with facts, with these types of actions as the main form of struggle in the People's War.

The militarization of the Party has precedents in Lenin and Chairman Mao, but it is a new problem developed by President Gonzalo taking into account the new circumstance of the class struggle and we must realize that new problems will arise which will be solved through experience. This will necessarily imply a process of struggle between the old and the new in order to develop it further, with war being the highest form of resolving the contradictions, empowering the faculties people have to find solutions. It is the militarization of the Party which has enabled us to initiate and develop the People's War; and we consider that this experience has universal validity, for that reason, it is required and necessary for the Communist Parties of the world to militarize themselves.

The concentric construction of the three instruments is the organic fulfillment of the militarization of the Party and in synthesis it is summarized in what President Gonzalo teaches: "The Party is the axis of everything, it leads the three instruments overall, its own construction, absolutely leads the army and the new State as joint dictatorship aiming towards the dictatorship of the proletariat."

C. THE SIX ASPECTS OF THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PARTY.

The ideological construction. The militancy is forged on the base of Party unity with Marxism-Leninism- Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, mainly Gonzalo Thought. We say Marxism-Leninism-Maoism because it is the universal ideology of the proletariat which is the last class in history, an ideology that must be applied to the concrete conditions of each revolution and generate its guiding thought. In our case, the Peruvian revolution has generated Gonzalo Thought because President Gonzalo is the highest expression of the fusion of the universal ideology with the concrete practice of the Peruvian revolution.

a) The political construction. Militancy is forged in the Programme and Statutes; the general political line and the military line as its center, specific lines; general policy, specific policies and the Party's military plans. Politics must always be in command and that is our

strong point.

b) The organic construction. The organic construction follows the political construction and taking into account that line is not enough, the organic apparatuses must be simultaneously built taking into account the organic structure, the organic system and the Party work. In its organic structure, the Party is based on democratic centralism, mainly centralism. Two Party armed networks are established, the territorial network which covers one jurisdiction and the mobile network whose structure is deployed. The organic system is the distribution of forces in function of the principal and secondary points wherever the revolution is acting. Party work is the relationship between secret work, which is the principal, and open work; the importance of the five necessities: Democratic centralism, clandestinity, discipline, vigilance and secret work. Of the six, democratic centralism is the most important.

c) The leadership. We are fully conscious that no class in history has ever achieved the installation of its rule unless it promotes its political leaders, its vanguard representatives, capable of organizing the movement and leading it. The Peruvian proletariat in the midst of the class struggle has generated the revolutionary leadership and its highest expression: The leadership of President Gonzalo, who handles revolutionary theory and has a commanding knowledge of history and a profound understanding of the revolutionary practice; who in hard two-line struggle defeated revisionism, the right and left liquidationism, the right opportunist line and rightism. He has reconstituted the Party, leads it in the People's War and is the greatest living Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, a great political and military strategist, a philosopher; teacher of Communists, center of Party unity. Reaction has two principles to destroy the revolution: To annihilate its leadership and to isolate the guerrilla from the masses. But in synthesis its problem is to annihilate the leadership, because it is what enables us to maintain our perspective and reach our objective. Our Party has defined that leadership is key and it is duty of all militants to constantly work to defend and preserve the leadership of the Party and very especially the leadership of President Gonzalo, our leader, against any attack inside or outside the Party and to abide his personal leadership and command by raising the slogans of "Learn From President Gonzalo" and "Embody Gonzalo Thought."

We base ourselves in the collective leadership and the individual leadership and we keep in mind the role of the leaders and how through the People's War, through the renewal of the leadership, the direction of the revolution fulfills and tempers itself. We maintain the

principle that the leadership never dies.

We who follow Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Though, subject ourselves to President Gonzalo and embody Gonzalo Thought.

d) Two-line struggle. The Party is a contradiction where the class struggle expresses itself as the two-line struggle between the right and the left. It is the two-line struggle that propells the development of the Party, its just and correct handling requires that the left must impose itself. We fight conciliation because it nourishes the right; and the principle of criticinism and self-criticism must be practiced by all in the Party: Militants, cadres, leaders, combatatants, masses too, everybody must practice it, assuming the philosophy of the struggle and then going against the current, keeping in mind that the Central Committee is the vortex of the storm, since there the class struggle expresses itself the sharpest. The just and correct handling that President Gonzalo makes of the two-line struggle has helped maintain the unity of the Party and develop the People's War even further. In general the main danger the Party faces is revisionism, although inside the Party it continues to develop a struggle against rightist criteria, opinions, attitudes and positions, in the midst of the people. It is necessary to organize the two-line struggle to impose the Party line, through a plan to develop it in an organized manner.

e) Mass work. We apply the principle that: "The masses make history." The Party leads the mass struggle in function of Power, which is the principal economic and political right [reinvindication in Spanish–Trans.]; we develop the mass work in and for the People's War basing ourselves on the basic masses, workers and peasants, mainly the poor, in the petty bourgeoisie and we neutralize or win over the middle bourgeoisie, as conditions may demand. We subject ourselves to the law of the incorporation of the masses and the only Marxist tactic of "going to the deepest and most profound masses," educating them in revolutionary violence and in the relentless struggle against revisionism. The mass work of the Party is done through the People's Army and the masses are mobilized, politicized, organized and armed as the new Power in the countryside and in the People's Defense Revolutionary Movement (MRDP) in the cities.

In synthesis, it is through the forge and the leadership of President Gonzalo that we have a Marxist-Leninist- Maoist, Gonzalo Thought Party of the new type which leads the People's War and has opened up the perspective of the conquest of Power countrywide serving the world revolution.

2. ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE PEOPLE'S GUERRILLA ARMY

a) Character of the army. The People's Guerrilla Army [since 1991 it has developed into the People's Army of Liberation.–Trans.] is an army of a new type which fulfills the political tasks of the revolution established by the Party. It applies the Maoist principle: "The Party rules the gun and we will never allow the gun rule to rule the Party." It fulfills three tasks:

To fight, which is the main task, as it corresponds to the principal form of organization.

To mobilize, which is very important and by which the mass work of the Party is fulfilled, educating the masses politically, mobilizing, organizing and arming the masses.

To produce, applying the principle of self-sufficiency, trying not to be a burden for the masses. Fundamentally it is a peasant's army, absolutely led by the Party. President Gonzalo teaches us: "The legions of steel of the People's Guerrilla Army sustain themselves on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, guiding thought, which is the basis of its invincibility; and are forged in the hard life, the sacrifice and the challenging of death, which elevate them to revolutionary heroism."

b) The people's guerrilla army. Marx set forth that the proletariat needed its own army and the thesis of the general arming of the people. Lenin created the Red Army and established the thesis of the people's militia with the functions of the police, army and administration. Chairman Mao developed the construction of the revolutionary armed forces with the immense participation of the masses. The People's War materializes its mass character in three great coordinations.

It was based on these Marxist-Leninist-Maoist theses and taking into account the specific situation of the People's War in Peru that President Gonzalo proposed the forming of the People's Guerrilla Army. Since the Preparation of the war, President Gonzalo conceived the need of building the principal form of organization to carry forward the People's War, defeat the enemy and build the new State. On December 3, 1979 it was agreed to form the "First Company of the First Division of the Red Army," in 1980, with the Initiation, the platoons and detachments were materialized and we proposed to

transform ourselves from unorganized masses to militarily organized masses.

In 1983, we needed to take a leap forward in the construction of the revolutionary armed forces, we faced a large growth of the people's militias, which demonstrated how the masses wanted to fight; besides, that year the reactionary armed forces had entered the fight against us. That way, in the Expanded Central Committee meeting (CCA) of March, 1983, President Gonzalo proposed the materialization of the People's Guerrilla Army. Why an Army? Because it was a political need to confront the enemy and develop the People's War. All the Party thus agreed, amidst the two-line struggle against the rightism opposed to incorporating the militias into the Army. Why a guerrilla? Because it applies guerrilla warfare in the milestone of "Developing guerrilla warfare"; it is not a regular army but a guerrilla army and its characteristics enable it, if needed, to develop itself as some sort of regular army. Why people's? Because it is formed by the masses of the people, by the peasants, especially the poor ones; they serve the people, since they represent the interests of the people. A very important situation is how President Gonzalo conceived the People's Guerrilla Army by incorporating the people's militias, made up of three forces: Principal, local and of the base, which acts mainly in the countryside and in the city as complementary; that is a great step towards the sea of armed masses.

c) The construction of the People's Guerrilla Army. The character of the army is based on the fighters and not on the weapons; our army is made up of peasants, mostly poor, proletarians and petty bourgeoisie; it wrests weapons away from the enemy and also uses all sorts of elementary weapons. Our slogan is, "To Conquer Weapons!" from the enemy by paying whatever cost is necessary. The formation of the People's Army must be distinguished from its construction.

d) The ideological-political construction is the principal one, based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. In the political and military ideas of the Party, all its political and mass work are being implemented under the Party's leadership. The Party is organized at all levels of the army, the double command is applied: political and military, and the two-line struggle develops between the proletarian military line and the bourgeois military line. In addition the revolutionary armed requires the formation of three Departments: Political, Military and Logistical.

e) Military construction is important. Armed with the theory and practice of the People's War, the military line and the Party's military

plans, it is organized in platoons, companies and battalions in the countryside and in special detachments and people's militias in the cities. This construction is also based on the two-line struggle. The three main forces: principal, local and at the base level fulfill the specific role as supporting the new State. "Develop the companies, strengthen the platoons aiming at battalions!" is still a valid slogan.

f) Instruction is needed and indispensable. It aims at increasing war readiness; testing is unavoidable and the ability to command is the key to action. Instruction specializes, elevates the forms of struggle. The organization of courage has a class character and strengthens war readiness because it is fought with absolute unselfishness and fully convinced of the justness of our cause.

In synthesis, President Gonzalo created the People's Guerrilla Army, an army of the new type, he established the line of its construction based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Though so it can fulfill the specific tasks of the revolution. It is an example before the world and serves the world revolution.

3. ON THE CONSTRUCTION OF THE NEW STATE.

a) CHARACTER OF THE NEW STATE. Power is the central task of the revolution and the Front is the third instrument. By applying the masterful thesis of Chairman Mao “On New Democracy,” President Gonzalo teaches us our conception of joint dictatorship which materializes the People’s Republic of New Democracy.

Starting from the link between State-Front, the Revolutionary Front for the Defense of the People is materialized which began in the People’s Committees in the countryside, and in the cities it is simply the Revolutionary Movement for the Defense of the People (MRDP). We build the new State in the countryside until finally Power extends throughout the entire country.

As a state system, it is a joint dictatorship of workers, peasants, mainly poor, and the petty bourgeoisie, that respects the interests of the middle bourgeoisie, under the leadership of the proletariat represented by the Party, which applies it functions through the People’s Assemblies.

b) THE NEW STATE AND THE FLUIDITY OF WAR. The construction of the new State follows to fluidity of the People’s War, it can expand or contract, disappear in another place to appear in other. It is fluid. As Chairman Mao teaches us: “Our democratic Republic of workers and peasants is a State, but actually it is not such in the full sense of the word … our Power is still very far from having the complete form of a State … our territory is still very small and the enemy constantly dreams about annihilating us.”

Always keep in mind the system of Support Bases, of guerrilla zones, of zones of operations and points of actions, because those constitute the environment in which the new State develops and are key to maintaining a strategic course; within this environment the People’s Guerrilla Army, under the leadership of the Party, moves as its backbone.

c) The construction of the new State. “To strengthen the People’s Committees, develop the Bases and contribute to advance the People’s Republic of New Democracy!” That is the slogan which continues to guide its construction.

We struggle for Power for the proletariat and for the people and not for personal power. We are against roving and wandering and sidestepping the Base Areas.

The new State is built amidst the People's War and follows a process of specific development, being built in our case first in the countryside, until the cities are surrounded, to materialize it through the entire country. This is a process in which the deterioration of the old State continues and the expression of the contradiction old State-new State; which causes all the political and military plans of reaction to fail and incorporates the masses to the struggle.

At the Expanded PCP National Conference of November 1979, President Gonzalo established the relationship between Front-New State applying the theory of Chairman Mao. In the First Military School of April 1980, he told us: "… In our minds, in our hearts, in our wills go embedded the germ of the people's Power, we carry it in ourselves … Comrades, let us not forget the people's Power, the State of the working class; the State of workers and peasants marches in us, we carry it on the end of our rifles, it nests in our minds, it palpitates in our hands and will be with us burning in our hearts. Let us never forget that, it is the first thing we must keep in our minds. Comrades, it will be born fragile, weak because it will be new, but its destiny is to develop itself through change, through variation, through fragility, like a tender plant. Let the roots we provide from the beginning be the future of a healthy and vigorous State. All that, comrades, begins to be born out of the most modest and simple actions which we shall start tomorrow." In 1980, the Committees of Distribution emerge, the embryo of the new State; in 1982, the first People's Committees emerge, which would multiply towards the end of that year, forcing reaction to order their armed forces to enter the fight against the People's War, since the reactionary Power itself was threatened. In 1983, we agreed upon the Great Plan to Conquer Bases, one of its tasks was to form the Organizing Committee of the People's Republic of New Democracy. Starting from there, we have followed the struggle between the counter-reestablishment of the old Power by the enemy and the counter-establishment of the new Power, applying defense, development and construction.

Thus the new Power passing through the blood bath develops the People's Committees, is tempered in hard battles against the enemy in which the blood of the masses of peasants, of the fighters and of militants is spilled.

At the Expanded Central Committee of March 1983, President Gonzalo

further develops the line of construction of the Front-New State. He proposes the levels in which the new State is being organized: People's Committees, Base Areas and People's Republic of New Democracy. The functions of the Base Areas and of the Organizing Committee of the People's Republic of New Democracy are that of leadership, planning and organization; and each Base must elaborate its own specific Plan.

He establishes that the People's Committees are materializations of the new State, they are Committees of the United Front; led by Commissars who assume their State functions by commissioning, elected by the Assemblies of Representatives and subject to removal. They are, up to now, clandestine [in 1991, the open People's Committees appeared.–Trans.], they march forward in Commissions, led by the Party applying the rule of the "three thirds": One third of them are Communists, one third are peasants and one third are progressives, and are sustained by the Army. They apply people's dictatorship, enforcement and security, exercising firmly and resolutely revolutionary violence so as to defend the new Power against its enemies and to protect the rights of the people.

The set of People's Committees constitute the Base Areas and the set of Base Areas is the ring that arms the People's Republic of New Democracy, now being formed. We have gone from Conquering Bases to Developing Bases, which is the present political strategy. We have to plant the new Power more and more for which we have to apply the five established forms, especially today when the conditions point towards the perspective of conquering Power throughout the country.

In synthesis, President Gonzalo has established the line of construction of the new State and two republics, two roads, two axes are counterpoised. We have advanced in establishing new social relations of production and the People's Republic of New Democracy now being formed shines defiantly against the old State and opens up the perspective of conquering total Power. This example encourages the revolutionaries of the world, especially the international proletariat.

As followers of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, we assume the line of construction of the three instruments of the revolution, of the Communist Party of Peru, The highest form of organization and the first political society; of the People's Guerrilla Army, principal form of organization; and of the Front-New State, central task of the revolution. These are the Instruments which are being built in our country in the heat of the battles of the People's War, crossing the rivers of blood spilled by the reactionary army in

which with much heroism Communists, fighters and masses give their lives to materialize the just and correct political line established by President Gonzalo, and that those who survive will carry the flag of continuing it in the service of our goal, Communism.

LONG LIVE THE MILITARIZATION OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU! LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S GUERRILLA ARMY! LONG LIVE THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF NEW DEMOCRACY NOW BEING FORMED! FOR THE CONCENTRIC CONSTRUCTION OF THE THREE INSTRUMENT!

1988 - Bases of Discussion of General Political Line : Mass Line

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INTRODUCTION

Upholding, defending and applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, President Gonzalo has established the mass line of the Communist Party of Peru (PCP). His thesis reaffirms itself in the proletarian conception that we must have in order to evaluate the problem of the masses. He outlines the following political role of the masses in the struggle for Power by way of the People's War and the struggle for better living conditions which must serve this end.

We must principally go to the basic masses, the workers and peasants and the many fronts of struggle according to their specific demands and grievances. The only Marxist tactic is going to the deepest and most profound masses, educating them in the revolutionary violence and in the struggle against opportunism. The mass work of the Party that leads the People's War is carried out through the people's army. He indicates the importance of the Party generated organisms, as one of the forms of organizing the masses. They must do mass work within and for the People's War.

1. REAFFIRMING THE PRINCIPLE “THE MASSES MAKE HISTORY”

President Gonzalo reaffirms himself in the powerful Marxist principle: “The masses make history.” This teaches us to forge our Communist conception in struggle against the bourgeois conception which is centered around the individual as the axis of history. President Gonzalo states: “The masses are the very light of the world… they are its fiber, the inexhaustable heartbeat of history… when they speak everything trembles, the old order begins to shake, the high summits bow down, the stars change their course because the masses make everything possible and are capable of anything.” Today this reaffirmation has a great importance because it is part of the proletarian conception. It upholds the mass line and is applicable to everything.

The mass line allows judgment on everything from international questions to specific policies, because it is an ideological problem. No historic fact, no transforming movement, no revolution can be made without the participation of the masses. The Party applies this principle because it has a mass character and it cannot be unlinked from them, otherwise it would be extinguished or diluted. The masses, in order to guarantee the course of their struggle must be led by the Party. The Party has masses: the militants, who as Communists must necessarily embody this principle and struggle constantly to overthrow the rotten individualism which is not a proletarian conception. It can be observed how our process of People’s War is critical to this transformation.

Furthermore, one principle of leadership is “from the masses to the masses.” This also applies to the People’s War because it is a war of the masses, which are the very source of it. It is with this Marxist conception that we make the People’s War. He particularly highlights the rebellion of the masses as the makers of history. President Gonzalo says: “Since ancient times the masses live subject to oppression and exploitation, but they have always rebelled. This is a long and inexhaustible history… Every time the masses have fought their oppressors they have always called for organizing their rebellion, their arming, their uprising, that it be led, that it be conducted. It has always been this way and it will continue to be. Even after there is another world, it will continue being this way only in another form.”

“The masses clamor to organize the rebellion. Therefore, the Party, its

leaders, cadre and militants today have a peremptory obligation, a destiny: To organize the disorganized Power of the masses and this can only be done with arms in hand. We must arm the masses bit by bit, part by part, until the general arming of the people. When this goal is reached, there will be no exploitation on Earth." Here he expresses his absolute conviction in the masses, in their historical and political necessity to rebel, to arm themselves, their demand that they be led and organized.

He calls upon the Communist Parties to complete the demand that comes from Marx and Engels who taught us that there are two powers on the Earth: The armed force of the reactionaries and the disorganized masses. President Gonzalo proposes that if we organize this power, what is only a potential will be activated, and what is a possibility will be a reality. If it is not based on the masses, everything is a house of cards. Concretely, the problem is to go from the state of disorganized masses to masses that are militarily organized.

We should organize the masses with arms in hand because they clamor to organize the rebellion. As such, we must apply the People's War which is the principal form of struggle and organize them for the taking of Power led by the Party. This is clearly tied to the principal contradiction in the world today, the strategic offensive of the world revolution, and with the principal tendency in today's world, revolution. As Marx indicated, the mass line also aims at forming the general arming of the people with the goal of guaranteeing the triumph of the revolution and to prevent capitalist restoration.

This is a thought of great perspectives that will carry us to Communism: Only by organizing this sea of armed masses will it be possible to defend what is conquered and develop the democratic, socialist and cultural revolutions. He refutes those who propose that the masses don't want to make revolution or that the masses will not support the People's War. The problem is not with the masses because they are ready to rebel, but rather it is with the Communist Parties who must assume their obligation to lead and raise them up in arms.

He differentiates from those positions that today are based on "the accumulation of forces," which propose parsimoniously binding the masses by way of the so-called "democratic spaces" or the use of legality. Such accumulation of forces doesn't correspond to the current moment of the international and national class struggle, it doesn't fit in the type of democratic revolution we are developing and which will have other characteristics within the socialist revolution, since we are living in a revolutionary situation of unequal development in the

world.

He is opposed to and condemns the opportunist positions of making the masses tail after the big bourgeoisie, an electoral path or for armed actions under the command of a super power or power. Thus, he upholds the great slogan of Chairman Mao: “It is right to rebel,” and conceives that the problem of the masses today is that the Communist Parties mobilize, politicize, organize and arm the masses to take Power, specifying people’s war. He specifies the necessity of the scientific organization of poverty. President Gonzalo again stresses that those most disposed to rebel, who clamor the most to organize the rebellion are the poorest masses, and we must pay particular attention to the revolutionary and scientific organization of the masses.

This is not against the class criteria, because poverty has its origin in exploitation, in the class struggle: “Misery exists linked to fabulous wealth, even the Utopians knew that both are linked: A colossal and challenging wealth next to a revealing and clamorous poverty. This is because exploitation exists.” This thesis is tied to Marx who discovered the revolutionary potential of poverty and the need to scientifically organize it for revolution. Marx taught us that the proletariat does not have property and is the creative class, the only class that will destroy property and will thus destroy itself as a class.

This thesis is tied to Lenin, who taught us that social revolution does not arise from programmes but from the fact that millions of people say we prefer to die fighting for revolution rather than live as victims of hunger. This thesis is tied to Chairman Mao, who conceived that poverty will propell the yearning for change, for action, for revolution, that it is a blank piece of paper on which the newest and most beautiful words can be written.

He takes into account the specific conditions of our society. In Peru, to speak about the masses is to speak of the peasant masses, the poor peasants; that the 1920s, 1940s and 1960s demonstrate that it is the peasant struggles that shook the very foundation of the State, but that they lack a guide: The ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. They lack a motor: The People’s War and the just and correct leadership of the Communist Party.

The peasants’ struggles were not able to take the correct path to Power, and the blood they shed was used to fetter them and brand them to the old order. These were unforgettable bloodbaths which left extraordinary lessons. The 1980s show that a true mobilization of the

armed peasant masses organized in the Communist Party and People's Guerrilla Army, and that they are giving their precious blood for the new power that is blossoming and developing through the People's War.

This particularity is strategic because it permits the comprehension that revolution in the world is defined on the side of the poorest, who constitute the majority and who are the most disposed to rebel. In each revolution we must go to the poorest applying the three requirements that the scientific organization of poverty demand: Ideology, people's war and a Communist Party.

In this regard, President Gonzalo says: "Poverty is a driving force of the revolution. The poorest are the most revolutionary, poverty is the most beautiful song; … poverty is not a disgrace, it is an honor, our mountains with their masses are the source of our revolution, who with their hands led by the Communist Party will build a new world. Our guide: Ideology. Our motor: The armed struggle. Our leadership: The Communist Party."

2. THE PRINCIPAL ASPECT OF MASS WORK IS POLITICAL POWER, BUT THE STRUGGLE FOR ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL DEMANDS IS NECESSARY

Basing himself on Chaiman Mao's thesis which generalized revolutionary violence as the universal law for the conquest of Power and which established that the principal form of struggle is the armed struggle and the principal form of organzation is the armed forces. Before the outbreak of a war all the struggles and organizations should serve to prepare it. President Gonzalo teaches us that in mass work the struggle for Power and the struggle for economic demands [luchas reivindicativa] are two sides of the same coin, with the struggle for Power being the first and foremost demand of the masses.

Organize the masses so that they can go beyond what is permitted by the existing legal order, so that they struggle to destroy the old order and not to maintain it. This is accomplished by use of the three instruments of the revolution: The Party where the few converge, the Army with more participants, and new State–Front which is the base which progressively aglutinates the masses through leaps. In the countryside this is achieved through People's Committees and in the cities through the People's Revolutionary Defense Movement. In this way the tradition of electoral fronts, which the revisionists and opportunists apply to channel the struggle of the peasantry and to divert the masses in the cities from not seizing Power through war, is destroyed.

To center on political Power also demands the organization of the masses in diverse new forms of struggle, because war imposes changes on the struggle and organization of the masses. As Lenin taught us, in revolutionary epochs, new organizations must be formed and go against the old leaders who seek to sell-out the revolution in order to accomodate themselves within the reactionary system. For that reason, the old forms of struggle and organization of the masses cannot be used. The struggle for Power as the principal aspect does not mean that from the beginning we are going to incorporate the masses all at once. Chairman Mao teaches us that developing Base Areas and armed forces is what generates the apogee of the revolution.

This has to do with the law of incorporation of the masses into the

revolution, which was established by the Party in the Second Plenum of 1980, an incorporation that will be through progressive leaps; with more People's War will come a greater incorporation of the masses. Thus, the People's War is a political fact that continues to pound ideas into the heads of men through powerful actions, who will bit by bit come to understand their only true path, thereby developing their political consciousness. The People's War summons all the revolutionaries and opens a trail as it develops. The masses are avid for politics and it is incumbent upon Communists to organize and lead them.

The masses have concrete problems everywhere and we must worry about them and attend to them. Mass work is done within the class struggle and not on its margins. If we do not do mass work, the reactionaries and revisionists will utilize it for their own ends, whether it be to develop fascism and to corporativize them or hand over their struggles to another imperialist master. These are two wills that are distinct and opposed.

The masses seek the voice of those who affirm and not those who doubt. In our Party, in the Initiation, President Gonzalo demanded that no one must ever doubt the masses, fighting those who are blind and deaf to the voice of the masses, listening to their faintest rumor and attending to their daily, concrete problems. The masses must never be fooled, they must never be forced, they must know the risks which they may face. They must be summoned to the long, bloody struggle for Power, but with this goal they will understand that it will be a necessary and victorious struggle.

Therefore the struggle for Power is principal but it cannot be separated from the struggle for economic and political demands, they are two sides of the same coin, and the latter struggle is necessary. How do we understand the struggle for economic and political demands? We are accused of not having a specific line for the economic and political struggle of the masses. The fact is that we apply it differently, in other forms, with different politics than those applied by the opportunists and revisionists, a new and different way from the traditional forms.

President Gonzalo teaches us that the struggle for economic and political demands is on side of a coin, which has the struggle for political Power on the other side. It is completely wrong to separate them, to talk only about the struggle for economic and political demands is revisionism. In specifying Marx's thesis to our society President Gonzalo tells us: "The crisis presents us with two problems:

First, how to defend what has been won, because even if in the crisis the gains are lost, more would be lost if they were not defended. This is the necessity of the struggle for demands…, an economic and political struggle…, furthermore, it forges the class and the workers in their struggle for Power. Second, how to end the crisis? It cannot be ended unless the predominant social order is ended… there is a necessity for revolutionary struggle which serving the seizure of power by the armed struggle under the leadership of the Party… one cannot be separated from the other. The relationship of both problems materializes in developing the struggle for demands as a function of political Power."

To carry forward the struggle for demands, the union and strike are used. These are the principal form of the economic struggle of the proletariat which are developed into guerrilla warfare. That is how the class is educated in the struggle for Power and elevate it through concrete armed actions which strengthens this form of struggle, giving it a higher quality. In sum, the struggle for demands must be developed serving the conquest of Power. This is a political principle of doing mass work.

3. WHAT MASSES DO WE GO TO?

We must start from the class criteria to resolve which masses to go to. It is very important to note that the masses are organized according to the common interests of the classes they belong to. President Gonzalo teaches us that this approach is essential to combat those who pretend to separate masses from classes with tales of “unity,” and of those who betray the true interests of the masses by trafficking with their struggles.

Also because it allows us to understand that the masses are always an arena of struggle where the bourgeoisie and proletariat clash to lead them. However, only the Communist Party is capable of leading them because it is the only one that can represent them and struggle for their interests. Those who talk about “mass democracy” or who create open mass organisms as if they were a form of Power without violence are merely upholding bourgeois positions that negate the leadership of the proletariat and its dictatorship. Starting from a class criteria has to do with the character of the revolution, with the classes that make up the people who should be united under the leadership of the proletariat. In our case of the democratic revolution, the proletariat leads, the peasantry is principal, the petty bourgeoisie is a firm ally and the middle bourgeoisie has a dual character.

The basic masses which we must go to are the proletariat and the peasantry, principally the poor peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie and also the middle bourgeoisie. Keeping in mind the specific demands of the masses, we should differentiate between those sectors of the masses which suffer more oppression with the goal of organizing them so that they will struggle to achieve conquests and resolve their specific contradiction.

This refers to the mass fronts in which we must work. These are: The workers, the proletariat, the leading class of all revolutions, a class whose principal and decisive political objective is the conquest of Power through the People’s War to emancipate itself, emancipate the other classes and finally to destroy itself as a class. Its specific demands are the winning of conquests and rights like increased wages, a shorter work day and better working conditions. Towards this end, the workers’ movement, its struggles, mobilizations, marches, agitation, and strikes must be developed with armed actions.

“Worry about the fundamental problems of the class and also of the

workers, their general and concrete problems which they fight for daily." The peasants are the principal force, especially the poor peasants, who struggle for the conquest of land through armed struggle under the leadership of the Communist Party. Not seeing it this way leads to the "land seizures" [the take-over of non-arable land and others promoted by the government, revionists and the Church.–Trans.] and conforming to the old order. Further develop the peasant movement applying the "three withs": live with, work with and struggle with them, thus forging peasants with a proletarian mentality.

Women which make up half the world and develop the feminine movement for the emancipation of women, a task which is the work of women themselves but under the leadership of the Party. We must combat the bourgeois thesis of women's liberation. Women struggle against the constant increase in the cost of living which affects the physical integrity of the class and the people. The Party mobilizes the working, peasant and intellectual women, etc.

The intellectuals so that they may fulfill their role as revolutionary intellectuals serving the proletariat and peasantry within the People's War. Among them are the high school students, university students and professional occupations, etc. See their specific demands, the defense of their conquests, aiming at a new national, scientific and mass culture, making them conscious that they can only achieve this with the revolution.

Mobilize the poor masses in the cities, in the shantytowns and slums against hunger and misery, so that they fight for the revolution's programme, summon them to the People's War so that they may seize their conquests and rights which are trampled under foot more everyday. Do not allow that they be struck with impunity and teach them how to defend themselves, so that they can resist the enemy's aggression using all the available means at their disposal.

Apply "Combat and Resist", which is the common slogan for the class. Mobilize the youth so that they directly participate in the front lines of the combat trenches of the People's War. Let young workers, peasants and students develop their struggles for a new world, their right to an education, against unemployment and other ills that wracks them. Make the children active participants in the People's War. They can carry out many tasks which will help them understand the necessity of transforming the world. They are the future and in the end they will live in the new world. Change their ideology so that they adopt the proletariat's.

4. PERSIST IN THE ONLY MARXIST-LENINIST TACTIC

Starting from Engel's thesis: "In a country with an old political and workers' movement, there is always a colossal heap of garbage inherited by tradition that must be cleaned step by step". Lenin established: "The only Marxist line in the world proletarian movement consists in explaining to the masses that the split with opportunism is inevitable and indispensible, educating them in revolution through a merciless struggle against it".

Chairman Mao indicated that a period of struggle against imperialism and revisionism was opening, with revisionism being one of the principal sources of imperialist wars and a danger within the Party for Communists in general. President Gonzalo calls for persisting in the only Marxist tactic which implies four issues: First, sweep away the colossal heap of garbage that is revisionism and opportunism, principally electoralism.

None of these revisionists and opportunists, nor any of their variaties, can represent, much less defend, the masses. Now as before they only defend the exploiters in turn, yesterday they were merely a boxcar at the tail of the fascist and corporativist Aprista government, sinisterly dragging along the union organizations under their influence. [This practice of revisionism has continued under Fujimori.–Trans.] All these political and union organizations and their leaders do not represent the people but that crust of the labor aristocracy. The union bureaucracy and the bourgeois workers' parties that always try to swerve the masses from their revoluionary path and are no more than part of that colossal heap of garbage which must be gradually swept away as Engels said.

Second, go to the deepest and most profound masses which constitute the majority, which in our country are the workers and principally poor peasants, the petty bourgeoisie and also keep the national bourgeoisie in mind. Of these, the most important are the workers and principally poor peasantry, and we must go mainly to them in both the countryside and city. We must propell their movement, lead it, mobilize them for Power so as to topple and overthrow the old State.

This is the principle issue of the tactic. Among the masses it is necessary to distinguish the superficial scum which is the crust that serves the bourgeoisie from the immense majority of deep and

profound masses which will emerge more and more until the destruction of the decrepit state, even more so when a People's War starts to crumble the old Peruvian state. Third, the masses must be educated in the People's War, in its theory and practice. Thus, educating them in the peace of bayonets is to allow them to be slaughtered. The masses should no longer shed their blood with impunity only to be betrayed by their false leaders, for capitulation, rather this precious blood should serve the conquest of Power for the class and the people.

Fourth, it is necessary to struggle implacibly against revisionism and opportunism, combatting it as a dangerous cancer within and outside the Party and among the very masses themselves, or else they will not solidify their revolutionary path. This is a struggle which we have been waging since the reconstitution of the Party and which today in open People's War is more urgent and implacable because of the increasingly treacherous way they act against us, the people and the revolution, especially if social-imperialism is operating behind them within their policy of collusion and contention with Yankee imperialism for global hegemony. This is applicable to revisionism and opportunism of all breeds no matter who their representatives are.

Regarding this President Gonzalo tells us: "Rise above this miasma, this superficial revisionism, opportunism and electoralism whic rides on the masses. The main thing is that below this the most colossal and self-impelled force agitates, upon which we operate with the most powerful instrument of the rebellion which exists on the Earth: Armed action. We are the cry that says: 'It is right to rebel'."

5. ORGANIZING THE MASSES

President Gonzalo starting from the ideological and political bases and along with the organizational construction, established the forms of struggle and the forms of organizing the masses. He teaches us the process in which the mass work of the Party developed. In the Constitution. [of the PCP–Trans.] He tells us that Mariátegui outlined the bases for the mass work of the Party and determined specific lines by unleashing the two-line struggle against anarchism which sidestepped the necessity of the Party and also against Apra which negated the Marxist-Leninist conception and the capacity of the class to constitute itself into a Communist Party, through its work in the Front. Once Mariátegui died in the 1930s, his line was abandoned. The work is centered around the masses, putting them at the tail of the big bourgeoisie, deviating them towards "frontism", elections and revisionism which weighs down on the efforts of the red line to oppose them.

These erroneous tactics last more than 30 years. In the Reconstruction. President Gonzalo establishes the mass line of the Party and the organic forms. This is in a period of over 15 years of hard two-line struggle which achieve partial leaps. [Refers to successes–Trans.] In the first political strategy of the Reconstruction he develops the initiation of the mass work of the Party, all the militants in Ayacucho did peasant work including the civil construction workers, for example, also with the intellectuals and poor masses of the slums. They supported the land seizures, carried out peasant events, organized the I Regional Convention of Peasants of Ayacucho where the agrarian program was established; this was a transcendental event. He led the historic struggles of June 20, 21 and 22 in 1969 in Ayacucho and Huanta, mobilizing the masses of high school students, parents and families against Decree 006 of General Velasco which we defeated.

The PCP organized the People's Defense Front of Ayacucho, reorganized the Revolutionary Student Front (FER), created the Popular Feminine Movement (MFP), the Center for Mariátegui's Intellectual Work (CETIM), the Revolutionary High School Student Front (FRES) and above all the Poor Peasants Movement (MCP). Thus, new politics were developed through mass work, new forms of struggle and new organic forms came to exist. In the two-line struggle, President Gonzalo fought against revisionism which led the masses towards electoralism and against revolutionary violence to preserve

the old order. He fought against Patria Roja, a form of revisionism which trafficked, like it does today, with the slogan “power grows from a barrel of a gun”, negating semi-feudalism, focussing its work around the petty-bourgeoisie, especially students and teachers.

He also defeated the right liquidationism that diluted the Party’s leadership among the masses, preaching legalism and saying everything could be done through the Peasant Confederation of Peru (CCP), that the peasants didn’t understand confiscation but they did understand expropriation, and that the fascist and corporativist measures of the Velasco government [Military dictatorship from 1968-1972–Trans.] should be deepened.

In the second political strategy of the Reconstitution, he established the Generated Organisms agreed upon in the Third Plenum of 1973:

“The actual movements as organizations generated by the proletariat in the different fronts of work. Their three characteristics:

1) Adherence to Mariátegui,

2) Mass organizations and

3) practicing democratic centralism.”

He founded the character, content and role of the Generated Organisms applying Lenin’s thesis on a clandestine Party and points of Party support in the masses, leasned from the Chinese experience on open and secret work. He specified the necessity, that in order to develop the Reconstitution of the Party, of opening the Party to the masses more, that in order to agree on a policy and carry it out effectively needed to defeat the left liquidationism that believed fascism sweeps everything away, aiming at the Party’s extinction by isolating it from the masses, and showing contempt for the peasantry and proletariat and preaching that “line is enough.”

With the defeat of the left liquidationist line the ties with the masses grew and People’s Schools were formed, schools which politicized the masses with the conception and line of the Party, which played an important role in the agitation and propaganda by linking the struggle for demands with the struggle for political Power.

They completed a systematic and planned study of base workplans, unleashing the two-line struggle and developing the mass work. The advance of the work of the Generated Organisms led to President Gonzalo proposing their development into one avalanche, under the

political guide of initiating the armed struggle. This led to the forming of zonal works. The Metropolitan Coordination was established for the cities, applying Lenin's thesis for open work, Chairman Mao's thesis for work in the cities and that the struggle of the masses should be developed in a reasonable, advantageous and measurable way.

Their application allowed us to keep the Party clandestine, entrenched in the masses, moving in a good number of activists, distribute propaganda in a short time and facitilated agitation and mobilization under a centralized Party plan. All of this is what we called "the three little feet" for mass work in the cities: Generated Organisms, People's Schools and the Metropolitan Coordination. For the countryside the first two forms were applied.

In the third political strategy of the Reconstitution, the Party widely developed its mass work in the zones of the Sierra, linking itself with the poor peasants primarily in the cities with the proletariat and masses in the slums and shantytowns. The generated organisms have played a good role within the culmination of the reconstitution and building bases for the armed struggle.

The specific lines were developed even further, so that the Classist Movement of Workers and Laborers (MOTC) proposed 15 basic theses for the workers' movement; the Poor Peasant Movement (MCP) politicized the peasants with the agrarian program specified for new conditions; in the Shantytown Classist Movement (MCB) the list of denunciations and demands of the people are published; the Student Revolutionary Front (FER) develops the thesis of the Defense of the University against fascism; the Revolutionary High School Student Front (FRES) impelled the struggle of students for popular education; the Popular Feminine Movement (MFP) raised the thesis of women's Emancipation, propelling the mobilization of working women, peasants women, shantytown dwellers and students.

Furthermore, there was participation in the United Synidicate of Peruvian Educational Workers (SUTEP) which led to its specific class line being adopted in the 1970s. The National Federation of Peruvian University Teachers (FENTUP) was also formed. All of this work entered into a wide ideological-political mobilization to initiate the People's War. In synthesis, all the mass work of the Party in the Reconstitution was to prepare the initiation of the People's War.

As Chairman Mao taught us, before initiating the war, everything is preparation for it, and once it has begun everything serves to develop it. President Gonzalo has applied and firmly developed this principle.

In the leadership of the People's War there was a great leap in the mass work of the Party, a qualitative leap, which shapes the principal form of struggle: The People's War and the principal form of organization: The People's Guerrilla Army. [which developed into the People's Army of Liberation in 1992–Trans.] This highest task was carried out by way of the militarization of the Party, and with respect to the mass work means that all the mass work is done through the People's Guerrilla Army, which as an army of a new type that fulls three tasks: Combat, mobilize and produce.

We conceive that the second task of the army implies mobilizing, politicizing, organizing and arming the masses, a task which is not counterposed to fighting, which is the principal task, because the principle of concentrating for combat and dispersing for mobilization is applied. In addition, the masses are educated in the war. This is a principle which governs the three forces: Principal ones, local ones and in the bases where various degrees of actions are specified.

For the mobilization of masses, the Party through the EGP carries forward the People's Schools, forms the Generated Organisms, the support groups, a policy that applied particularly one way in the countryside, because that is where the New Power is being formed, and in another way in the cities. In the cities, the Revolutionary Defense Movement of the People was formed, aiming at the future insurrection.

In the countryside, where we have Power, Base Areas and People's Committees, we see to it that all the masses engage in armed participation, organized in the Party, Army and Front-State. If all the masses are not organized the New Power will not be able to sustain itself for long. Amorphous masses or Power without masses organized under the leadership of the Party is not enougn. In the cities, the mass work is carried out by the Army as well, and the main thing is the struggle for Power through the People's War, with the struggle for demands serving political Power as a necessary complement. Obviously, this happens with many armed actions with the goal of materializing the new forms of organization.

We formed the Peoples's Revolutionary Defense Movement (MRDP), which attracts masses from the workers, peasants, shantytowns and petty bourgeoisie, neutralizing the middle bourgeoisie, aiming at the democratic forces which support the People's War. The objective is to lead the masses towards the resistance and to the elevation of their struggles into People's War, to hinder, undermine and perturb the old State and serve the insurrection , preparing the cities with People's

War in a complementary way. We use the double policy of developing our own forms, which is principal, and penetrate all type of organizations. We apply Combat and Resist! Regarding the Generated Organisms, in the People's War they have expressed developement and their characteristics have changed.

They continue being mass organizations of the Party and today: They are guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought; They are governed by democratic centralism, and They serve the development of the People's War. In the countryside, the Generated Organisms are militarized; in the cities many degrees of militarization can be applied. Today, we have the following: MOTC, MCP, MCB, MFP, MJP [youth movement–Trans.], MIP. [intellectual movement–Trans.] Peru People's Aid is also important which has upsurged in the People's War as part of the struggle for prisoners of war and dissappeared.

For the Party's overseas work the Peru People's Movement (MPP) has been formed with its specific tasks. Today, after nearly eight years of People's War the Party has made a great leap in its mass work, proving that it is just and correct to develop mass work within and for the People's War. As a result of its application our people are learning each day that the class struggle necessarily leads to the struggle for Power. Their growing participation in the People's War is very expressive, and even if not everyone reaches an understanding of it, they see in it the concrete hope of their emancipation.

They are developing their struggles with new forms of struggle and organization, and the class struggle in Peru has been elevated to its principal form: The People's War. The masses are organized in People's War and are the base and sustenance of it. They are organized in a Communist Party, into a People's Guerrilla Army and principally in the New Power, the principal conquest of the People's War in which the workers, peasants and petty-bourgeoisie participate, excercising political power like never before in History. These are qualitative leaps which give rise to conditions for a new chapter in mass work within and for the People's War until the conquest of Power countrywide.

Those who uphold Marxism-Leninsm-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, assume the embodyment of the mass line of the Party and apply it giving up our lives so that the Party seizes Power throughout the country and serves the world revolution.

EMBODY THE MASS LINE OF THE PARTY!

ORGANIZE THE CLAMOR OF THE PEOPLE FOR REBELLION!

MAKE THE GREAT LEAP IN THE INCOPORATION OF THE MASSES WITHIN AND FOR THE PEOPLE'S WAR!

1988 - Bases of Discussion of General Political Line : International Line

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INTRODUCTION

President Gonzalo established the international line of the Communist Party of Peru. As proletarian internationalists, he teaches us that we must begin by unfolding the Peruvian revolution through the People's War as part of, and at the service of, the world proletarian revolution. We are marching towards our inalterable goal, Communism; taking into account that each revolution is unfolded within the zigzags of world politics.

In appraising the world situation, President Gonzalo begins with Lenin's thesis: "The economic relationships of imperialism constitute the basis of the existing international situation. The history of the XX Century has been defined completely by this new phase of capitalism, its last and highest phase," and that the difference between oppressed and oppressor countries is a distinctive feature of imperialism. Since we are in its final and highest phase, imperialism, in order to analyze the current situation we cannot depart from the fundamental contradiction of capitalism.

Furthermore, upholding what Chairman Mao taught us, that imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers and that what is truly powerful are the people, and that: "Soviet revisionists and American imperialism, being co-conspirators, have perpetrated so many crimes that the revolutionary peoples of the entire world will not let them go unpunished. The peoples of all the countries are rising up. It has begun a new historical period of struggle against American imperialism and Soviet revisionism." He sustains that the destruction of imperialism and world reaction to be carried out by the Communist Parties, leading the proletariat and the peoples of the world, will be an incontrovertible reality. He calls upon us to fight against the two imperialist superpowers, Yankee imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism, against the imperialist powers and world reaction, in accordance with the specific conditions of each revolution to determine the principal enemy and to confront their actions.

1. THE NEW ERA

The victory of the October Revolution in 1917 marked an extraordinary milestone in world history, the end of the bourgeois revolution and the beginning of the world proletarian revolution. This new period was signaled by the intensifying violence expressing the decrepitude of the bourgeoisie in leading the revolution and the maturity of the proletariat to take, lead, and maintain the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The revolutions of the oppressed nations also occur within this framework.

In the midst of a complex system of wars of all types, imperialism will be sunk along with world reaction, from which socialism will emerge; consequently, revolution and counter- revolution are conscious that only through war political changes are defined. Since war has a class character, there are imperialist wars such as the First and Second World Wars that were wars of plunder for an allotment of the world; or imperialist wars of aggression against oppressed nations such as those of England in the Malvinas, Yankee imperialism in Vietnam, and social-imperialism in Afghanistan; and national liberation wars such as those which are waged in Asia, Africa, and Latin America. The People's War in Peru is led by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, for this reason, it cannot be held back by the superpowers, nor any imperialistic power because of its just character and correct ideology. It is in the vanguard, it is a reality that demonstrates to us that the Communists should focus on this principal aspect of developing people's war as the principal form of struggle to serve the world revolution.

Facing this situation, it is only through war that the world is transformed; as outlined by Chairman Mao, we uphold the omnipotence of the revolutionary war, meaning people's war, as the highest military theory, that of the proletariat which must be applied according to each type of country whether imperialist or oppressed. The world people's war is an adequate response that serves to prevent the imperialist war or, if this is already happening, to transform it into people's war. As Communists we wage war to destroy war through war in order to establish a "lasting Peace." We are the only ones that fight for a real peace–not like Reagan and Gorbachev who wage war the more they speak of peace; they are the warmongers.

Upon analyzing the world in this era, we see that four fundamental contradictions are expressed:

1) the contradiction between capitalism and socialism, referring to the contradiction between two radically different systems, which will encompass this entire era. This contradiction will be one of the last to be resolved, and will continue after the seizure of power;

2) the contradiction between the bourgeoisie and the proletariat, the contradiction between two opposite classes that will persist after the taking of power, expressing itself through multiple ideological, political and economic forms until its resolution with the arrival of Communism;

3) the inter-imperialist contradictions, the contradiction between the imperialists themselves for hegemony in the world and occurring between mutual superpowers, between superpowers and the minor imperialist powers and among the minor imperialist powers themselves. This contradiction will be solved during the subsequent era of 50 to 100 years;

4) contradictions between oppressed nations and imperialism which is the struggle of the oppressed nations to destroy imperialism and reaction, whose resolution is also framed within the next 50 to 100 years. During this period, this is the principal contradiction (though any one of the four fundamental contradictions can become principal in accordance with the specific circumstances of the class struggle, temporarily, or in certain countries).

In perspective, in order to arrive at our final goal, Communism, Marxist-Leninist-Maoists must carry forward three types of revolutions:

1) democratic revolution, the bourgeois revolution of a new type led by the proletariat in the oppressed countries, which establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat, consisting also of the peasantry, the petty bourgeoisie, and in certain conditions the middle bourgeoisie, under the hegemony of the proletariat;

2) socialist revolution, in the imperialist and capitalist countries, which establishes the dictatorship of the proletariat;

3) cultural revolutions, which are made to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

The latter is to suppress and eliminate the regeneration of capitalism and to wage armed combat against attempts at capitalist restoration, and which also serves to strengthen the dictatorship of the proletariat and to facilitate the march towards Communism.

Just as no class in the world was able to seize power all at once, but only through a process of restorations and counter-restorations, when the proletariat takes power and establishes its dictatorship, the eagerness of the bourgeoisie for restoring capitalism and to recover its power grows and opens up a historical process of struggle by the proletariat to maintain and defend its dictatorship and to combat the conspiracy of capitalist restoration. This struggle between restoration and counter-restoration is an undeniable historical law, which is replayed under the dictatorship of the proletariat. In world history, when the feudal class advanced in China, it was delayed 250 years while it crushed the restoration of slavery; when the bourgeois class in the west struggled against feudalism to crush the attempts at restoration or the restorations of feudalism, it took 300 years to be definitively established in power. And, addressing a revolution in which the proletariat is definitively established in power, the acute struggle between restoration and counter-restoration will last approximately 200 years, starting from the Paris Commune in 1871. The experiences of capitalist restoration in the USSR and in China taught us great lessons, positive as well as negative; especially emphasizing the gigantic steps forward in the formation of the new State and how the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is the solution to avert restoration.

We, who follow Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, reaffirm ourselves in revolutionary violence as the universal law to conquer power, and to do so it is crucial to substitute one class by another. The democratic revolutions are carried out with revolutionary violence. Socialist revolutions are carried out with revolutionary violence and, since they are faced with restorations, power will be recovered through revolutionary violence. We will maintain the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat with revolutionary violence through cultural revolutions and we will only reach Communism through revolutionary violence. While there is a place on the Earth in which exploitation exists, we will finish it off through revolutionary violence.

This new era arms us with a wealth of new weapons, and we Communists must strengthen ourselves ideologically, politically, and organically to assume the responsibilities that correspond to us at this time.

2. THE PROCESS OF THE WORLD REVOLUTION

There are two currents that operate in the international Communist movement: The international proletarian movement and the national liberation movement. The first leads and the second is the base.

The national liberation movement.

It takes place in the oppressed nations against imperialism and reaction. In the first decade of this century, Lenin paid close attention to the struggles in India, China, and Iran. He outlined that the socialist revolution would not be only and exclusively of the proletariat against its bourgeoisie, but also of all the colonies against their oppressors. He said there is a fusion of two forces, the international proletarian movement and the national liberation movement and, that the weight of the masses in the oppressed nations constitutes most of the population in the world and will be decisive in the world revolution. He concluded that revolution is shifting to the oppressed nations, but this fact does not negate the revolution in Europe, which was demonstrated by how a formerly socialist State such as the USSR could develop in the midst of imperialist encirclement. Developing the ideas of Marx, Lenin laid the strategic foundations of the world revolution to undermine imperialism by linking the struggle of the national liberation movement with the struggles of the international proletarian movement in order to develop the revolution. Although the slogan for Communists is “Proletarians of all countries, Unite!,” he proposed the slogan that must guide the struggle of the two forces: “Proletarians of all countries and peoples of the world, Unite!” Chairman Mao Tse-tung developed Lenin’s strategy based on the great significance the national liberation movement has for the world revolution since imperialism plunders ever more from the oppressed nations, which in turn rise-up in powerful revolutionary storms that must be led by their Communist parties. Thus, the national liberation movement is fused to the international proletarian movement and these two forces propel the development of world history. President Gonzalo teaches that the strategy that Communists must follow should be based on the thesis laid down by Lenin and developed by Chairman Mao.

The international proletarian movement

This is the theory and practice of the international proletariat. The

proletariat struggles on three levels: theoretical, political, and economic. Since the proletariat appears in history as the final class, it does so in constant struggle, highlighted by the following milestones:

1848, the Communist Manifesto elaborated by Marx and Engels established the basis and the program of the proletariat.

1871, the Paris Commune where for the first time the proletariat conquers power.

1905, the dress rehearsal of the revolution.

1917, victory of the October Revolution in Russia, the class established the joint dictatorship of the proletariat and opened a new era.

1949, victory of the Chinese revolution, and the establishment of the joint dictatorship led by the proletariat which resolved the passage to the socialist revolution, and changed the correlation forces in the world.

The decade of the 1960s with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, led by Chairman Mao Tse-tung, the revolution continued under the dictatorship of the proletariat in the acute struggle between restoration and counter-restoration.

In its struggle for its rights and demands the proletariat generates the union and the strike, which are not only meant to be instruments for economic struggle, but to forge the class “for the great battles still to come.” The strike is the principal instrument in the economic struggle and the general strike is a complement to the insurrection, but it is wrong to expound, as do Sorel, the anarchists, and others, that power is can be seized by the general strike alone. We develop the struggle for better living conditions as a function of the conquest of Power.

The proletariat generates a political apparatus. As defined by Marx, the Communist Party is totally opposite and different from the other parties seeking political power. Lenin established the characteristics of the Party of the new type, combating the undermining influences of the old revisionism that generated bourgeois workers’ parties based on the labor aristocracy, the union bureaucracy, parliamentary cretinism, all tied to the old order. Chairman Mao Tse-tung developed the construction of the Party based on the gun and outlined the construction of the three instruments. President Gonzalo established the thesis of the militarization of the Communist parties and the concentric construction of the three instruments.

The proletariat generates ideology: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism for the world revolution and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, mainly Gonzalo Thought, for the Peruvian revolution.

Marxism was based on the ideas of Marx. Marx and Engels drew ideas from the best that humanity had produced: German classical philosophy, English political economy and French socialism on which they based the ideology of the proletariat. Marxism has not taken a step in its life without struggling against wrong positions. It stood up against Proudhon and anarchism, against right-wing deviations of the supposedly creative developments of Dühring, and against the opportunist positions that emerged in the German Social Democratic Party. After the death of Engels, the old revisionism unfolds with Bernstein and Kautsky; Lenin is going to defeat them. In sum, in its first stage Marxism establishes the Marxist philosophy or dialectical materialism, Marxist political economy, and scientific socialism.

Lenin develops Marxism and brings it to a second stage, Marxism-Leninism. This stage is achieved through hard struggles fought against the old revisionism that was denying Marxist philosophy, by proposing neo-Kantism instead; that is idealism and not dialectical materialism. In political economy, they were denying the growing pauperization among the proletariat, and claimed that the proletariat was being satisfied by capitalism. They denied the fact of imperialism and surplus value. In scientific socialism, they propagated pacifism, denying the class struggle and revolutionary violence.

Revisionism means to revise Marxist principles by invoking new circumstances. Lenin said that revisionism is the advance of the bourgeois ideology in the ranks of the proletariat and that to fight effectively against imperialism one must also fight against revisionism, since they are two sides of the same coin. Lenin emphasized that revisionism seeks to divide the trade unions and the political movement of the proletariat and that it generates the split in socialism. In this effective and relentless struggle against revisionism, during World War I Lenin further proposed the need to convert the imperialist war into a revolutionary war, unmasking the old revisionists as social-patriots. Lenin pointed out that in revolutionary times one must create new organizations, since the reactionaries can destroy the legal organizations and we should develop clandestine organizations even for mass work. Based on these principles, he led the October Revolution with the Communist Party through the insurrection.

In the process of building socialism in the USSR, Stalin continued the work of Lenin. He waged a 13-year struggle against the deviations of Trotsky, Zinoviev, and Kamenev that concluded in 1937. It is untruthful to say that things were administratively resolved. We agree with the position of Chairman Mao on the legacy of comrade Stalin as being 70% positive. As Communists today we have the task of making an adequate analysis of World War II, the standing of the International Communist movement and, particularly, to study well its VII Congress and, within this, the role of Comrade Stalin, along with the actions of revisionists in France, Italy, etc.

In developing Marxism-Leninism, Chairman Mao Tse-tung raises Marxism to its highest summit, thus the theory of the proletariat evolves into Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. This task is fulfilled in the midst of a tenacious and persistent struggle, crushing the right opportunist line within the Chinese Communist Party, especially the revisionist line of Liu Shao-chi and Teng Hsiao-ping; and on the international level, he led the struggle against and the defeat of the contemporary revisionism of Khrushchev. Mao forged the democratic revolution in China, the leap to the socialist revolution and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. What is fundamental in Maoism is political power, the power of the proletariat, the power of the dictatorship of the proletariat, based on a armed force led by the Party. Maoism is the application of Marxism-Leninism to the oppressed countries, of the strategic offensive of the world revolution, and of the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We Communists have three great swords: our founder Marx, the great Lenin, and Chairman Mao Tse-tung. Our great task is to raise, defend, and to apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, and place it as the command and guide of the world revolution.

Continuing the development of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, developing the Peruvian revolution and supporting the world revolution, President Gonzalo upholds, defends and applies our undefeated and unfading ideology: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought as the base of Party unity. Fur us, what is principal is to incarnate Gonzalo Thought because it is the guarantee of victory that leads us to the democratic revolution, to the socialist revolution, to the cultural revolutions, and on through to Communism.

President Gonzalo teaches us that in the process of the world revolution to sweep away imperialism and reaction from the face of the earth there are three moments:

1st, the strategic defensive;

2nd, the strategic equilibrium; and

3rd, the strategic offensive of the world revolution.

He reaches this conclusion by applying the law of contradiction to the revolution since contradiction rules everything and all contradictions have two aspects in struggle; in this case revolution and counter-revolution. The strategic defensive of the world revolution is opposed to the offensive of the counter-revolution, begging in 1871 with the Paris Commune and ending with the Second World War. The strategic equilibrium begins after the victory of the Chinese revolution, the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution, and the development of the powerful national liberation movements. Afterwards, the world revolution enters the strategic offensive, this moment can be identified in history in connection with the 1980s in which we see indications such as the Iran-Iraq war, Afghanistan, Nicaragua, the beginning of the People's War in Peru, an era circumscribed within the "next 50 to 100 years." From there onward the contradiction between capitalism and socialism will develop and whose resolution will carry us to Communism. Our conceptions is of a long-term process with the conviction of reaching Communism even if it means passing through a series of twists and turns and the reverses that will necessarily occur. Furthermore, it is not strange that we should apply the three moments to the world revolution, since Chairman Mao applied them to the process of the protracted people's war. As Communists, we should see not only the specific moment, but the long years to come.

3. CURRENT SITUATION AND PERSPECTIVE.

In the current situation and in perspective we have entered the strategic offensive of the world revolution, we are within the “50 to 100 years” in which imperialism will be sunk together with world reaction and we will enter the stage when the proletariat firmly takes root in power and establishes its dictatorship. From there forward the contradiction will be between socialism and capitalism on the road toward Communism. The fact that restorations have occurred in the USSR and China does not negate the strong developmental process of the international proletariat, but shows how fierce the struggle is between restoration and counter-restoration is from which the Communists draw lessons to prevent the restoration of capitalism and to definitively establish the dictatorship of the proletariat.

We reaffirm the thesis of Chairman Mao Tse-tung that a period of struggle has begun between American imperialism and Soviet social-imperialism [This was written before the collapse of the USSR–Trans.]; thus the two principal enemies are defined at the world level, for those who make democratic revolution or socialist revolution, including those who make nationalist movements, and what corresponds to them is that each revolution or movement specifies its principal enemy and seek to combat the dominance of the other superpower or of the other powers. In Peru, Yankee imperialism dominates us in collusion with the big bourgeoisie and the landowners. However, at the world level there is contention between the two superpowers for world hegemony. We fight against American imperialism, feudalism and bureaucratic capitalism, but we can not allow its substitution with the domination of social-imperialism, nor of some other power. In Afghanistan, the direct aggression is by Soviet social-imperialism that contends for hegemony with Yankee imperialism, China, as well as with other western powers, and there a struggle must be waged against social-imperialism as the principal enemy and not to permit the entry either to the domination of American imperialism nor of other powers; the problem is that the struggle is not correctly unfolded due to lack of political leadership, of a Communist Party. In synthesis, there are two superpowers that are the principal enemies with one being the principal in each case, and we do not overlook the actions of the imperialist powers.

We consider Chairman Mao Tse-tung’s thesis that three worlds are delineated just and correct and that it is connected with Lenin’s thesis on the distribution of forces in the world based on the analysis of

classes and contradictions. We reject the opportunist and revisionist misrepresentation by Teng Hsiao-ping of the three worlds that follows at the tail of the U.S. or USSR in order to betray the revolution. Starting from this, President Gonzalo analyzes the current situation in which the three worlds are delineated and further demonstrated that they are a reality.

The first world is the two superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR which contend for world hegemony and which can unleash an imperialist war. They are superpowers because they are economically, politically, and militarily more powerful compared to the other powers. The U.S. has an economy centered on non-state monopoly of property; politically, it develops a bourgeois democracy with a growing restriction of rights. It is a reactionary liberalism; militarily, it is the most powerful in the west and has a longer process of development. The USSR is economically based on a state monopoly, with a politically fascist dictatorship of a bureaucratic bourgeoisie and is a top-level military power although its process of development is shorter. The U.S. seeks to maintain its dominance and also to expand it. The USSR aims more towards expansion because it is a new superpower and economically it is in her interests to dominate Europe to improve its conditions. In synthesis, they are two superpowers which do not constitute a block but have contradictions, clear mutual differences, and they move within the law of collusion and contention for the redivision of the world.

The second world are the imperialist powers which are not superpowers, but have smaller economic, political, and military power such as Japan, Germany, France, Italy, etc. which have contradictions with the superpowers because they sustain, for example, the devaluation of the dollar, military restrictions, and political impositions; these imperialist powers want to take advantage of the contention between the superpowers in order for them to emerge as new superpowers, and they also unleash wars of aggression against the oppressed nations and furthermore, acute contradictions exist among them.

The third world is composed of the oppressed nations of Asia, Africa, and Latin America. They are colonies or semi-colonies where feudalism has not been destroyed, and on that basis a bureaucratic capitalism unfolds, they are tied to a superpower or imperialist power. They have contradictions with imperialism, furthermore they fight against their own big bourgeoisie and landlords, both of which are at the service of and in collusion with imperialism, especially with the superpowers.

All this gives us the basis on which the Communists can establish the strategy and tactics of the world revolution. Chairman Mao Tse-tung had come to establish the strategy and tactics of the world revolution but the Chinese revisionists concealed it. Therefore, it remains for us to extract from his own ideas, especially if there are new situations in sight.

Our Party sustains the view that in the current world there are three fundamental contradictions:

1) The contradiction of the oppressed nations, on one side, against the superpowers and imperialist powers, on the other. Here the thesis of the three worlds is delineated, and we formulate it this way because the kernel of that contradiction lies with the superpowers but it is also a contradiction with the imperialist powers. This is the principal contradiction and its solution is the development and victory of new democratic revolutions.

2) The contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie, which has as its solution the socialist revolution and within that perspective, the proletarian cultural revolution.

3) The inter-imperialist contradictions between the superpowers themselves, between the superpowers and the smaller imperialist powers and, finally, among the imperialist powers themselves, which leads to war for world hegemony and imperialistic wars of plunder which the proletariat must oppose with people's war and in the long run, world people's war.

We do not list the contradiction socialism-capitalism because it exists only at an ideological and political level, since socialism does not exist anywhere as a state; today there is no socialist system. It existed, and to say that it exists today it is to claim in essence that the USSR is socialist, which is a revisionist position.

The need to address the contradictions serves to analyze the world situation and to define its strategy and tactics within its strategic and conflicting zones. Today, the most incendiary conflicting points are: Southeast Asia where the struggle in Vietnam, Laos, and Kampuchea are a focal point in the immense strategic region of Asia, a region where great masses are concentrated. If India, for example, had a sufficiently developed Communist Party, it would serve to powerfully advance the revolution. In the Middle East, the great oil center, there is also an acute contest between the superpowers and powers bound to the issues of the Near East and to nationalist and even reactionary

movements. Another area is South Africa, where there are guerrilla movements that are usurped by the superpowers to convert them into occupation forces and dominate them. Latin America is an important center of struggle, from Central America (Nicaragua and El Salvador) to the volatility of the Antilles (Haiti, etc.), and the People's War in Peru, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought revolution that struggles for an authentic democratic revolution without submitting to any superpower or power. In Europe, where persistent anti-imperialists military actions are developing, it is necessary to study their ideology and the politics they uphold, the class which they serve, their links with the ideology of the proletariat, and their role within the world proletarian revolution, as well as their position on contemporary revisionism. These movements express the uneven development of the revolutionary situation that exists in the Old World. Any one of these points of conflict could provide the spark to an imperialist World War, a situation that may occur when the strategic superiority of one of the superpowers is defined. Therefore, it is increasingly urgent and peremptory to rely upon Communist parties based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and be forged for and in people's war through their militarization. To strategically define the zones of secondary and principal importance in waging the world revolution, is key to establishing the role that each region and each party will play in the world revolution.

For the Communist Parties, the problem is not to center attention on the imperialist World War but to do so on the people's war, since only from such a conflict will power led by the proletariat derive. We believe that while there is imperialism, there is a likelihood that imperialist World Wars will develop. What Chairman Mao said is certain, that either revolution will prevent war or World War will provoke revolution. In order for an imperialist world war to happen, the strategic superiority of one of the superpowers must be defined. According to the reactionary military theoreticians, this situation would unfold at the moment of the first use of atomic weapons, or the overwhelming atomic bombardment by each belligerent. This would be followed by a second moment, which would involve contingents of millions in an invasion and, subsequently, (since the objective is the division of the spoils, especially of the oppressed nations) a conventional war to occupy territories. Then it will enter into a great and ferocious massacre which will have repercussions against the imperialists and will provide great reasons for the oppressed nations, the peoples of the world and the class to rise up in people's war. Thus, if another imperialist world war presents itself, first, we will oppose it, and second, we will not fear it as we will focus on revolution. Third,

to focus on revolution means to wage the people's war led by the proletariat through its Communist parties; and fourth, this people's war must be specified in each type of country according to its type of revolution. Therefore, the world people's war is the order of the day.

4. THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNIST MOVEMENT AND THE REVOLUTIONARY INTERNATIONALIST MOVEMENT

The history of the International Communist Movement is a glorious process of struggle through which the Communists in the world have fought, and continue to fight, for unity in order to attain their unalterable goal: a Communist society. In this heroic struggle, three Internationals were forged.

The International Workers' Association, or First International, was founded by Marx and Engels in 1864. In hard struggle they opposed and crushed the anarchistic positions of Bakunin and established that there is only one doctrine of the proletariat: Marxism. Lenin says that the role fulfilled by the First International was to lay down the ideological foundations of the doctrine of the proletariat. This International split, and when this was blamed on Marx and Engels, they answered that if such a division had not occurred, the International would have died in any case–killed by those who united in rejecting principles. The Second International was founded by Engels in 1889. It served to multiply organizations and parties, but with the death of Engels, the emerging old-style revisionism was confronted and crushed by Lenin. This International became bankrupt in the First World War when its leadership (Kautsky and Bernstein), instead of opposing the imperialist world war in order to transform it into revolution, supported the war of plunder and their own countries' bourgeoisie. Thus, they turned into social-patriots. In 1919 Lenin organized the Third International, the Communist International, conceiving of it as a fighting machine to carry out the world revolution and the establishment of the proletarian dictatorship. Two problems emerged in the Communist International during the 1920s which were to have great repercussions: The problem of Germany (or rather, the revolution in an advanced country), and the problem of China (or revolution in a backward country). The situation became more acute with the emergence and victory of fascism and the question on how to conceive the United Front. Thorez and Togliatti proposed revisionist opinions, seeking to support rather than destroy the old order, while focussing solely on the anti-fascist struggle. In 1943 the International was dissolved, leaving only an Information Committee. It is an urgent task for Communists, and for our Party, to evaluate the Communist International, especially its VII Congress before World War II, and the role of Comrade Stalin.

The struggle of Communists to unite at an international level is long and complex. This was shown in the struggle against contemporary revisionism after World War II. Tito was condemned in 1948. The ideas of Browder also played a negative role. The Workers' and Communist parties met in Moscow in 1957 and 1960 after the Twentieth Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) in 1956, in which Khrushchev had already usurped the dictatorship of the proletariat in the USSR, and assaulted it under the pretext of combating Comrade Stalin. However, the prestige of the USSR was still very great throughout the world, and in such circumstances the meetings of 1957 and 1960 agreed on ambiguous positions, in spite of the firm, principled positions upheld by the Communist Part of China (CPC) (especially those of Chairman Mao), and the Party of Labor of Albania. The positions of Chairman Mao caused the CPSU to alter some of its positions, but the positions of contemporary revisionism were systematized in 1961, when the CPSU held its twenty-second Congress.

Chairman Mao, leading the CPC, summarized the essence of the new revisionism systematized in the "three peacefuls" and the "two alls." With "peaceful coexistence," Khrushchev had twisted the old thesis of Lenin that distinguished between relationships among states to those within states to propose that the general line of the international Communist movement is "peaceful coexistence." For Khrushchev, the problem was to prevent war, because according to him, atomic weapons did not distinguish between exploiters and exploited and men had to fraternize in order to prevent the annihilation of humanity. "Peaceful transition" proposes that revolution no longer required revolutionary violence but that one social system could be transformed into another through the "peaceful route": through elections or parliamentarism. The concept of "peaceful emulation" expressed the idea that to destroy the imperialist system, the socialist system had to emulate it in order to demonstrate to the imperialists that the socialist system is superior, and thus encourage the imperialists to become socialists. The "state of the whole people" was the revisionist thesis with which Khrushchev intended to deny the class character of the state. It was specifically aimed against the dictatorship of the proletariat. The "party of the whole people" was another monstrosity which denied the class character of the Party as the party of the proletariat. Khrushchev maintained that the Twenty-second Congress of the CPSU was the new program of the Communists, and thus the Communist Manifesto was substituted by the bourgeois slogans of "liberty," "equality," and "fraternity". The Manifesto is the program of the Communists, and its negation

generated and sharpened the struggle between Marxism and revisionism.

On June 14, 1963, the “Proposal on the General Line of the International Communist Movement” (also known as “the Chinese letter”) was published. Then the “Nine Commentaries,” in which Chairman Mao and the CPC brilliantly criticized and crushed modern revisionism in all aspects, were circulated.

We understand that Chairman Mao and the CPC felt that because the political and ideological base–which had to be Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought–had not yet been defined it was inconvenient to form a new Communist International in such circumstances. This was mainly due to the fact that the Party of Labor of Albania, led by Enver Hoxha, did not accept Mao Tse-tung Thought and advocated an International based only on Marxism-Leninism, disregarding the new developments. In essence, Hoxha was opposed to Mao Tse-tung Thought.

The growing influence of Chairman Mao in the world unfolded with the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The CPC focused on very urgent problems, such as recovering power in the People’s Republic of China from the usurpation of the revisionists Liu Shaochi and Teng Hsiao-ping, and on the method to continue the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. Chairman Mao became the great teacher of the proletariat and the leader of the world revolution, in the class struggle at home and in the struggle against revisionism on the international level. His thought developed into the third stage of Marxism. In that era, Communists referred to this development as “Mao Tse-tung Thought.” The Communist Party of Peru (PCP) adopted Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought as the basis of party unity at the Sixth National Conference in January 1969. This was achieved as a result of the struggle of President Gonzalo and the Red Fraction of the Party that had been adhering to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought since 1966. President Gonzalo upheld the positions of Chairman Mao as early as 1962, and on the basis of that viewpoint, went on to forge the Red Fraction of the PCP. The authentic Communists were waiting for the CPC to define Maoism as the third stage of Marxism, but with the death of Chairman Mao in September 1976, the Chinese revisionists pulled off a counter-revolutionary coup aimed at Chairman Mao and his thought. Thereafter, the unity of the Marxists encountered serious and complex problems, but the Communist Party of Peru remained firm and unshakable in the defense of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, immediately denouncing the counter-revolutionary coup and the revisionist

usurpation in China. It was at that time that the Broadened Political Bureau of the PCP in October 1976 declared, “To be a Marxist is to adhere to Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought.”

With the death of Chairman Mao and the revisionist usurpation in China by Teng and his gang, the Communists were left scattered in the world without a center or base for world revolution; the counter-revolutionaries brandished their claws to negate Chairman Mao and the validity of Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought, unleashing the triple revisionist assault of Teng Hsiao-ping (Chinese revisionism), Hoxha (Albanian revisionism), and Brezhnev (Russian revisionism). In the face of this situation, in 1979, at the PCP’s First National Conference, President Gonzalo called upon the whole party to defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought against the revisionist triple assault. The Party’s principled positions remained firm and unalterable. In 1980, the PCP launched the People’s War based on Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought. And it is with the application and development of the People’s War that the PCP has advanced further in the comprehension of Maoism as the third stage of Marxism. Hence, at the Second National Conference held in May 1982 the Party agreed that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism was the third stage of Marxism. The PCP was the only party in the world in the vanguard of the defense of Maoism, assuming the task of struggling for the unity of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists of the world so that this ideology be the command and guide of the world and Peruvian revolutions.

The application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism must be specific to each revolution, so that it does not become a mechanical formula. For this reason, the Peruvian Revolution has generated President Gonzalo and Gonzalo Thought, which is the main principle in the basis of Party unity. Each revolution must specify its guiding thought, without which there can be no application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, nor any revolutionary development.

In the Fall of 1980, 13 Communist parties and organizations signed a statement, “To the Marxist-Leninists, Workers, and the Oppressed of All Countries,” calling upon Communists to unite around Marxist-Leninist struggle and to uphold Chairman Mao, but without representing Maoism as a new stage with universal validity. The Revolutionary Communist Party, USA (RCP-USA) principally led this effort. In 1983 the RCP-USA contacted the PCP and invited it to sign the 1980 statement. The PCP opposed such a statement since Mao Tse-tung Thought was not considered therein; furthermore, we were already basing ourselves on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. In March

1984, the Second Conference of these organizations was held and the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM) was founded which approved a joint declaration, referring to uniting around Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought.

Our position on the participation of the PCP in RIM is condensed in a letter written to the Committee of RIM dated October 1986: “We wish to reiterate two questions about this issue. First, from the beginning of our ties, the origin of our differences was the substantive and decisive question of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as the only, true and new stage in the development of proletarian ideology, of universal validity, having Maoism as the key issue. Therefore, our objection to the choice of ‘Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought.’ Nevertheless, we have thought and still think that the resolution of this matter, which for us is indispensable as a point of departure, is complex, demands time, and especially revolutionary development.”

“Second, in signing the Declaration produced by the Second Conference which founded the RIM, we did so with observations and even clear differences, which were briefly explained. We reiterated these issues in meetings, reports, and communications which clearly indicate differences on the principle contradiction, the revolutionary situation of unequal development, on world war, and on some criteria on the role of the Movement, and other more important issues, such as the universal validity of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and in particular the general validity of People’s War (the expression of proletarian military theory that our class has developed completely with Chairman Mao Tse-tung), and our insistence in always raising the great slogan, “Proletarians of all countries, unite!” Nevertheless, we thought and continue to think that the Declaration constituted and continues to constitute a relative basis of unity, whose development and improvement will be demanded by the advance of our Movement, as facts are clearly demonstrating already.”

“Presently, the Declaration is repudiated by some as opportunist. Others assert that it is useless to resolve the burning problems that the revolution demands, and therefore, we should move on to a new declaration. The PCP believes that the RIM faces problems on various levels:

On the ideological level, it needs to advance towards the understanding of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. This advance is principal, and even political development hinges upon it.

On the political level, it needs to advance in defining the fundamental

contradictions, and the principal global contradiction, the question of the Third World War, and that revolution is the main tendency, and in the event that imperialist war becomes a reality, we must transform it into people's war.

In regards to this construction, what political lines we must follow to achieve the establishment of the International that we need, which must continue the glorious International Communist Movement.

Concerning mass work, our point of departure are the slogans "The masses make history," "It's right to rebel," and "The colossal garbage heap…" [of revisionism and opportunism that must be swept away–Trans.] The purpose of mass work is to begin and develop people's war.

In regards to leadership, it is a key issue, which requires time for its formation, development, and credibility.

In regards to two-line struggle, it is not being handled as it should be [in RIM–Trans.].

These are problems of development, but if they are not addressed justly and correctly, they can cause disarticulation, and such negative possibilities necessarily cause us concern. We believe that the Committee of the RIM aims to impose the denomination of "Marxism-Leninism-Mao Tse-tung Thought," trying to frame us within the Declaration, and thus resolve the problems of leadership of the Committee, which leads us to believe in the existence of hegemonic tendencies."

Taking the above situation into account, the Fourth National Conference of the PCP (October 1986) reaffirmed our intention to constitute a fraction within the International Communist Movement in order to place Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, as the command and guide of the world revolution. We call to: "Uphold, Defend, and Apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Principally Maoism!" since only through this can the international proletariat, through its Communist Parties, lead the conquest of power and emancipate the oppressed so they can emancipate themselves as a class.

We are for the reconstitution of the Communist International, and we regard the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement as a step in that direction. It will serve this purpose as long as it upholds and follows a just and correct ideological and political line.

The struggle to make Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism,

the command and guide of world revolution will be long, complex and difficult, but in the end, the Marxist-Leninist-Maoists of the world will succeed. Marxism has not taken a step forward in its life without struggle.

GLORY TO THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT!

LONG LIVE THE WORLD PROLETARIAN REVOLUTION!

UPHOLD, DEFEND AND APPLY MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM, GONZALO THOUGHT, MAINLY GONZALO THOUGHT!

1988 - Interview with Chairman Gonzalo

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Objectives

EL DIARIO: Chairman Gonzalo, what prompted you, after a lengthy silence, to do this interview? And why did you choose El Diario?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Let us start by saying that the Communist Party of Peru, which has been leading the people's war for more than eight years now, has expressed itself publicly in a number of different documents. We have always considered the pronouncements of the Party itself to be much more important, because that way it is crystal clear that it is the PCP that has dared to initiate the people's war, lead it, and carry it forward.

The reason we are taking this occasion to speak in a personal interview like this one, which is the first time we have had the pleasure to do so, and specifically with you, has to do with the Party Congress. Our Party has accomplished a long-awaited historic task with the convening of its Congress. For decades we struggled hard to bring this about, but it's only the people's war that has given us the conditions to actually accomplish it. That's why we say that the First Congress is the offspring of two great parents: the Party and the people's war. As the official documents state, this Congress marks a milestone, a victory, in which our Party has been able to sum up the long road traveled, and has established the three basic elements of Party unity: its ideology, which is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought; the programme; and the general political line. Furthermore, this Congress has established a solid basis for advancing towards the prospective seizure of Power. The Congress, then, is a great victory, and it is one of the main reasons for giving this interview. Other reasons have to do with the profound crisis that our country is going through, and the ever-growing and more powerful development of the class struggle of the masses, and with the international situation and how revolution is the main trend in the world.

As to why we are doing this interview with El Diario, there is a very simple reason. El Diario is a trench of combat and today it is the only tribune that really serves the people. We believe that though it would have been possible to be interviewed by others, including foreigners, it is better, and more in accord with our principles, to be interviewed by a paper like El Diario, which is really struggling every day under difficult conditions to serve the people and the revolution. That is the reason.

EL DIARIO: Chairman Gonzalo. have you weighed the possible implications of conducting this interview? Let me ask you--don't you run some risk talking publicly at this time?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Being communists, we fear nothing. Moreover, our Party has steeled us to challenge death itself, and to carry our life on our fingertips so that we may give it whenever the revolution demands it. We believe that this interview has overriding importance: it serves our Party, serves the revolution, serves our people and our class, and also--why not say it--serves the international proletariat, the peoples of the world, the world revolution. Whatever risk then, is nothing--especially, I repeat, steeled as we are by the Party.

I. Ideological Questions

EL DIARIO: Chairman, let's talk about one of the ideological foundations of the PCP, Maoism. Why do you consider Maoism the third stage of Marxism?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: This point is crucial, and of enormous consequence. For us, Marxism is a process of development, and this great process has given us a new, third, and higher stage. Why do we say that we are in a new, third, and higher stage, Maoism? We say this because in examining the three integral parts of Marxism, it is clearly evident that Chairman Mao Zedong has developed each one of these three parts. Let's enumerate them: in Marxist philosophy no one can deny his great contribution to the development of dialectics, focusing on the law of contradiction, establishing that it is the only fundamental law. On political economy, it will suffice to highlight two things. The first, of immediate and concrete importance for us, is bureaucrat capitalism, and second, the development of the political economy of socialism, since in synthesis we can say that it is Mao who really established and developed the political economy of socialism. With regard to scientific socialism, it is enough to point to people's war, since it is with Chairman Mao Zedong that the international proletariat has attained a fully developed military theory, giving us then the military theory of our class, the proletariat, applicable everywhere. We believe that these three questions demonstrate a development of universal character. Looked at in this way what we have is a new stage--and we call it the third one, because Marxism has two preceding stages, that of Marx and that of Lenin, which is why we speak of Marxism-Leninism. A higher stage, because with Maoism the ideology of the worldwide proletariat attains its highest development up to now, its loftiest peak, but with the understanding that Marxism is--if you'll excuse the reiteration--a dialectical unity that develops through great leaps, and that these great leaps are what give rise to stages. So for us, what exists in the world today is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and principally Maoism. We think that to be Marxists today, to be Communists, necessarily demands that we be Marxist-Leninist-Maoists and principally Maoists. Otherwise, we couldn't be genuine communists.

I would like to emphasize a situation that is rarely taken into account and definitely deserves to be studied closely today. I am referring to Mao Zedong's development of Lenin's great thesis on imperialism. This is of great importance today, and in the historical stage that is

presently unfolding. Again simply listing his contributions, we could point out the following: he discovered a law of imperialism when he said that imperialism makes trouble and fails, makes trouble again and fails again, until its final doom. He also specified a period in the process of development of imperialism, which he called "the next 50 to 100 years," years, as he said, unparalleled on earth, during which, as we understand it, we will sweep imperialism and reaction from the face of the earth. He also pointed to something that today more than ever can't be ignored. He said that "a period of struggle between U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism has begun." In addition, we all know of his great strategic thesis that "imperialism and all reactionaries are paper tigers." This is a thesis of enormous importance and we must keep in mind that Chairman Mao applied this thesis to U.S. imperialism and Soviet social imperialism, both of which we have no reason to be afraid of. But also, we must keep in mind how he saw the development of war, following exactly what Lenin had stated about the era of wars that had opened up in the world. The Chairman has taught us that a country, a nation, a people, no matter how small, can defeat the most powerful exploiter and dominator on Earth if they dare to take up arms. Moreover, he has taught us how to understand the process of war and how never to fall for nuclear blackmail. I believe that these are some questions that we must keep in mind in order to understand how Chairman Mao Zedong developed Lenin's great thesis on imperialism. And why do I insist on this? Because we understand that just as Lenin's contributions are based on the great work of Marx, Chairman Mao Zedong's developments are based on the great work of Marx and Lenin on Marxism-Leninism. We would never be able to understand Maoism without understanding Marxism-Leninism.

We believe that these things are of great importance today, and for us it has been decisive to understand Maoism in theory and practice as a third, new, and higher stage.

EL DIARIO: Chairman Gonzalo, do you believe that if José Carlos Mariátegui were alive he would uphold the theories and contributions of Chairman Mao?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: In synthesis, Mariátegui was a Marxist-Leninist. Beyond that, in Mariátegui, the founder of the Party, we find theses similar to those that Chairman Mao has made universal. Thus, as I see it, today Mariátegui would be a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist. This is not speculation, it is simply the product of understanding the life and work of José Carlos Mariátegui.

EL DIARIO: Moving on to another question, what is the ideology of the proletariat and what role does it play in the social processes of the world today? What do the classics, Marx, Lenin andMao, mean to the PCP?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Today, tomorrow, and in these stormy decades in which we live, we can see the enormous and overriding importance that proletarian ideology has. First, although I'm emphasizing something that is well known, it is the theory and practice of the final class in history. The ideology of the proletariat is the product of the struggle of the international proletariat. It also comprehends the study and understanding of the whole historical process of class struggle that went on before the proletariat, of the struggle of the peasantry in particular, the great heroic struggles they have waged--it represents the highest level of study and understanding that science has produced. In sum, the ideology of the proletariat, the great creation of Marx, is the highest world outlook that has ever been or ever will be seen on Earth. It is the world outlook, the scientific ideology that for the first time provided mankind, our class principally, and the people, with a theoretical and practical instrument for transforming the world. And we have seen how everything that he predicted has come about. Marxism has been developing, it has become Marxism-Leninism, and today Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. And we see how this ideology is the only one capable of transforming the world, making revolution, and leading us to the inevitable goal of communism. It is of enormous importance.

I would like to emphasize something: it is ideology, but it is scientific. Nevertheless, we must understand very well that we cannot make any concessions to the stand of the bourgeoisie which wants to reduce the ideology of the proletariat to a simple method. To do so is to debase it and deny it. Please excuse my insistence, but as Chairman Mao said, "it isn't enough to say it once, but a hundred times, it isn't enough to say it to a few, but to many." Basing myself on this I say that the ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and today principally Maoism, is the only all-powerful ideology because it is true, and historical facts show that. It is the product aside from what has already been said, of the extraordinary work of extraordinary historical figures like Marx, Engels, Lenin, Stalin, and Chairman Mao Zedong, to point out the most outstanding. But among them we give special emphasis to three: Marx, Lenin, and Chairman Mao Zedong as the three banners that are embodied, once again, in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and principally Maoism. And what, precisely, is our task today? It is to raise up the banner of our ideology, defend, and apply it, and to struggle energetically so that it will lead and guide the

world revolution. Without proletarian ideology, there is no revolution. Without proletarian ideology, there is no hope for our class and the people. Without proletarian ideology, there is no communism.

EL DIARIO: Speaking of ideology, why Gonzalo Thought?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Marxism has always taught us that the problem lies in the application of universal truth. Chairman Mao Zedong was extremely insistent on this point, that if Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is not applied to concrete reality, it is not possible to lead a revolution, not possible to transform the old order, destroy it, or create a new one. It is the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the Peruvian revolution that has produced Gonzalo Thought. Gonzalo Thought has been forged in the class struggle of our people, mainly the proletariat, in the incessant struggles of the peasantry, and in the larger framework of the world revolution, in the midst of these earthshaking battles, applying as faithfully as possible the universal truths to the concrete conditions of our country. Previously we called it the Guiding Thought. And if today the Party, through its Congress, has sanctioned the term Gonzalo Thought, it's because a leap has been made in the Guiding Thought through the development of the people's war. In sum, Gonzalo Thought is none other than the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to our concrete reality. This means that it is principal specifically for our Party, for the people's war and for the revolution in our country, and I want to emphasize that. But for us, looking at our ideology in universal terms, I emphasize once again, it is Maoism that is principal.

EL DIARIO: What role is revisionism playing, and how does the PCP struggle against it?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: First, we should remember that every advance of Marxism has been made amidst fierce struggle. And in this process of development of Marxism, old-style revisionism emerged and met its downfall in World War I. But since then, we communists have confronted a new revisionism, modern revisionism, that began to develop with Khrushchev and his lackeys, and which is now unleashing a new offensive against Marxism. Its principal centers are the Soviet Union and China.

Revisionism arose as a complete negation of Marxism. Modern revisionism, likewise, is always aiming to substitute bourgeois philosophy for Marxist philosophy, going against political economy, particularly denying the growing impoverishment and the inevitability of the downfall of imperialism. Revisionism strives to falsify and twist

scientific socialism in order to oppose the class struggle and revolution, peddling parliamentary cretinism and pacifism. All these positions have been expounded by the revisionists, who have aimed for and continue to aim for the restoration of capitalism, the undermining and blocking of the world revolution, and to denigrate the conquering spirit of our class. But here I feel it is necessary to spell out some points to make this concrete: revisionism behaves like any imperialism. For example, the Soviet Union, Soviet social imperialism, preaches and practices parliamentary cretinism. It mounts and conducts armed actions for the purpose of gaining world hegemony. It carries out aggression, pits one people against another, sets masses against masses, and divides our class and the people. In a thousand and one ways Soviet revisionism fights against everything that is truly Marxist and everything that serves the revolution. We are an example of how they do this. The social-imperialists of the USSR have developed a perverse worldwide plan to become a hegemonic superpower using all the means at their disposal. This includes setting up phony parties, communist in name only, "bourgeois workers parties" to use Engels' words. And this is how Chinese revisionism and all revisionists act, differing only with regard to their particular circumstances, according to who pulls their strings.

Therefore, for us, the task is to fight revisionism and fight it relentlessly. We must keep in mind the lesson that we can't fight imperialism without combating revisionism. And our Congress has declared that we must wage a relentless and uncompromising struggle against imperialism, revisionism and reaction worldwide.

How should we carry out this struggle? In all spheres: the ideological, the economic, and the political--we must fight them in each one of these classic spheres. For if we should fail to carry out the struggle against revisionism, we wouldn't be communists. A communist has the obligation to combat revisionism, untiringly, and implacably.

And we have fought against revisionism. We've fought against it since it first came on the scene. We were fortunate in this country to have been able to contribute by expelling them from the Party in 1964, a fact they always try to hide. I want to make it very clear that the vast majority of the Communist Party united behind the banner of struggle against revisionism which Mao Zedong had unfurled, and they took aim at and struck blows against revisionism in the ranks of the Communist Party of that time until they expelled Del Prado and his gang. From that time up to the present we've continued fighting revisionism, not only here, but beyond our borders as well. We oppose it internationally, we oppose the Soviet social imperialism of

Gorbachev, the Chinese revisionism of the perverse Deng Xiaoping the Albanian revisionism of Ramiz Alia, follower of the revisionist Hoxha, just as we oppose all revisionists, whether they follow the line of the social-imperialists, the Chinese or Albanian revisionists, or anyone else.

EL DIARIO: Chairman, who is the main exponent of revisionism in Peru itself?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The so-called Peruvian Communist Party, the one that publishes, or published, Unity, the fifth column of Soviet revisionism, headed by the crusty revisionist Jorge Del Prado, who some consider to be a "time-honored revolutionary." Secondly there is Patria Roja, an agent of Chinese revisionism whose party hacks worship Deng.

EL DIARIO: Do you think that the influence of revisionism among the Peruvian masses creates an adverse situation for the revolution?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: If we keep in mind what Lenin taught us and what Chairman Mao in turn emphasized and continued to develop, we see that revisionism is an agent of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the proletariat, and so it provokes splits. It divides the communist movement and Communist Parties, it divides the trade union movement, and it breaks up and divides the people's movement.

Revisionism obviously is a cancer, a cancer that has to be ruthlessly eliminated. Otherwise we won't be able to advance the revolution. Remembering what Lenin said, in a concise way, we must forge ahead on two questions, the question of revolutionary violence, and the relentless struggle against opportunism, against revisionism.

I believe that in our country, in considering the situation of the masses, we must see not only this question, but what Engels called the "colossal pile of rubbish." He taught us that when a movement lasts for decades, like the movement of the proletariat, and even more so the movement of the people, in our country, a great deal of rubbish piles up that needs to be swept away bit by bit. Our view is that this is something that has to be considered as well.

How much can it influence the masses? Among the masses, what revisionism does is serve the cause of capitulation to internal reaction, concretely to the big bourgeoisie and the landlords, to the landlord-bureaucrat capitalist dictatorship which is the Peruvian State of today. Internationally, it capitulates to imperialism and serves social-

imperialist hegemony or the desires for the same among certain powers evolving in that direction, like China. We believe that as the revolution and the people's war develop, as the class struggle sharpens, the people and the proletariat heighten their understanding more and more. And at the same time, as they are forced to witness the betrayal of the revisionists and opportunists of all kinds on a daily basis, and as they see even more of this in the future, the proletariat and the people will have to carry out their mission of sweeping the revisionists out of all the corners as best they can. Unfortunately, as Engels has taught us, they can't be eliminated all at once, as they are part of the "colossal pile of rubbish."

EL DIARIO: Do you believe that revisionism is being decisively defeated in this country?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: To reiterate what the founders of Marxism have taught, to the extent that revisionism acts in concert with the reactionary State, the masses will come to understand its despicable role. As they see its actions, to the extent the people as a whole and the class see how they act, it's inevitable that they will more and more come to understand the pernicious role of the revisionists, as traffickers, sellouts of the workers, opportunists and traitors. The revisionists are heading for their demise and have been for some time now, not only because of the people's war, but rather this process began when revisionism was expelled from the ranks of the Party, because at that point another batch of serious communists began to come forward, and later became those who today, under the guidance of the Communist Party of Peru, are leading the people's war. And we think that the masses, with the class instincts of which Mariátegui spoke, will increasingly come to understand this, as they have already begun to do.

Revisionism has already lost out, it's only a matter of time. The problem is already defined, the rubbish has begun to be swept away, burned away; as I said, it's only a matter of time. The process of their demise began years ago. And if we go back further, to the beginnings, the ball game was lost when they became revisionists, when they abandoned their principles--at that point. What remained to be seen was how the class struggle would develop, and how a Party like ours would be capable of carrying out its role, and how the masses would sustain it, support it and carry it forward, how they would come to see that it is their Party, that it defends their interests. And it is the masses themselves who will settle accounts, giving a just punishment to those who for decades have sold out and who continue to sell out the proletariat's basic interests, and they will also condemn and sanction

those traitors who try to do so or begin to do so.

EL DIARIO: What is your opinion of the New Evangelism put forward by the Pope?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Marx taught us that "religion is the opiate of the people." This is a Marxist thesis which is completely valid today, and in the future. Marx also held that religion is a social phenomenon that is the product of exploitation and it will be eliminated as exploitation is swept away and a new society emerges. These are principles that we can't ignore, and that we must always keep in mind. Related to the previous point, it must be remembered that the people are religious, something which never has and never will prevent them from struggling for their basic class interests, and in this way serving the revolution, and in particular the people's war. I want to make it absolutely clear that we respect this religiousness as a question of freedom of religious beliefs, as recognized by the programme which was approved by our Congress.

So the question you asked really has to do, in our view, with the ecclesiastic hierarchy, with the Papacy, that old theocracy that had succeeded in developing as a powerful instrument in Roman times. Later, adapting itself to the conditions of feudalism, it gained a vast power, even greater than before. But it always tried to rein in the struggle of the people, and defended the interests of the oppressors and exploiters, acting as an ideological shield for the reactionaries, changing and adapting itself as new situations emerged.

We can see this clearly if we think about the relation between the Church and the bourgeois revolution, the old bourgeois revolution, I'm referring to the French Revolution, for example. The Church fiercely defended feudalism, and later, through a lot of struggle and after the defeat of feudalism--let me repeat, through great struggle it adapted itself to the bourgeois order and became once again an instrument at the service of the new exploiters and oppressors. In the present situation, what we see is a historical process which is unstoppable. The era of the world proletarian revolution, the new era begun in 1917, presents the problem for the proletariat of how to lead revolutions to change the old decadent order and create a genuinely new society, communism. In the face of this, how has the Church responded? As in previous times, it seeks to survive, and this is the basis of the Vatican II Council, where the Church sought to develop conditions that would permit it, first, to defend the old order as it has always done, and then, adjust and adapt itself in order to serve new exploiters, to continue to survive. This is what it seeks, this is the

essence of Vatican II.

The question of the "new evangelism" refers explicitly to how ecclesiastical authority, the Pope in particular, sees the role of Latin America, where, as they themselves say and the current Pope said in 1984, half the world's Catholics live. They are, consequently, trying to use the five hundredth anniversary of the discovery of America to push forward a so-called movement of "new evangelism." In sum, this is what they hope for: since evangelism officially began in 1494 following the discovery of America, with this new centennial they want to develop a "new evangelism" in defense of their bastion, this half of the "parish," half of the bastion that sustains them in power. This is their goal. In this way, the hierarchy and the Papacy aim to defend their position in America and serve U.S. imperialism, the dominant imperialist power in Latin America.

But we have to understand this plan in the context of a campaign and a worldwide plan, linked to its relations with the Soviet Union on the occasion of the millennium of its Christianization, the ties with Chinese revisionism, the actions of the Church in Poland, the Ukraine, etc. It is a worldwide plan and the "new evangelism" operates within it. As always they are attempting to defend the existing social order, to be its ideological shield, because the ideology of reaction, of imperialism, has become decrepit. In the future they will again seek to adapt in order to survive. But the prospects will be different, not like things were before. Marx's law will assert itself: religion will wither away as exploitation and oppression are destroyed and eliminated. And since the Papacy serves the exploiting classes and what will follow is not an exploiting class, the Papacy will not be able to survive, and religion itself will wither away. In the meantime the freedom of religious belief has to be recognized until mankind advancing through new objective conditions, comes to possess a clear, scientific and world-transforming consciousness. We must therefore, analyze the "new evangelism" in the context of this plan of the Church to survive under new conditions, a transformation that they know must come.

EL DIARIO: Chairman, according to what you've said, could we conclude, or would you say that the frequent visits of the Pope to our country have some relation to the people's war and the support the Pope is giving to the García Pérez regime?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: I believe that is right, that's the way it is In general, his visits to Latin America have to do with the importance of Latin America. And his visits to Peru have to do with how he called on

us to lay down our arms while blessing the weapons of genocide as he did various times during his two visits to Peru.

EL DIARIO: Now, Chairman, what will be the attitude of the PCP towards the religious theocracy when this Party assumes State Power?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Marxism has taught us to separate Church and State, this is the first thing we will do. Secondly, I want to repeat, we respect the freedom of religious belief of the people--applying fully the principle of freedom to believe, as well as not to believe, to be an atheist. That is how we will handle it.

II. On the Party

EL DIARIO: And moving to another subject of great importance in this interview, the Party. What are the most important lessons to be drawn from the PCP's development?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: On the development of the Party and its lessons, we can understand its history by dividing it into three parts which correspond to the three periods of contemporary Peruvian society. The first period, the first part, is the Founding of the Party, in which we were fortunate to have José Carlos Mariátegui, a thoroughgoing Marxist-Leninist. But, inevitably, Mariátegui was opposed, negated, his line was abandoned and the constitutional congress that he left as a pending task was never held. The so-called Constitutional Congress that was held approved, as we know, the so-called line of "national unity," which was totally opposed to Mariátegui's theories. In this way the Party fell headlong into opportunism, suffering from the influence of Browderism, which Del Prado was linked up with, and later, modern revisionism. This whole process takes us to the second period, that of the Reconstitution of the Party. This is, in sum, a struggle against revisionism. It is a period that we can clearly see beginning to unfold with a certain intensity in the beginning of the '60s. This process leads the members of the Party to unite against the revisionist leadership and, as I have said before, to expel them in the IVth Conference of January 1964. The process of reconstitution continues to unfold in the Party until 1978-1979, when it ends and a third period begins, the period of Leading the People's War, which is the one we are living in now.

What lessons can we draw from this? The first lesson is the importance of the basis of Party unity, and its relation to the two-line struggle. Without this basis and its three elements (1. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, 2.The Programme and 3.The General Political Line), there would be no basis for building the Party ideologically and politically. But without two-line struggle there would be no basis for Party unity. Without a firm and thorough two-line struggle in the Party, there is no way to firmly grasp the ideology, nor establish the programme, nor the general political line, much less defend, apply and develop them. For us the two-line struggle is fundamental, and that has to do with our view of the Party as a contradiction, in accordance with the universal law of contradiction. A second lesson is the importance of people's war. A Communist Party's central task is the seizure of Power for the proletariat and the people.

Once constituted, and basing itself on the concrete conditions, the Party must strive to carry out the seizure of Power, which it can only do through people's war. The third important lesson is the need to forge leadership. Leadership is key, and it does not develop spontaneously but must be forged over a long period of intense and arduous struggle, particularly in order to provide leadership for a people's war. A fourth lesson we can sum up is the need to prepare the ground for the seizure of Power. Just as the people's war is necessary to seize Power, it is necessary to prepare the ground for the seizure of Power. What do we mean by this? We must create organizational forms superior to those of the reactionaries. We believe that these are important lessons. A final one is proletarian internationalism, always developing the struggle as part of the international proletariat, always viewing the revolution as part of the world revolution, developing the people's war, as our Party's slogan says, in the service of the world revolution. Why? Because in the final analysis a Communist Party has an irreplaceable final goal: communism. And, as has been established, onto that stage all must enter, or no one will. We believe that these are the most crucial lessons that we should sum up.

EL DIARIO: Chairman, what is the significance of José Carlos Mariátegui for the PCP?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: For the PCP, Mariátegui is its founder. He built the Party on a clear Marxist-Leninist basis. Consequently, he provided it with a clear ideological stand. For him, Marxism-Leninism was the Marxism of his era, of his time. He provided the Party with a general political line. Mariátegui, the greatest Marxist that America has produced until now, left us his greatest work, the formation of the Communist Party of Peru. We understand very well what his loss meant for the Party, but we should be clear on the fact that he gave his very life to fulfill this great work. What we mean is that founding the Party took up his whole life. So he didn't have time to consolidate and develop the Party. Just think about it, he died less than two years after its founding. A Party needs time to consolidate, to develop, in order to carry out its historic task.

We would like to point something out. As early as 1966 we stated that Mariátegui's road must never be abandoned, and that the task was to reclaim that road and develop it further. I want to emphasize, develop it further. Why? Because on a world level Marxism had already entered a new stage that is today Maoism. In our own country, bureaucrat capitalism in particular had developed right alongside the inexhaustible struggle of the proletariat and the Peruvian people, who have never ceased to struggle. For that reason, we set out to reclaim

Mariátegui's road and develop it further. We have made the contribution of rediscovering Mariátegui and his validity with regard to the general laws which are the same and only need to be applied in the new national and international context, as I've explained. This has been our contribution.

A lot could be said, but it is more worthwhile I believe to emphasize a few things. In 1975, "Retomar a Mariátegui y reconstituir su Partido" ["Reclaim Mariátegui and Rebuild his Party"--TRANS.] was published. In this brief document we showed, in opposition to many who today call themselves Mariáteguists, that Mariátegui was "guilty as charged," an avowed Marxist-Leninist as he himself correctly said. We have stated the five elements that constitute his general political line. We showed that theories similar to those of Chairman Mao are found in Mariátegui. Here it's enough to point to questions regarding the united front or the important question of violence. Mariátegui said, "Power is seized through violence and is defended with dictatorship," "today revolution is the bloody process through which things are born," and throughout the years of his glorious life he persistently upheld the role of revolutionary violence and class dictatorship. He also said that no matter how big a majority you might have in parliament, it could only serve to dissolve a cabinet, but never to do away with the bourgeois class. What is absolutely clear, and must be emphasized because it is key to his thought, is that Mariátegui was antirevisionist.

We have, in sum, struggled to reclaim and develop the road of Mariátegui. But allow me to say something more. It would be good to ask some of those who now call themselves Mariáteguists what they used to think of Mariátegui--they rejected him, clearly and concretely. I am referring to those of today's PUM, yes, to those who come from the so-called "New Left," who proclaimed Mariátegui outdated, a thing of the past, essentially that's all there was to their argument. But even more importantly, these and others, are they really Mariáteguists? Let's take Barrantes Lingán. How can he be a Mariáteguist if he is the complete negation of the clear Marxist-Leninist theories that Mariátegui, in his time, firmly and decisively upheld? Mariátegui was never a parliamentarian, he proposed using elections for the purpose of propaganda and agitation. It was revisionists like Acosta who, in 1945, held that this view was outdated and that the task was to win seats in parliament. And this is what the phony Mariáteguists, out and out unrepentant parliamentary cretinists, do today.

In sum, this is how we view Mariátegui: he is the founder of the Party, his role is etched in history so that no one will ever be able to deny it and his work will not perish. But it was necessary to continue on his

road, to develop it further. The only logical way to carry through on the teachings of a Marxist-Leninist founder like Mariátegui, whose thinking, I repeat, contained theories similar to Chairman Mao's, is to be Marxist-Leninist-Maoists as we, the members of the Communist Party of Peru, are. We think the founder is himself a great example and we are extremely proud that he was the one who founded our Party.

EL DIARIO: Chairman, what was José Carlos Mariátegui's influence on the development of the class consciousness of the Peruvian workers?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Mariátegui accomplished a great deal in the midst of intense struggle, and excuse me if in answering your question I get into some other things as well. He was already a Marxist before going to Europe. This is the first thing we would like to insist on, because it is always said that he became a Marxist there. The fact that he developed there is another thing. Obviously, the European experience was extremely important to him. Mariátegui waged a very important struggle in the ideological sphere, a struggle on behalf of what he called socialism. This is the term he used, as he explained, because here term had not been debased as it had been in Europe. But what he upheld and propagated was Marxism-Leninism.

He waged a political struggle of great importance in order to form the Party. And this has to do with the debate between Mariátegui and Haya de la Torre, which today is being bandied about and cynically and shamelessly distorted. The essence of this question is very dear: Mariátegui proposed the formation of a Communist Party, a Party of the proletariat, while Haya de la Torre proposed the formation of a front similar to the Kuomintang, claiming that the proletariat in Peru was too tiny and immature to be able to give rise to a Communist Party. This was nothing but sophistry, and it is important to keep that in mind. But furthermore, the APRA party, when it was founded in Peru, was similar to Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang, that is, the executioner of the Chinese Revolution who carried out the counterrevolutionary coup in 1927. This is something we should always bear in mind. Why do I emphasize this problem? Because now they are talking about an Haya-Mariáteguism, even an Haya-Leninism. Ridiculous! Mariátegui indeed was a Marxist-Leninist, Haya was never a Marxist or a Leninist. Never! He always opposed Lenin's theories. It's necessary to emphasize this because we can't let them get away with shameless distortions like these which, in the final analysis, are nothing but a mess, a hodge-podge thrown together in order to promote an alliance between the present day APRA and the United Left [Izquierda Unida (IU)-TRANS.]. This is really the bottom line. The

rest, cheap hoaxes.

Well, but to answer your question. Mariátegui did all this linked to the masses, to the proletariat, to the peasantry. He was theoretically and practically involved in the formation of the CGTP [Confederación General de Trabajadores del Perú--TRANS.], which is the product mainly of his work. But the CGTP that he founded in the latter part of the twenties is not the present-day CGTP, which is the complete negation of what Mariátegui had established. He also developed work with the peasantry. The peasant question was a central one for him. He saw it as the agrarian question, and essentially the Indian question as he explained so well. Likewise he worked with the intellectuals, as well as with women and the youth. Mariátegui developed his work in connection with the masses, showing them the way, establishing concrete forms of organization and acting decisively to further develop the organization of the proletariat and the people of Peru.

EL DIARIO: Continuing on the same theme, why does the PCP give so much importance to the fraction that reconstituted the Party?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: This is an important subject that is not well known outside the ranks of the Party. Let's begin with this: Lenin set forward the concept of the fraction, conceiving of it as a group of like-minded persons solidly united in action around principles in their purest form, and that a fraction must openly state its political positions in order to carry out the struggle and develop the Party. It is this Leninist conception that we adopted to build the fraction in our Party. The fraction began to form in the early '60s and its formation was related to the worldwide struggle between Marxism and revisionism which was obviously reflected in our country. The fraction began to pose the problem of how to develop the revolution in Peru, and found these issues dealt with in Chairman Mao Zedong's works which had by then begun to arrive in our country. What issues did we focus on? We put forward that the revolution in Peru needed a Party with a solid ideological and political foundation, that the peasantry was the main force in our society while the proletariat was the leading class, and that the road we must follow was from the countryside to the city. This is how we unfolded things. The fraction contributed to the struggle against Del Prado's revisionism and we were part of all those who united to sweep the Del Prado clique from the ranks of the Party and expel them.

The fraction continued to evolve within a framework in which there were several fractions in the Parry, a fraction headed by Paredes and two others that didn't act openly, but went against the Leninist criteria

for a fraction, and acted instead as a party within a party. I'm referring to Patria Roja, with its so-called "Ching-kang group," and the self-proclaimed "Bolshevik group." And then there was our fraction centered in the Ayacucho region. The fraction concentrated its efforts--the line having already been set in the Vth Conference of 1965--on raising for consideration the question of the three instruments of the revolution. This gave rise to a poorly led internal struggle. Because it lacked sufficient cohesion, the Party exploded. Thus, first Patria Roja left the Party, expelled for following a right opportunist line, negating Chairman Mao, negating Mariátegui, negating the existence of a revolutionary situation in Peru. Three fractions remained.

Later at the VIth Conference held in 1969, we agreed on the basis of Party unity and on the reconstitution of the Party, two issues that the fraction had raised; just as in 1967 it had raised fundamental questions in an expanded meeting of the political commission of that time. Paredes and his group weren't in agreement with the reconstitution of the Party, nor with the basis of Party unity, and mounted a plan to destroy the Party since they could not control it. This was their sinister plan. A sharp struggle was waged against this right liquidationism, leaving two fractions, ours and the self-proclaimed "Bolshevik group" which was developing as left liquidationist. They held for example that there was stability in society and therefore a revolutionary situation did not exist. They said that fascism would wipe us out, that mass work wasn't possible, that we should concentrate on training cadre through study groups, etc.

As a result of this struggle the fraction had to assume the task of reconstituting the Party by itself. Lenin said that there comes a time when it's necessary for a genuinely revolutionary fraction to rebuild the Party. This is the task that the fraction assumed. Here one might ask, why did the fraction shoulder the task of reconstituting the Party? Why didn't it found another Party as was the fashion, and still is today? The first reason is because the Party was founded in 1928 on a clear Marxist-Leninist basis, and so it had a great deal of experience, experience drawn from both positive and negative lessons. What's more, Lenin said that when one is in a Party that is deviating, moving off course, or falling headlong into opportunism, one has the duty to strive to put it back on the right course. Not to do so is a political crime. So the importance of the fraction is that it carried out this role, contributing to the reconstitution of the Party, beginning with laying the ideological and political foundation. We based ourselves on Maoism, which at that time was called Mao Zedong Thought, and on the establishment of a general political line. The fraction has the great

distinction of having reconstituted the Party, and once that was done, the instrument then existed: the "heroic combatant;" the Communist Party of a new type, Marxist-Leninist-Maoist; the organized political vanguard--and not a"political-military organization" as it is often incorrectly put, but the Party required to launch the struggle to seize Power with arms in hand through people's War.

EL DIARIO: How has the Party changed through the people's war?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: First, and most important, the work leading up to the people's war helped us to come to understand Maoism as a new, third, and higher stage of Marxism. It has helped us develop the militarization of the Party and its concentric construction. Through the people's war, a People's Guerrilla Army has been forged. It was formed not long ago, in 1983.

The People's Guerrilla Army is important. It is the principal form of organization corresponding to the people's war which is the principal form of struggle. The People's Guerrilla Army which we have founded and which is developing vigorously, is being built based on Chairman Mao Zedong's theories, and on a very important thesis of Lenin's concerning the people's militia. Lenin, concerned that the army could be usurped and used to bring about a restoration, held that a people's militia should assume the functions of the army, police and administration. This is an important thesis and the fact that Lenin was not able to put it into practice due to historical circumstances does not make it any less important and valid. It is so important that Chairman Mao himself paid a lot of attention to the task of developing a people's militia. So our army has these features and it was formed by taking those experiences into account. But, at the same time, it has its own specific features. We have a structure composed of three forces: a main force, a local force and a base force. We have no independent militia, because it exists in the ranks of the Army itself, which was formed according to this criteria. It was the above-mentioned principles which guided us, but we also think it's correct to say that the People's Guerrilla Army could not have been built in any other way given our concrete conditions. This army, all the same, has been able to act in every situation and can be readjusted and reorganized as necessary in the future.

Another thing that has come out of the people's war, its main achievement, is the New Power. We see the question of the New Power as being linked to the question of the united front, basing ourselves on what Chairman Mao said in his work "On New Democracy." We've also kept in mind the long and putrid experience

with frontism in Peru where they've bastardized and continue to bastardize the united front, yesterday with the so-called "National Liberation Front" and today mainly with the self-proclaimed United Left and other monstrosities in formation like the much cackled-about "Socialist Convergence." In other words. we always take into account the principles and concrete conditions of our reality. That is why we don't understand why they call us dogmatists. In the final analysis, paper will put up with whatever is written on it. This has led us to form the Revolutionary Front for the Defense of the People [Frente Revolucionario de Defensa del Pueblo (FRDP)--TRANS.]. Here is another point. We were the ones who formed the first front for the defense of the people in Ayacucho. Patria Roja appropriated this heroic example, but deformed it in creating their "FEDIP." Even the name is wrong. If this is a front for defense of the people, why doesn't it defend the interests of the people? We build the Revolutionary Front for the Defense of the People only in the countryside, and in the form of the People's Committees it becomes the basis of Power. And those People's Committees in an area form a Base Area, and all the Base Areas together we call the New Democratic People's Republic in formation. In the cities we have established the Revolutionary Movement for the Defense of the People which also serves to wage the people's war in the city, gather forces, undermine the reactionary order and develop the city, gather forces, undermine the reactionary order and develop the unity of class forces in preparation for the future insurrection.

Other changes have to do with the forging of cadre. Obviously war forges in a different way. It steels people, permits us to imbue ourselves more deeply with our ideology, and forge iron-like cadre who dare to challenge death, to snatch the laurels of victory from the clutches of death. Another change in the Party that we could point to, but on a different plane, has to do with the world revolution. The people's war has enabled the Party to demonstrate clearly how, by grasping Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, we can develop a people's war without being subordinate to any power, beit a superpower or any other power--how it's possible to rely on our own strength to carry forward people's war. All this has given the Party prestige on an international level that it never had before, and this is not vanity, far from it, it's just a simple fact, and it has also allowed us to serve the development of the world revolution as never before. In this way the Party, through the people's war, is fulfilling its role as the Communist Party of Peru.

EL DIARIO: How do the workers and peasants participate in the People's Guerrilla Army?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The peasantry, especially the poor peasants, are the main participants, as fighters and commanders at different levels in the People's Guerrilla Army. The workers participate in the same ways, although the percentage of workers at this time is insufficient.

EL DIARIO: Chairman, where has the New Power developed most? In the countryside or in the city?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: We are developing the New Power only in the countryside. In the cities it will be developed in the final stage of the revolution. It is a question of the process of people's war. I think that when we analyze people's war we'll be able to deal with this point a little more.

EL DIARIO: Chairman, moving on a bit, the documents of the Communist Party establish you as the Leader of the Party and the revolution. What does this imply, and how is it different from the revisionist theory of the cult of the personality?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Here we must remember how Lenin saw the relationship between the masses, classes, the Party and leaders. We believe that the revolution, the Party, our class, generate leaders, a group of leaders. It has been like this in every revolution. If we think, for instance, about the October Revolution, we have Lenin, Stalin, Sverdlov and a few others, a small group. Similarly, in the Chinese revolution there's also a small group of leaders: Chairman Mao Zedong, and his comrades Kang Sheng, Chiang Ching, Chang Chun-chiao, among others. All revolutions are that way, including our own. We could not be an exception. Here it's not true that there is an exception to every rule because what we're talking about here is the operation of certain laws. All such processes have leaders, but they also have a leader who stands out above the rest or who leads the rest, in accordance with the conditions. Not all leaders can be viewed in exactly the same way. Marx is Marx, Lenin is Lenin, Chairman Mao is Chairman Mao. Each is unique, and no one is going to be just like them.

In our Party, revolution, and people's war, the proletariat, by a combination of necessity and historical chance, has brought forth a group of leaders. In Engels' view, it is necessity that generates leaders, and a top leader, but just who that is is determined by chance, by a set of specific conditions that come together at a particular place and time. In this way, in our case too, a Great Leadership [Jefatura] has been generated. This was first acknowledged in the Party at the

Expanded National Conference of 1979. But this question involves another basic question that can't be overlooked and needs to be emphasized: there is no Great Leadership [Jefatura] that does not base itself on a body of thought, no matter what its level of development may be. The reason that a certain person has come to speak as the Leader of the Party and the revolution, as the resolutions state, has to do with necessity and historical chance and, obviously, with Gonzalo Thought. None of us knows what the revolution and the Party will call on us to do, and when a specific task arises the only thing to do is assume the responsibility.

We have been acting in accordance with Lenin's view, which is correct. The cult of personality is a revisionist formulation. Lenin had warned us of the problem of negating leadership just as he emphasized the need for our class, the Party and the revolution to promote our own leaders, and more than that, top leaders, and a Great Leadership [Jefatura]. There's a difference here that is worth emphasizing. A leader is someone who occupies a certain position, whereas a top leader and Great Leadership [Jefatura], as we understand it, represent the acknowledgment of Party and revolutionary authority acquired and proven in the course of arduous struggle--those who in theory and practice have shown they are capable of leading and guiding us toward victory and the attainment of the ideals of our class.

Khrushchev raised the issue of the cult of personality to oppose comrade Stalin. But as we allknow, this was a pretext for attacking the dictatorship of the proletariat. Today, Gorbachev again raises the issue of the cult of personality, as did the Chinese revisionists Liu Shao-chi and Deng Xiaoping. It is therefore a revisionist thesis that in essence takes aim against the proletarian dictatorship and the Great Leadership [Jefatura] and Great Leaders of the revolutionary process in order to cut off its head. In our case it aims specifically at robbing the people's war of its leadership. We do not yet have a dictatorship of the proletariat, but we do have a New Power that is developing in accordance with the norms of new democracy, the joint dictatorship of the workers, peasants and progressives. In our case they seek to rob this process of leadership, and the reactionaries and those who serve them know very well why they do this, because it is not easy to generate Great Leaders and Great Leadership. And a people's war, like the one in this country, needs Great Leaders and a Great Leadership, someone who represents the revolution and heads it, and a group capable of leading it uncompromisingly. In sum, the cult of the personality is a sinister revisionist formulation which has nothing to do with our concept of revolutionary leaders, which conforms with

Leninism.

EL DLARIO: What significance does the convening of the First Congress of the Communist Party of Peru have for you and your party?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Coming back to this we would like to mention some points. We would like to reiterate that it is a landmark victory. It is the fulfillment of an obligation set forth by the founder himself. We have held the First Congress of the Communist Party of Peru. What does this imply? We reaffirm that none of the four congresses that took place up until 1962--during a period in which we were developing within the existing Party--none of these was a Marxist congress. None of them adhered strictly to the outlook of the proletariat. This Congress of ours, to underline what I have just said, was a Marxist Congress, but taking place at this moment in history it was a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Congress. And because Maoism is the third, new and highest stage, it is, in the final analysis, the principal of the three. But there is also Gonzalo Thought, because the Congress was based on this thought which has crystallized in the process of applying the universal truth of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to our concrete conditions. For all these reasons it was a "Marxist Congress, a Congress of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought."

This Congress has allowed us to make a summation of our whole process of development and to draw positive and negative lessons. This Congress has allowed us to affirm the basis of Party unity made up of its three elements: (1) the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, (2) the Programme, and (3) the General Political Line and at its center, the military line. Another achievement of the Congress is that it has laid a solid foundation for the prospective seizure of Power, I reiterate, prospective.

Being in the midst of people's war is what has enabled us to carry out the Congress. And we say this because as far back as 1967 we proposed holding a fifth congress, and in 1976 we proposed a congress of reconstitution. For a number of years we made attempts, but we were not able to pull it together. Why? This speaks to what has happened in many parties that are preparing to take up arms, to enter into armed struggle. They become entangled in big and explosive internal struggles that lead to divisions and end up short-circuiting the development of the struggle to seize Power by force of arms. This led us to postpone the congress in I978 and to wait until we were in the midst of people's war to hold it. We simply reasoned that once we were at war, who would be able to oppose the people's war? A

congress and Party with guns in hand, waging a powerful people's war, how would anyone be able to oppose developing the people's war? At that point they wouldn't be able to do us any real harm.

The Congress has pushed forward our development in other aspects. It has made us see and understand the process of people's war more deeply, and in particular, the need to prepare for the seizure of Power. The Congress has also brought about a leap in the struggle, and this is good. It is necessary to say it clearly, although some may want to misinterpret it, but, in short, we are not bothered anymore by misinterpretations or by alien and non-revolutionary elements. The Congress clarified thatwith respect to the two-line struggle in the Party, revisionism is the main danger.

This deserves a little explanation. At this time there is no right opportunist line in the Party, only isolated rightist attitudes, ideas, approaches and even some isolated rightist positions. But precisely by delving into this question the Congress concluded that targeting revisionism as the main danger is the best way the Party can ward off and prevent the emergence of a right opportunist line, which would be a revisionist line.

Chairman Mao emphasized that we must always be concerned about revisionism because it is the main danger facing the world revolution. So we also take into consideration the situation outside our ranks, since any rightist tendency in the Party, expressed in attitudes, ideas, approaches, and positions of a rightist nature, has to do with ideological processes, with the repercussions of the class struggle, and the campaigns of the reactionary State, with the actions of revisionism itself in our country, with the counterrevolutionary activities of imperialism, especially the contention between the two superpowers, and the sinister role of revisionism on a world scale. So the Party prepares us and we raise our guard. And thus by waging a firm and farsighted two-line struggle among the people--because I repeat, there is no right opportunist line--we can avoid the emergence of a revisionist line. What we've said may be misinterpreted, but it's necessary to say things plainly and teach the people. The Congress has armed us and demands that we: look out for revisionism! and combat it relentlessly! wherever it should present itself, beginning with preventing and combating whatever form it might take within the Party itself. And in this way we will also be better armed to fight revisionism outside our ranks and on a world scale. This is one of the most important points of the Congress.

The Congress has given us great unanimity. Yes, unanimity. We

adhere closely to what Lenin demanded, that a Party, in order to face complex and difficult situations like those we face daily--and will face even more in the decisive moments that are unfolding and will unfold--has to have unanimity. We must carry out struggle in order to have a clear and defined line, a common understanding, in order to have iron-like unity and to strike powerful blows. So the Congress has also given us unanimity, but attained, I insist, through two-line struggle. This is how we do things. Why is this so? I repeat again, the Party is a contradiction and every contradiction consists of two aspects in struggle. This is the way it is and no one can escape this.

So today our Party is more united than ever, and more united because of the lofty tasks that must be undertaken with firmness and determination. On another level, the Congress obviously selected a Central Committee, and since it is the First Congress, we have the First Central Committee. The Congress has given us all these things and, finally, as we well know, since this is the highest level of a Party, what has been sanctioned there has been ratified at the highest organizational level. Today, all this makes us stronger, more united, more determined, more resolute. But there is something that is worth emphasizing again. The Congress is the offspring of the Party and of the war. Without the people's war this historic task, which had been pending for nearly 60 years since the Party's founding in 1928, would not have been accomplished. But what is important is that the Congress strengthens the development of the people's war. It returns to the people's war a hundredfold what the people's war contributed to the realization of the Congress. The people's war is stronger now and will gain even greater force, much more than before.

For all these reasons, the Congress is for us, the members of the Communist Party of Peru, an immortal milestone of victory, and we are certain that it will be imprinted in the history of our Party forever. We expect the Congress to lead to great things in the service of the proletariat of Peru, the Peruvian people, the international proletariat, the oppressed nations, and the people of the world.

EL DIARIO: Some people say that the convening of the First Congress of the PCP dealt a big blow to the reactionary forces because it took place under conditions of an intense people's war. What do you have to say?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: It seems to us that this is an accurate assessment and it shows that there is a class and a people in this country who understand what we are doing, what the Party is doing. For us this is an important expression of recognition which compels us

to strive harder in order to be worthy of such confidence, such hope.

EL DIARIO: Was it necessary to carry out a struggle to purify the Party before the Congress was held?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: No. In our case the all-out struggle took place at the IXth Plenum in I979 in order to initiate the people's war. There we waged a fierce struggle against a right opportunist line that opposed the initiation of the people's war. It was there that expulsions and purification of the Party took place. But as is well established, such purging strengthens a Party, and so it was in our case. The proof is that we initiated the people's war and have been carrying it out for eight years. At the Congress, there wasn't this kind of struggle to purify the Party.

EL DIARIO: Many people wonder where the strength and determination of the PCP cadre come from. Does it have to do with solid ideological training? What is this process like?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The strength of the Party members is based on ideological and political training. It is fortified through embracing the ideology of the proletariat, and its specific application, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought; the programme; and the general political line and its central element, the military line. The strength of the cadre develops on this basis. One thing that we concerned ourselves with a great deal in initiating people's war was the cadre. The preparation for people's war raised the question for us of how to steel the cadre, and we imposed high demands on ourselves to break with the old society, absolute and complete dedication to the revolution, and to give our lives. This is well expressed when one recalls the 1980 Plenary of the Central Committee and the military school. At the end of those events all the cadre made a commitment, we all took responsibility for being the initiators of the people's war. It was a solemn promise that later everyone in the Party made.

How does this process take place? It starts with how each of the future cadre is forged in the class struggle before joining the Party. Each one participates in the class struggle, advances, and begins to work more closely with us until the time comes when that person on their own makes the big decision of asking to join the Party. The Party analyzes the person's situation, their strengths and weaknesses--because we all have them--and if worthy, accepts them into the Party. Once in the Party, systematic ideological training begins. It is in the Party that we transform ourselves into communists. It is the Party that makes us into communists. A characteristic of the situation in recent years is that the

cadre have been steeled in war. Moreover, those who join become part of a Party that is leading a war, and therefore they do so first and foremost to develop as communists, as fighters in the People's Guerrilla Army, or administrators, in some cases, in levels of the New State that we are organizing.

So the people's war is another element of great importance that contributes to forging the cadre. In sum, while we take ideology and politics as our starting point, it is the war itself that forges the cadre. On that fiery forge we are molded in accordance with the Party. And in this way we all advance and make a contribution. Nevertheless, there is always a contradiction between the revolutionary line that is principal in our thinking and the opposing line. Both lines exist, since no one is a hundred percent communist. In our minds a struggle between two lines is waged, and this struggle is also key in forging the cadre, aiming always at keeping the revolutionary line principal. This is what we strive for.

This is how our cadre are being forged, and the facts show the degree of revolutionary heroism that they are capable of, just like other sons and daughters of the people.

EL DIARIO: Do you think that one of the highest expressions of the heroism of the PCP cadre took place in the prisons on June 19, 1986?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: This was a high expression of it, yes. But we believe that the highest expression of revolutionary heroism, a raging torrent of heroism, occurred when we confronted the genocide of 1983 and 1984, as we battled the armed forces that had just entered the fray. This has beenthe most massive genocide so far. And it brought forward, as a principal and vital aspect, great examples of the people's fighting spirit. Beyond this, it was a mass expression of heroism, of devotion, of sacrificing their lives--and not only on the part of the communists, but also the peasants, workers, intellectuals, the sons and daughters of the people. This was the greatest demonstration of mass revolutionary heroism to date, and the experience that has steeled us the most.

Then why do we honor June 19 as the "Day of Heroism"? The 19th is a day that shows our people and the world what steadfast communists and consistent revolutionaries are capable of, because it was not only communists who died. The majority were revolutionaries. It has emerged as a symbol because there is a specific date, while the general genocide lasted for two years and involved many scattered events. The 19th was a single event, an example whose enormous

impact shook Peru and the world. For this reason we honor June 19 as the "Day of Heroism."

EL DIARIO: Chairman, how does the PCP sustain the huge Party apparatus, including the People's Guerrilla Army?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: I think this deserves a detailed explanation. Concerning the Party, Chairman Mao teaches us, as did Marx, Lenin and all the great Marxists, that the Party is not a mass party, though the Party has a mass character. It has a mass character in the sense that while being a select organization--a selection of the best, of the proven, of those, as Stalin said, who have what it takes--being numerically small in proportion to the broad masses, the Party defends the interests of the proletariat, and takes responsibility for the class interests of the proletariat in taking responsibility for its emancipation, which can only come with communism. But since other classes that make up the people also participate in the revolution, the Party defends their interests as well, in accordance with the fact that the proletariat can only emancipate itself by emancipating all the oppressed. There is no other way it can emancipate itself.

Because of this, the Party has a mass character, but it isn't a mass party. The mass party, of which so much is said today, is nothing but an expression, once again, of rotten revisionist positions. Such parties are parties of followers, of officials, organizational machines. Our Party is a Party of fighters, of leaders, an instrument of war like the one Lenin himself would demand. I believe we can understand this more deeply if we remember how many Bolsheviks there were when the October Revolution triumphed: 80 thousand in a country of 150 million inhabitants.

The Party is a system of organizations and obviously has its necessities. The formation of an army that is numerically much larger, more vast, also has its necessities. Marxism, and especially Chairman Mao, has taught us how to resolve this problem, too. The CPC, based on Chairman Mao Zedong's teachings, concluded that giving economic aid to parties was corrosive, and that it was a revisionist policy, because a Party must be self-reliant. This is what we have followed: self-reliance. Self-reliance has to do with economic necessities, but mainly, as we understand it, it has to do with ideological and political orientation. With that as our starting point we can see how to deal with the economic necessities which are always present--it would be an error to say they don't exist.

Basing ourselves on these criteria we have resolved the problem and

we will continue to resolve it by relying on the masses. It is the masses of our people, the proletariat, our class--because this is our class--to which we owe our existence and which we serve; our peasantry, mainly the poor peasants; the intellectuals; the petty bourgeoisie; the advanced; the revolutionaries, those who want a radical transformation, in a word, revolution--that's who sustains the Party. It is mainly the peasantry and the proletariat who sustain it. And taking it further, the poor peasants especially are the ones who go without to give us food from their tables, who share their blanket with us, and make a little place for us in their hut. They are the ones who sustain us, support us and even give us their own blood, as does the proletariat, as do the intellectuals. This is how we are developing. This is what we base ourselves on.

This problem brings us to the following questions. Since we start from this basis it allows us to be independent, to be under no one's command. Because in the international communist movement it became the habit to obey commands. Khrushchev was a champion at issuing commands, as is Gorbachev today, or that sinister character Deng. Independence, because each Communist Party must decide for itself since it is responsible for its own revolution, not in order to separate it from the world revolution, but precisely in order to serve it. This allows us to make our own decisions, to decide for ourselves. Chairman Mao said it like this: we were given a lot of advice, some good, some bad. We accepted the good and rejected the bad. But if we had accepted some erroneous principle, the responsibility would not have belonged to those who gave the advice, but to us. Why? Because we make our own decisions. That comes with independence, and it leads to self-sufficiency, to self-reliance.

Does this mean that we don't recognize proletarian internationalism? No, on the contrary, we are fervent and consistent practitioners of proletarian internationalism. And we are confident that we have the support of the international proletariat, the oppressed nations, the peoples of the world, the parties or organizations that remain loyal to Marxism whatever their degree of development, and we recognize that the first thing that they give us, their primary support, is their own struggle. The propaganda or celebrations that they carry out are a form of support that is creating favorable public opinion and this is an expression of proletarian internationalism. Proletarian internationalism also underlies the advice they give us and the opinions they express. But, I insist, we are the ones who must decide whether we accept these or not. If they are correct, we welcome them, obviously, because between Parties we have the obligation to help each other, especially in such difficult and complex times.

Then, to reiterate, all the struggles waged by the proletariat, the oppressed nations, the peoples of the world, the parties and organizations steadfast and loyal to Marxism--all that struggle is the primary concrete form of proletarian internationalist help. Nevertheless, the greatest assistance we have is undying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, the ideology of the international proletariat, which has been generated by the working class through long decades and thousands of struggles all over the world. This is the greatest assistance we receive because it is the light, without which our eyes would see nothing. But with this light our eyes can see and our hands can act. This is how we see this problem, and this is how we advance.

EL DIARIO: Chairman, perhaps the answer to this question is obvious, but we would like to know your opinion of the revisionist parties that are financed by international foundations, and the big imperialist powers, and by social-imperialism.

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: They have betrayed the world revolution, betray revolution in every country, and betray our class and the people, because to serve superpowers or imperialist powers, to serve revisionism, especially social-imperialism, to dance to their tune, to be pawns in their game of world domination is to betray the revolution.

III. People's War

EL DIARIO: Chairman, let's talk about the people's war now. What does violence mean to you, Chairman Gonzalo?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: With regard to violence we start from the principle established by Chairman Mao Tsetung: violence, that is, the need for revolutionary violence, is a universal law with no exception. Revolutionary violence is what allows us to resolve fundamental contradictions by means of an army, through people's war. Why do we start from Chairman Mao's thesis? Because we believe Mao reaffirmed Marxism on this question, establishing that there are no exceptions whatsoever to this law. What Marx held, that violence is the midwife of history, continues to be a totally valid and monumental contribution. Lenin expounded upon violence and spoke about Engels' panegyric praise of revolutionary violence, but it was the Chairman who told us that it was a universal law, without any exception. That's why we take his thesis as our starting point. This is an essential question of Marxism, because without revolutionary violence one class cannot replace another, an old order cannot be overthrown to create a new one--today a new order led by the proletariat through Communist Parties.

The problem of revolutionary violence is an issue that is more and more being put on the table for discussion, and therefore we communists and revolutionaries must reaffirm our principles. The problem of revolutionary violence is how to actually carry it out with people's war. The way we see this question is that when Chairman Mao Tsetung established the theory of people's war and put it into practice, he provided the proletariat with its military line, with a military theory and practice that is universally valid and therefore applicable everywhere in accordance with the concrete conditions.

We see the problem of war this way: war has two aspects, destructive and constructive. Construction is the principal aspect. Not to see it this way undermines the revolution--weakens it. On the other hand, from the moment the people take up arms to overthrow the old order, from that moment, the reaction seeks to crush, destroy and annihilate the struggle, and it uses all the means at its disposal, including genocide. We have seen this in our country; we are seeing it now, and will continue to see it even more until the outmoded Peruvian State is demolished.

As for the so-called dirty war, I would like to simply point out that they claim that the reactionary armed forces learned this dirty war from us. This accusation clearly expresses a lack of understanding of revolution, and of what a people's war is. The reaction, through its armed forces and other repressive forces, seeks to carry out their objective of sweeping us away, of eliminating us. Why? Because we want to do the same to them--sweep them away and eliminate them as a class. Mariátegui said that only by destroying, demolishing the old order could a new social order be brought into being. In the final analysis, we judge these problems in light of the basic principle of war established by Chairman Mao: the principle of annihilating the enemy's forces and preserving one's own forces. We know very well that the reaction has used, is using, and will continue to use genocide. On this we are absolutely clear. And consequently this raises the problem of the price we have to pay: in order to annihilate the enemy and to preserve, and even more to develop our own forces, we have to pay a price in war, a price in blood, the need to sacrifice a part for the triumph of the people's war.

As for terrorism, they claim we're terrorists. I would like to give the following answer so that everyone can think about it: has it or has it not been Yankee imperialism and particularly Reagan who has branded all revolutionary movements as terrorists, yes or no? This is how they attempt to discredit and isolate us in order to crush us. That is their dream. And it's not only Yankee imperialism and the other imperialist powers that combat so-called terrorism. So does social-imperialism and revisionism, and today Gorbachev himself proposes to unite with the struggle against terrorism. And it isn't by chance that at the VIIIth Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania Ramiz Alia dedicated himself to combatting it.

But it will be very useful for all of us to remember what Lenin wrote : "Long live the pioneers of the people’s revolutionary army! It is no longer a plot against some detested individual, no act of vengeance or desperation, no mere “intimidation”—no, it was a well thought-out and prepared commencement of operations by a contingent of the revolutionary army, planned with due regard for the correlation of forces." "Fortunately, the time has passed when revolution was “made” by individual revolutionary terrorists, because the people were not revolutionary. The bomb has ceased to be the weapon of the solitary “bomb thrower”, and is becoming an essential weapon of the people."

Lenin taught us that the times had changed, that the bomb had become a weapon of combat for our class, for the people, that what we're talking about is no longer a conspiracy, an isolated individual

act, but the actions of a Party, with a plan, with a system, with an army. So, where is the imputed terrorism? It's pure slander.

Finally, we always have to remember that, especially in present-day war, it is precisely the reactionaries who use terrorism as one of their means of struggle, and it is, as has been proven repeatedly, one of the forms used on a daily basis by the armed forces of the Peruvian State. Considering all this, we can conclude that those whose reasoning is colored by desperation because the earth is trembling beneath their feet wish to charge us with terrorism in order to hide the people's war. But this people's war is so earthshaking that they themselves admit that it is of national dimensions and that it has become the principal problem facing the Peruvian State. What terrorism could do that? None. And moreover, they can no longer deny that a Communist Party is leading the people's war. And at this time some of them are beginning to reconsider; we shouldn't be too hasty in writing anyone off. There are those who could come forward. Others, like Del Prado, never.

EL DIARIO: What are some of the particularities of the people's war in Peru, and how does it differ from other struggles in the world, in Latin America, and from the Movimiento Revolucionario Túpac Amaru (MRTA)?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: That's a good question. I thank you for asking it, because it gives us a chance to look at the Party's so-called "dogmatism" a bit more. There are even those who say that we incorrectly try to apply Chairman Mao in an era where he is no longer applicable. In short, they babble on so much that we feel perfectly justified asking whether they have any idea what they are talking about. This includes the much-decorated senator who is a specialist in violence.

People's war is universally applicable, in accordance with the character of the revolution and adapted to the specific conditions of each country. Otherwise, it cannot be carried out. In our case, the particularities are very dear. It is a struggle that is waged in the countryside and in the city, as was established as far back as I968 in the plan for the people's war. Here we have a difference, a particularity: it is waged in the countryside and the city. This, we believe, has to do with our own specific conditions. Latin America, for instance, has cities which are proportionately larger than those on other continents. It is a reality of Latin America that can't be ignored. Just look at the capital of Peru, for example, which has a high percentage of the country's population. So, for us, the city could not

be left aside, and the war had to be developed there as well. But the struggle in the countryside is principal, the struggle in the city a necessary complement. This is one particularity, there's another.

In the beginning of the people's war we confronted the police. That was the reality because only in December 1982 did the armed forces enter the war. This is not to say that they had not been used in a support role before then. They had, in addition to their studying the process of our development. It is a particularity because we created a power vacuum in the countryside and we had to establish the New Power without having defeated large armed forces--because they hadn't come into the war. And when they did, when they came in, it was because we had established People's Power. That was the concrete political situation in the country. If we had applied the letter and not the spirit of Mao we would not have established the New Power and we would have been sitting, waiting for the armed forces to come in. We would have gotten bogged down. Another particularity was the structure of the army which I've already talked about.

All these are particularities. We have already spoken to the countryside and city, to how to carry out the war, to the army, to how the New Power arose; and the militarization of the Party itself is another particularity. These are specific things that correspond to our reality, to the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, of Chairman Mao's theory on people's war, to the conditions in our country. Does this make us different from other struggles? Yes.

Why do we differ from others? Because we carry out people's war this makes us different from other struggles in Latin America. In Cuba, people's war was not carried out, but they also had their own particularities which they have intentionally forgotten. Before, they said Cuba was an exceptional case--Guevara said this--the fact that U.S. imperialism didn't take part. Later they forgot this. Aside from this, there was no Communist Party there to give leadership. These are questions of Cubanism and its five characteristics: an insufficient class differentiation which demanded that saviors save the oppressed; socialist revolution or a caricature of revolution; united front but without the national bourgeoisie; no need for Base Areas; and as noted, no need for a Party. What we are seeing in Latin America today is just the development of these same positions, only more and more at the service of social-imperialism and its contention with Yankee imperialism for world hegemony. We can see this clearly in Central America. The MRTA, the little that we know of it, falls into the same category.

Finally, another issue that makes us different--and forgive me if I'm insistent--concerns independence, self-reliance, and making our own decisions. Because others do not have these characteristics they are used as pawns, while we are not. And one far-reaching difference: we take Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as our guide, others do not. In sum, the greatest difference, the fundamental difference, is in the point of departure; ours is the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, applied to the specific conditions of our country, and I insist here again, that this is with clear particularities which show the falsehood of the so-called dogmatism they accuse us of--which they do at the behest of their masters.

EL DIARIO: Chairman, would you say then that the MRTA is playing a counterrevolutionary role in this country?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The MRTA has positions that should make one think. For example, the truce they granted to APRA until, as they said, APRA attacked the people. But we all know that the same day that García Pérez assumed the presidency, he repressed the masses in the very capital of the republic. In October 1985 there was genocide at Lurigancho prison. Were the people being attacked or not? And how long did they wait to put an end to their truce? These are things one must ask oneself.

EL DIARIO: Since you consider the Base Areas to be so important, could you tell us how they are being built? What do you think about insurrection and how are you preparing the cities?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The Base Area is the essence of people's war. Without it, people's war cannot develop. I have already talked about the specific circumstances that we confronted in the second half of 1982. We were developing the final stage of the campaign to unfold guerrilla warfare, aimed at destroying the semi-feudal relations of exploitation. We took aim against gamonalismo, which is the basis of state power, and will be, until we sweep it away. We continued to strike blows and we dealt the police devastating and humiliating defeats. You don't have to take my word on this. Journalists from Expreso, for example, have said this, and I think it's safe to say that their judgment was not colored by revolutionary sympathies. Thus having generated a power vacuum in the countryside, the problem was posed to us, what is to be done? And we decided to create People's Committees, that is, a joint dictatorship, a New Power. We set out to make them clandestine, because the armed forces would have to enter the battle shortly, this we knew. Those People's Committees have multiplied a hundredfold. Those that are in a given locality form

a Base Area, and all these Base Areas taken together constitute the New Democratic People's Republic in formation. This is how the committees and Base Areas came into being and how the New Democratic People's Republic is being formed.

When the armed forces did come in we had to wage an arduous struggle. They fought to re-establish the old order, and we fought to counter this re-establishment in order to again set up the New Power.

An extremely bloody and absolutely merciless genocide took place. We fought fiercely. In 1984, the reaction, and in particular the armed forces, believed they had defeated us. Here I'm referring to documents that they are very familiar with, because they are theirs, in which it was even said that we were no longer a danger, but that MRTA was the danger. But what was the outcome? The People's Committees and the Base Areas multiplied, and later that led us to continue the development of Base Areas. That is what we are doing today.

As for insurrection, I believe this is an extremely important question. The developing revolutionary situation in a country like ours allowed us to initiate the people's war, having already reconstituted the Party and established a clear ideology. The actual development of the Base Areas, the development of the People's Guerrilla Army and of the people's war, are giving impetus to the furtherunfolding of the revolutionary situation.

Thus, keeping in mind what Chairman Mao has said, all of this is leading to what he called a high tide of struggle, or what Lenin termed a revolutionary crisis. When we reach that point the insurrection takes place. This is the theory of people's war, and this is what we are taking up, and the basis upon which we are developing. Therefore, because the process of our people's war must bring us to a high tide, we must prepare the insurrection that in synthesis comes down to the seizure of the cities. We are thinking about and preparing for this insurrection because it is a necessity. Without it we can not win country-wide victory.

What does the problem of the cities pose for us? We have developed our work in the cities and in the countryside for many years. This work has undergone a shift and a change with the people's war, it is true. Our situation now leads us to consider how we are going to prepare the city, or the cities, to generalize it. This has to do with developing our mass work, but within and for the people's war. We have done this, and we continue to do it. The point is that we have begun to develop it more. We think that our activity in the cities is

indispensable and it must be pushed forward more and more, because that is where the proletariat is concentrated and we cannot leave it in the hands of revisionism or opportunism.

The barriadas are in the cities, the shantytowns with their vast masses. Since 1976 we've had guidelines for work in the cities. Take barrios and barriadas as the foundation and the proletariat as the leading force. This is our policy and we will continue to apply it, now, under conditions of people's war.

What masses do we direct our work at? This you can see. From what's already been said, it's clear that the vast masses of the barrios and barriadas are a belt of steel that is going to encircle the enemy and hold back the reactionary forces.

We have to win over the working class more and more until they and the people acknowledge our leadership. We fully understand that it will take time and repeated experience in order for our class to see, understand, and reaffirm that this is their vanguard--for the people to see that they have a center that leads them. They have that right, given how much the masses have been swindled! The proletariat, the masses of the barriadas, the petty bourgeoisie, the intellectuals--how many hopes frustrated! We must understand that they have the right to demand it, clearly they have it, and we have the responsibility to work to make them see, to show them, that we really are their vanguard and that they should acknowledge us as such.

We differentiate between being a vanguard and being an acknowledged vanguard. Our class has that right and no one can deny it to them. The people have that right and no one can deny it to them. That's what we think. We don't think that the proletariat and the people are going to acknowledge us overnight as their vanguard and only center, which is what we have to be in order to carry out the revolution as it must be carried out. So we have to persevere and develop different forms as an integral part of our mass work, different forms so that the masses learn from the people's war itself, so that they learn the value of weapons, the importance of the gun. Chairman Mao says that the peasantry must learn the importance of the gun, this is a fact. So we do our work in this way. We create new forms and in this way we unfold our mass work within and for the people's war.

This is related to something else, to the Revolutionary Movement for the Defense of the People (MRDP), whose very key is the Center of Resistance. We say this very frankly. These are other organizational forms, other forms of struggle which correspond to a people's war.

They cannot be the usual ones, they cannot be, they have a different character; this is the concrete reality. Consequently, we develop the Party, the People's Guerrilla Army, and the Revolutionary Movement for the Defense of the People, as well as organizations created for the various areas of work.

We need to spur on the masses' fighting spirit so that the potential of the masses and our class can be realized. Let's look at something. Today we have huge price increases. Why is there no popular protest? Who is holding the masses back? Lenin said protest makes the reaction tremble; when our class marches in the streets the reaction trembles. This is what we want to apply, what Marxism-Leninism-Maoism teaches us. Our class is born and develops in struggle, and so do the people. What we need to do is synthesize the masses', the people's own experience, to help them establish their own organizational forms, forms of struggle, taking into their own hands ever more developed and expanding forms of struggle in the cities. This is the way they will be trained.

What do we think? It is clear that the center of things is in the countryside, but for the insurrection the center changes, the center goes over to the city, and that even means that, just as in the beginning we moved fighters and communists from the cities to the countryside, later we must move them from the countryside to the city. This is the way it will be and this is how we shift our weight in preparation for the insurrection. We have to be looking for the conditions that permit the actions of the People's Guerrilla Army to converge with insurrectionary actions in the cities, in one city or in several. This is what we need.

The insurrection aims at capturing the cities in order for the people's war to win country-wide victory. But we have to try to preserve the means of production, which the reaction will want to destroy, and protect revolutionary prisoners of war or known revolutionaries, who they will want to annihilate, as well as to hunt down our enemies, to put them where they can't do any harm. This is what we've been taught about insurrection. And this is what an insurrection is. Lenin taught us how to build towards an insurrection and Chairman Mao taught us the role of insurrection in people's war. This is how we see insurrection and how we are preparing for it. This is the road we must follow and are following.

We must be very clear on one thing. Insurrection is not a simple, spontaneous explosion. No, that would be dangerous. Nevertheless, this could happen, and that's why we must and do concern ourselves

with insurrection, starting right now. We think there are those who might want to use the people's war for their own benefit. Some time ago, in a session of Central Committee, we analyzed the possibilities. And one of them is that the revisionists or others may provoke "insurrections," either to abort the process of development or to gain positions and serve their social-imperialist master--or whatever power directs them, since many centers could want to use us this way.

EL DIARIO: Chairman, what would the Party do in those circumstances?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: In those circumstances, we would do what Lenin did: tell the masses that this is not the moment, but if the masses launch an insurrection, fight alongside them, so that together we can make an orderly retreat and so that they suffer as little as possible. And if we die with them, our blood will be merged with theirs to a greater extent. This is what Lenin taught us in the famous struggles of July 1917. Because we cannot just tell the masses they are wrong and let events make them understand. No, we can't do that. The masses are the masses, our class is our class, and if they are not heading in the right direction, and the conditions make them desperate and push them into situations, or even if there are those who push them on purpose, we have to be with them so that alongside them we can help them see the unfavorable situation, and fighting alongside them, help them retreat in the best way possible. And then they will see that we are with them through thick and thin. This is the best way for them to understand and be convinced that we are their Party. This is what we would do.

EL DIARIO: Chairman, another question. When you speak of the forms of struggle in the city, what role do you ascribe to the unions?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The same one Marx ascribed to them in "The Past, Present and Future of the Trade Unions." A hundred years ago, Marx said that the trade unions began as simple associations for the economic defense of the workers. That is their past. Their present is to become more organized and to develop politically. And their future is to serve the seizure of Power. This Marx has already told us. So then, what is the problem? How to combine the two struggles. The economic struggle is, as Marx said himself, a guerrilla war--the struggle that our class, the proletariat, and the people develop for wages, hours, working conditions and other rights. When a strike is launched, it is a guerrilla war in which people not only fight around concrete economic or political questions, if it is of general interest, but also prepare for great moments to come. And this is its fundamental

historic essence. So the question for us is how to relate the economic struggle to the seizure of Power. This is what we call developing our mass work within and for the people's war.

EL DIARIO: Chairman, you spoke of the revolutionary crisis. Do you believe it's on the horizon in the short term?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The issue is the triumph of the people's war and this has to do, mainly, with how much more and how much better we fight. And the insurrection, as I've already said, is the knock-out punch we must prepare to deliver, and we're seriously preparing to deliver it. We have to anticipate the possibility that others may wish to use it to their advantage. But the main problem is the timing of the insurrection, determining the opportune moment.

EL DIARIO: Why did the Communist Party of Peru initiate the people's war in 1980? What is the military and historical explanation for this? What social, economic and political analysis did the PCP carry out in order to launch the war?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: We studied the country, particularly from World War II on, and we saw that in its process of development Peruvian society was entering a complex situation. The government's own analysis showed that critical questions would present themselves in the '80s. In Peru it can be seen that there is a crisis every 10 years in the second half of the decade and each crisis is worse than the one before. We also analyzed bureaucrat capitalism, which makes conditions more ripe for revolution. In 1980, the government was to change hands through elections, which meant that the new government would need a year and a half to two years to fully put in place the operations of its State. So we concluded that bureaucrat capitalism had ripened the conditions for revolution, and that the difficult decade of the '80s approached--with crisis, an elected government, etc. All this provided a very favorable conjuncture for initiating the people's war and refuted the position that armed struggle, or in our case people's war, cannot be initiated when there's a new government events have demonstrated the incorrectness of that position. Such was our evaluation, and such was the situation as the new government took over, that is, the military, having left the government after ruling for 12 years, could not easily take up the struggle against us right away, nor could they immediately take the helm of state again because they were worn down and had become discredited. These were the concrete facts, the reality.

Prior to that time, we had already put forward that participation in

the Constituent Assembly was incorrect, that the only thing to do was to boycott it, because to participate in the Constituent Assembly was simply to serve the restructuring of the Peruvian State and to produce a constitution like the one we have. All this was foreseeable, there was nothing that could not be foreseen in this case. Therefore, we had planned for some time to lay the basis to initiate the people's war, to make our move before the new government took office, which is what we did. We began the armed struggle on May 17, the day before the elections.

We thought that under these conditions we could initiate our actions and even unfold them broadly and advance to the greatest extent possible--and that is exactly what we did. We were also thinking that in the second part of the decade there would have to be a more serious crisis than the previous one and therefore, better conditions for advancing. The initiation of the people's war was planned based on these considerations. But it's been said that we didn't think, but only acted dogmatically. In what way? Some people preach about dogma while swallowing anything they're told.

For these reasons we chose that moment, and the correctness of our decision has been borne out by events. It was obvious that Belaúnde--and this is something we discussed openly--would fear a coup d'etat and therefore would restrain the armed forces. Was that difficult to foresee? No, because of the experience he had in 1968. These things could be calculated, and we've been taught to evaluate,analyze and weigh things--that's how we've been taught. The Chairman was very exacting with regard to these problems, especially in regard to preparation. We believe that events have confirmed our analysis. For two years the armed forces could not come in. Was that the case or not? Now they are saying that they burned the intelligence information that they had. In short, the new government had problems setting up its administration and the facts have shown that. Then came the crisis. The military has entered the battle with ever larger contingents and in fighting them for a number of years we are more powerful, we continue to flourish and develop. These were the reasons for initiating the people's war in 1980, and the facts show that we were not wrong, at least not in the broad outlines, which is where one must not be wrong.

EL DIARIO: Taking into account that there are two strategies in conflict in this war, could you explain the process of development of your military plans, advances and what problems you've had?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Our starting point is this: each class has its

own specific form of war, and therefore its own strategy. The proletariat has developed its strategy, people's war, and it is a superior strategy. The bourgeoisie can never have a strategy superior to this. Moreover, there will never be a strategy more developed than that of the proletariat. It is a question of studying military processes in the world. Each class has always brought forth its own form of waging war, and its own strategy. And always, the superior strategy has defeated the inferior strategy, and the new class always has the superior strategy and that's what people's war is. There is evidence to prove this. There are military analysts who put it like this: communists, when they have applied their principles, have never lost a war; they have only lost wars when they have not applied their principles.

Therefore, our starting point was that we have a superior strategy, a universally proven theory. Our problem was how to wield it to make our revolution. Therein lies the problem--and the possibility of making errors. The first thing that we established was the need to avoid a mechanical application of people's war, because Chairman Mao Tsetung warned us that a mechanical application leads to opportunism and defeat. In 1980, which is when we decided to begin the people's war, we decided in the Party Central Committee to pay strict attention to developing a concrete application, not a dogmatic or a mechanical one. This is how we formulated it. This was our starting point. Well, here we can point out the first problem that we had. The first problem that we had was an antagonistic struggle against a right opportunist line that opposed starting the people's war. This is the first problem that we had. We settled this question fundamentally in the IXth Plenum, and the remnants were swept away completely in the February 1980 Plenum. That was the first problem we had, and from there we had the struggle to purify the Party that we talked about before. And we had to struggle fiercely to weed out elements from the Central Committee itself. That's the way it is, but that is how we strengthened ourselves and were able to enter the process of initiating the people's war. We already had a plan for waging war in the countryside and the city.

The first plan that we proposed was the Plan to Initiate. The Political Bureau was asked to determine how to develop armed actions, and it was this body that presented the plan, based on detachments as the military form. This plan was brought to its conclusion in I980, but it is important to note that two weeks after initiating the armed struggle there was a meeting of the expanded Political Bureau in order to analyze how it had gone, and it concluded that a new thing had been born, and this was the people's war, armed actions, detachments. Then

we developed the Plan to Unfold. This was a longer plan, comprising two years, but it was accomplished through several campaigns. It was at the end of this plan that the new forms of Power crystallized and the People's Committees arose.

At the end of 1982, the armed forces came in. The CC had anticipated this for more than a year. It had studied the involvement of the armed forces, and concluded that it would increase until the army had substituted for the police, who would then assume a secondary role. This is how it has been, and given the situation it could not have been otherwise. We had prepared ourselves, but nevertheless, we had a second problem. The introduction of the armed forces had its consequences. They came inapplying a policy of genocide from the beginning. They formed armed groups, called mesnadas, forcing the masses to join and putting them in front, using them as shields. This must be said clearly: here we see not only the policy of using masses against masses, an old reactionary policy already seen by Marx, but also a cowardly use of the masses, putting the masses in front of them. The armed forces have nothing to boast about--with good reason we have called them experts at defeat, and skilled at attacking the unarmed masses. These are the armed forces of Peru. Faced with this we convened an expanded session of the CC. It was a large meeting and it lasted a long time. It was one of the longest sessions we've ever had. That's when we established the Plan to Conquer Base Areas, and the People's Guerrilla Army was created to respond to a force that was obviously of a higher level than the police. It was there that we also raised, among other things, the problem of Front-State.

Thus arose the second problem, the problem of confronting the genocide, the genocide of 1983 and 1984. It is in the Party documents. It's not necessary to go into it a lot, but we do want to stress the fact that it was a vicious and merciless genocide. They thought that with this genocide "they would wipe us off the map." How real this was is shown by the fact that, by the end of 1984, they began to circulate among their officers documents concerning our annihilation. The struggle was intense, hard, those were complex and difficult times.

In the face of reactionary military actions and the use of mesnadas, we responded with a devastating action: Lucanamarca. Neither they nor we have forgotten it, to be sure, because they got an answer that they didn't imagine possible. More than 80 were annihilated, that is the truth. And we say openly that there were excesses, as was analyzed in 1983. But everything in life has two aspects. Our task was to deal a devastating blow in order to put them in check, to make them understand that it was not going to be so easy. On some occasions,

like that one, it was the Central Leadership itself that planned the action and gave instructions. That's how it was. In that case, the principal thing is that we dealt them a devastating blow, and we checked them and they understood that they were dealing with a different kind of people's fighters, that we weren't the same as those they had fought before. This is what they understood. The excesses are the negative aspect. Understanding war, and basing ourselves on what Lenin said, taking Clausewitz into account, in war, the masses engaged in combat can go too far and express all their hatred, the deep feelings of class hatred, repudiation and condemnation that they have--that was the root of it. This has been explained by Lenin very clearly. Excesses can be committed. The problem is to go to a certain point and not beyond it, because if you go past that point you go off course. It's like an angle; it can be opened up to a certain point and no further. If we were to give the masses a lot of restrictions, requirements and prohibitions, it would mean that deep down we didn't want the waters to overflow. And what we needed was for the waters to overflow, to let the flood rage, because we know that when a river floods its banks it causes devastation, but then it returns to its riverbed. I repeat, this was explained clearly by Lenin, and this is how we understand those excesses. But, I insist, the main point was to make them understand that we were a hard nut to crack, and that we were ready for anything, anything.

Marx taught us: one does not play at insurrection, one does not play at revolution. But when one raises the banner of insurrection, when one takes up arms, there's no taking down the banner, it must be held high and never lowered until victory. This is what he taught us, no matter how much it costs us! Marx has armed us then, as Lenin has, and, principally Chairman Mao Tsetung taught us about the price we have to pay--what it means to annihilate in order to preserve, what it means to hold high the banner, come what may. And we say that in this way, with this determination, we overcame the sinister, vile, cowardly and vicious genocide. And we say this because someone--he who calls himself president--makes insinuations about barbarism, without blushing, when he is an aspiring Attila the Hun playing with other people's blood.

Have we gone through difficult times? Yes. But what has reality shown us? That if we persist, keep politics in command, follow our political strategy, follow our military strategy, if we have a clearand defined plan, then we will advance, and we are capable of facing any bloodbath. (We began to prepare for the bloodbath in 1981 because it had to come. Thus we were already prepared ideologically, that is principal.) All this brought about an increase in our forces, they

multiplied. This was the result. It turned out as the Chairman had said: the reaction is dreaming when it tries to drown the revolution in blood. They should know they are nourishing it, and this is an inexorable law. So this reaffirms for us that we have to be more and more dedicated, firm, and resolute in our principles, and always have unwavering faith in the masses.

Thus we came out of it strengthened, with a larger Army, more People's Committees and Base Areas, and a larger Party, exactly the opposite of what they had imagined. We have already talked, I believe, of the bloody dreams of the reaction. They are nothing but that, bloody dreams that, in the final analysis, end up being nightmares. But I insist: by persisting in our principles and fighting with the support of the masses, mainly the poor peasants, we've been able to confront this situation. It is here that the heroism of which I have already spoken, the heroism of the masses, has been expressed.

Subsequently, we developed a new plan, the Plan to Develop the Base Areas which we are unfolding now. What can we say about it' Looking at another aspect, I believe that we must keep a lesson in mind: all plans are approved, applied and summed up in the midst of two-line struggle. And that struggle is more intense when a new plan has to be approved. That's the reality, it's a lesson that we keep very much in mind. It has been very instructive for us and taught us a lot. That's the way it is. In the end, people's war generates an extremely high degree of unity, but amid intense struggle. Yes, because in spite of the problems, the complex and difficult situations we face, in spite of external influences, the ideological dynamic is that those who are engaged in people's war have given their lives over to the revolution. A communist has his life dedicated to communism although he will not see it, because really we aren't going to see it, at least I am not going to see it. But that is not the problem. Not seeing the goal for which we struggle only leads us to reflect, to take hold of the great examples that Marxism has given us. In Marx's time he knew that he would not see the triumph of the revolution, and where did that lead him? To redoubling his efforts to advance the revolution. Those are lessons we've drawn, and we've been guided by those tremendous examples. Let me insist once again, this is not to imply any comparison, it is only to fix on the pole star, to set the course, as a guide.

Well, if we think about the armed struggle and people's war, we can say that the initiation allowed us to develop the guerrilla war, because in this period we went over from detachments to platoons, and in this way we extended guerrilla warfare. The Plan to Unfold gave us the

People's Committees, the Plan to Conquer Base Areas gave us the Base Areas and a broad zone of operations. We should remember that we conceived of the highlands as the backbone for developing the war and conquering Power throughout the country. Yes, the Sierra of our country--and we've covered an area that goes from one border to another, from Ecuador to Bolivia and Chile. But we've also developed work in the "eyebrow" of the jungle, in the mountainous areas leading down to the coast and in the cities as well. Today we can say that we have hundreds of People's Committees and numerous Base Areas. Of course there is a principal one, and each zone has its principal one as well.

Finally, we could say of the plans that we've learned how to direct the war with a single strategic plan, applying the principle of centralized strategy and decentralized tactics. We direct the war by means of a single plan with different parts, through campaigns, with strategic-operative plans, tactical plans and concrete plans for each action. But the key to all this is the single strategic plan which allows us to direct the war in a unified way, and that is key in leading a people's war. I think that is what I have to say about it.

EL DIARIO: Chairman, in these eight years of people's war what has the anti-subversive strategy accomplished, and what are its present problems?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: It is a question that I would prefer to answer in this way: thereactionaries themselves say they've failed and continue failing; they know this very well. To use a lawyers' saying, "When someone confesses, no more proof is needed."

EL DIARIO: When do you think the conditions will exist for the People's Guerrilla Army to develop conventional war, defend territorial positions and openly confront the armed forces? Is this kind of struggle in the PCP's plans?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: We've pondered those problems, discussed them and established Party policy. We dealt with this in 1981, we've also done so on other occasions. We've started from how Chairman Mao Tsetung conceived of people's war, starting from contradictions. There are two aspects in contention. One is weak and the other is temporarily strong. There needs to transpire a period of strategic defensive, a second one of strategic equilibrium, and a third one of strategic offensive. We are still developing within the strategic defensive. And in these conditions, guerrilla war continues to be our principal form, a generalized guerrilla war, waged broadly, both in the

countryside and the city, with the countryside being principal and the city complementary. And we are fighting in almost the entire country. This is in regard to the period we are in.

We are beginning to develop mobile warfare, as conceived of by Chairman Mao, and will develop it further in accordance with the fact that the reaction will necessarily have to wage a more developed counterinsurgency war. But even as this happens we will have to continue waging guerrilla war as principal, and mobile warfare as complementary, and within that, some specific kinds of positional warfare as talked about in "On Protracted War," We think that an intensification of the peoples's war must also produce an escalation of the counterinsurgency war, and this is going to be based on genocide. Looking ahead, this is going to lead to the stage of strategic equilibrium, with the understanding, of course, that we persist in a correct ideological and political line and therefore maintain a correct military line, which we have to do. So strategic equilibrium will result from our persisting in all this, coupled with the sinister plans that they are preparing, that will lead to genocide--which they want to impose upon the Peruvian people because they feel powerless. But the people cannot follow them because the people cannot go against their own class interests. This will lead to strategic equilibrium, let me repeat, with the understanding that we maintain the correct course in ideology, politics, in military and all related matters. It's at that point that we'll have to address the problem of how to develop people's war to take the cities and prepare the part that corresponds to the strategic offensive. That's all we can say for now.

EL DIARIO: To strengthen the war, as you said, is it going to be necessary to strengthen the weaponry of the People's Guerrilla Army? How do you intend to resolve this?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Yes, this is one aspect. Allow me to take a question of principle as my starting point. We are accustomed to and persist in taking our principles as our starting point. In this way, guided by our principles, we can solve our concrete problems. Chairman Mao Tsetung has told us that the main thing is mankind. Weapons are useful. So our task is to aim especially at people, at strengthening them ideologically and politically, at building the army ideologically and politically in this case, as well as building it militarily. This is our point of departure.

With regard to weapons, the Chairman says that the enemy has them and so the problem is to seize them from him, and this is principal. Modern weapons are necessary, but their performance depends on the

ideology of the man who wields them. Lenin taught us that. We can assert that we are carrying out ambushes and the armed forces know very well how this is developing and the powerful blows they've been dealt. I'd only like to mention the one related to Cayara, the ambush of Erusco. Twenty-five soldiers were annihilated. Only one survived and he was wounded. That is why they responded with vicious genocide. The facts are not as they've portrayed them. The truth is that they moved large forces and were not able to hunt us down. And let's be clear also that we seized their arms. They know this very well. And we didn't blow up just one car, but two, because a whole kilometer of the road was mined and they had no way to escape. What was shown on television and in thenewspapers by he who calls himself president, and those who've gone to Cayara from this so-called "Commission" are, as they say "castles in the air," "drawings in the water." So it has been some time since the growing transfer of arms from them to us began. And they are obligated to bring them to us, it is their obligation to bring them to where we are. And we have to recognize that they've begun to do so. Why do we put things this way? Because we've forced them to spread out, to open different fronts, and have made them sit and wait passively. They're like an elephant stuck in the mud, and therefore easier to attack. This is something the army and the armed forces in general must seriously think about.

What I am talking about is none other than the application of what Chairman Mao Tsetung taught us when he said that Chiang Kai-shek, by the end of the war, deserved a medal because he acted as a good quartermaster, a good arms supplier. So that has already started, and the armed forces know it very well. And the plan they are cooking up, all their scheming, the great offensive they want to carry out, is all welcomed. It will not hinder the transfer of arms, and they will fail because they will not succeed in getting the Peruvian people to go against their own interests. And they are the blackest, most rotten of reactionaries, led today by this fascist, corporativist, Aprista government headed by a vile and miserable mass murderer. History has shown that the Peruvian people do not follow fascism, and will not allow themselves to be corporativized. That has already been established and this is not just an issue in Peru today, but has been one for decades. So the enemy's weapons, which we seize from them, are our principal source.

Furthermore, humble dynamite will continue playing an important role, and mines are weapons of the people. As for us, our principle is to look for the simplest weapons that everyone from among the masses can wield, because our war is a war of the masses. Otherwise, it would not be a people's war, and ours is. This leads to a second

question, the manufacturing of weapons. We are striving to advance in the manufacture of arms, which the other side also knows very well by now. Direct notice of this was given to the Presidential Palace, launched with mortars made by our own hands, by the hands of the people. They don't say so, but we know.

The other common way is to buy them, because there are three ways. The main one is to seize them from the enemy, the second one is to manufacture them, and the third one is to buy them. The last one is a problem because of the high cost of weapons, and we are carrying out the most economical people's war on earth. It's that way because we have very few resources and those that we do have are those that the masses provide us with. To reiterate one more time, how is the problem solved? Lenin said that large quantities of arms must be seized, at whatever cost. And I have already talked about what Chairman Mao taught us. This is what we are putting into practice.

EL DIARIO: Can you foresee that the triumph and advance of the revolution that you are leading will provoke a U.S. military invasion? What would the PCP do in that case?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Although Yankee imperialism is already intervening, on this question I would concretely say the following. The United States can mobilize our neighboring countries. We should not forget, I insist, that there are even pending territorial claims and border disputes, even though they are silent on this; and we all know the role that Brazil has been assigned. They could intervene directly, with their own troops; they already have people training here.

Some time ago we decided in the Central Committee that whatever enemy comes to trample on this land, we will confront him and defeat him. In those circumstances the contradiction would change, the oppressed nation-imperialist contradiction would become principal, and that would give us an even broader basis on which to unite our people.

EL DIARIO: Reactionaries, revisionists and opportunists of the IU all say that you are isolated from the masses. What can you say about that?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: I believe that from everything we are saying it can be seen that there is support from the masses. To those who say such things, to the revisionists and opportunists, we would ask: how can they explain the existence of a movement that has developed a people's war foreight years without international aid if it doesn't have

the support of the masses?

EL DIARIO: For eight years, the groups and parties of the right, the revisionists, the opportunists, and all the reactionaries have said and even screamed that the PCP is a "demented," "messianic," "blood-thirsty," "Pol Pot-ian," "dogmatic," "sectarian," "narco-terrorist" organization. The Partido Unificado Mariateguista (PUM) adds that you have trapped the peasantry in the middle, between two fires, that you are militarists. Recently, Villanueva has said you are "genocidal terrorists" and other things. What do you have to say about these charges? What's behind them?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: To me they represent lies and the inability to understand people's war, and I understand that, the enemies of the revolution will never be able to understand people's war. With respect to the charge that the peasantry is caught between two fires, this is an elaborate invention because it is precisely the peasantry that makes up the vast majority of the People's Guerrilla Army. What must be understood is that the Peruvian State, with its armed forces and repressive apparatus, wants to drown the revolution in blood. This is our understanding, and we would recommend that these gentlemen study a little about warfare in general, revolutionary war, and mainly about people's war and Maoism. Although I doubt that they would understand it, because to do so requires a certain class stand.

With regard to what Mr. Villanueva says about "genocidal terrorists," it seems to me an obscene travesty and parody to want to apply to us a term like genocidal, which fits them like a glove. Before our country and the world it is perfectly clear who is committing genocide. It is they, it is the APRA government which is leading this reactionary State, it is the reactionary armed forces, the forces of repression--they are the vile mass murderers. Distortions will never change the facts. History has already been written, tomorrow it will be confirmed. Besides, how long will Villanueva last? What will his future be like? It would be better if he thought about that.

EL DIARIO: What changes do you think have taken place in Peruvian politics, in the economic base of society and among the masses as a result of eight years of people's war?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The first change is the development of a people s war that is advancing irrepressibly; which means that, for the first time, the democratic revolution is really being carried out in our country. This has changed all the terms of Peruvian politics. Hence, the reaction itself, their accomplices, beginning with the revisionists

and their supporters on duty, whoever they may be, have concluded that the first and main problem facing the Peruvian State is the people's war. Thus, we are changing the world in this country. Out of this comes the most important and principal thing we've accomplished, the emergence and development of a New Power which marches forward and will end up extending itself throughout the country.

In the economic base, under the New Power we are establishing new relations of production. A concrete example of this is how we apply the land policy, utilizing collective work, and the organization of social life according to a new reality, with a joint dictatorship where for the first time workers, peasants and progressives rule--understanding this to mean those who want to transform this country by the only means possible--people's war.

As for them, the reactionaries, without mentioning the economic drain of fighting the people's war, we are destroying bureaucrat capitalism, and for some time we've been undermining the gamonal basis for the semifeudal relations that sustain this whole structure, while at the same time strong blows against imperialism.

For the masses of our people, these heroic masses, principally for the proletariat, the leading class that we will always recognize; for the first time they are taking Power and they have begun to taste the honey on their lips. They will not stop there. They will want it all, and they will get it.

EL DIARIO: How do you see the present situation, and the perspectives for the People's War In Peru? What destiny awaits the Peruvian people if the revolution that you've been leading for morethan eight years doesn't triumph in the short run? Do you believe that this government or another one can find a way out of this crisis? In the document "Bases for Discussion," the PCP indicated that we are entering decisive years in which APRA continues to be without a strategic plan. Could it be that we are on the threshold of the victory of the revolution, and of the seizure of state Power by the PCP?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The Peruvian people are increasingly mobilizing themselves, and the class struggle is sharpening. This is directly linked to the people's war, which is nothing but the continuation of the class struggle with arms in hand. What destiny awaits the Peruvian people? I believe that the heroic destiny of destroying the old state and the glorious destiny of beginning to build a new society will be a monumental effort. These will be times of

sacrifice and difficulties, but the people will emerge victorious. In the end it should be enough to reflect on this: without the people's war, would 60,000 children under one year of age stop dying, as is the case in Peru today? No. Therefore, the people will continue making every effort and will go through difficulties, but each day more consciously, they will pay the necessary price, knowing that they will win.

A way out? We believe that they have no way out. Our understanding of the process of contemporary Peruvian society is that starting in 1980 bureaucrat capitalism has entered into its destruction, and as a result the whole system is falling apart, and they have no way out. And if we look at it, there's a serious crisis, but also the two decades have come together back to back, the decade of the '80s and the decade of the '90s, both of them critical. They have no way out at all.

In regard to the decisive years, we understand by decisive years a more powerful storm between people's war and counterrevolutionary war, and we believe, once again, that from this will emerge the stage of strategic equilibrium.

As for time, Chairman Mao said the more and better we fight, the less time will be needed. For our part, it is our obligation to do this. We are doing it and we will do it; on the other hand, we have extraordinary objective conditions. The conditions of general crisis which the decrepit system of Peruvian society has entered into reveals to us that things can accelerate in these decisive years, and in fact these decisive years will powerfully accelerate the conditions and develop the revolutionary situation.

What are our tasks today? In sum, more people s war, more New Power, more Army, more involvement of the masses, and this is how we believe our victory will come.

EL DIARIO: Finally, could you lay out your position with regard to worldwide people's war? In the case of a world war between the superpowers, what would be the results for humanity?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Could there be a world war? Yes, there could be. The conditions for this will exist as long as we do not eliminate their roots. The superpowers are obviously preparing for war and making big plans. But we believe that communists and revolutionaries, the masses, the people, those who can no longer accept so much injustice in the world, must not focus our attention on war between the superpowers because our liberation cannot come from that--because it would be a war of plunder, for a redivision of

the world. World war among the big powers is for hegemony, nothing else What can we expect from them? Huge massacres, large-scale genocide, hundreds of thousands of deaths. But certainly the immense majority of humanity will survive. We cannot accept the sinister ideas of today that worship atomic weapons and all the sophisticated weaponry they brandish. Nor can we allow them to use them as blackmail to paralyze us. Many times in the world the reactionaries have talked about decisive and definitive weapons and the disappearance of humanity. But it has always been to restrain and stifle people, to maintain their old domination. That's why we believe that we must focus our attention, our efforts, our passion, our will, on developing people's war--because from that will certainly come the emancipation of the people and the proletariat, the definitive and true emancipation. We think that a worldwide people's war is the answer to an imperialist world war. We think that the task is to prepare for it, and we conceive of it as follows: those who are already waging people's war should develop it more; those who have not initiated it should start developing it; and through thisprocess we will demolish imperialist domination, the domination of reaction. And we will wipe them off the face of the earth.

We don't conceive of a worldwide people's war as an action that will take place simultaneously on a certain day and at a certain hour. We conceive of it as unfolding in the future, and related to the 50 to 100 years that Chairman Mao Tsetung predicted. We see it as great waves of people's war, until finally all of them converge like the legions of steel of a great worldwide red army, as Lenin himself said. This is how we see it. We think this is the only road to follow. The problem, I insist, is that there is a risk of world war and it would be a huge massacre, from which could only come misery, injustice, pain and death, and more reasons to put an end to them. The only solution, therefore, is people's war, which, conceived of in waves, will lead to a worldwide people's war and the coming together of the legions of steel of the international proletariat, of the people, who in the end will carry out our historic mission. We have the great fortune to live in these decades in which imperialism and reaction will be swept away, because what Chairman Mao foresaw will be attained. If we do not see it ourselves, others who follow us will, because the legions are increasing more and more.

What is the problem? What is the key? To place Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in command. And with Maoism principally, take up people's war, which is universally applicable, taking into account the character of each revolution and the specific conditions of each country.

IV. On the National Political Situation

EL DIARIO: Chairman, what is the PCP's analysis of the Peruvian state and where it is headed?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: We have an understanding of the workings of contemporary Peruvian society, by which we mean the society which came into being in I895. We believe that the process we are living through began then and that there have been three stages. The first stage laid the basis for the development of bureaucrat capitalism; the second stage, which deepened the development of bureaucrat capitalism, began after World War II, because the first stage lasted until then. This deeper development of bureaucrat capitalism ripened the conditions for revolution. With the beginning of the people's war in I980, we entered the third stage, of the general crisis of bureaucrat capitalism. The destruction of contemporary Peruvian society has begun because it has become historically outmoded. Therefore what we are witnessing is its end and the only correct course is to battle, to fight, and to struggle to bury it.

EL DIARIO: Why do you consider the thesis of bureaucrat capitalism to be fundamental?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: We consider this thesis of Chairman Mao Tsetung to be key, because without understanding it and wielding it, it is not possible to carry out a democratic revolution, much less conceive of its uninterrupted continuation into the socialist revolution. It is really very wrong for this thesis of Chairman Mao's to be disregarded. Plainly, they jumble his analysis all up by talking to us about the development of capitalism in backward countries or dependent capitalism, which leads to nothing but changing the character of the revolution. We believe that it is by taking Chairman Mao as our starting point that we are going to really understand Peruvian society and those societies that they call backward.

We understand that bureaucrat capitalism began to emerge in Peru in 1895 through the three stages that I previously outlined. We conceive of it this way: capitalism developed on top of a semi-feudal base, and under imperialist domination. It is a capitalism born late born tied to feudalism and subordinated to imperialist domination. These are the conditions that produce what Chairman Mao Tsetung has called bureaucrat capitalism. So, bureaucrat capitalism develops bound to big monopoly capital which controls the economy of the country. This

capital is made up, as Chairman Mao said, of the big capital of the large landowners, the comprador bourgeoisie, and the big bankers. Thus bureaucrat capitalism emerges, bound, I repeat, to feudalism, subordinated to imperialism, and it ismonopolistic. We must keep this in mind, it is monopolistic. At a certain point in its development this capitalism is combined with state power and uses the economic means of the State, uses the State as an economic lever and this process gives rise to another faction of the big bourgeoisie, the bureaucrat bourgeoisie. This gives rise to a further development of bureaucrat capitalism which was already monopolistic and becomes, in turn, state-owned. But this whole process gives rise to conditions which ripen the revolution. This is another important concept, politically speaking, that the Chairman laid out about bureaucrat capitalism.

If we understand bureaucrat capitalism, we can understand very well how Peru has semi-feudal conditions, bureaucrat capitalism, and imperialist, mainly Yankee, domination. This is what we must understand, and what allows us to understand and lead the democratic revolution.

Now, what other importance does bureaucrat capitalism have? The Chairman says that the democratic revolution realizes some socialist advances which, he says, were already expressing themselves, for example, in the mutual aid teams in the Base Areas of the countryside. To move from the democratic to the socialist revolution it is key, from an economic point of view, to confiscate all bureaucrat capital, which will permit the New State to control the economy, to direct it and, in this way, serve the development of the socialist revolution. We understand that this strategic concept is of great importance and, I reiterate, it is unfortunately being disregarded, and as long as it is disregarded, it will not be possible to correctly understand what a democratic revolution is under the present circumstances in which we struggle.

It is erroneous to think that bureaucrat capitalism is the capitalism that the State develops with the economic means of production that it directly controls. This is erroneous, and it does not conform to Chairman Mao's thesis. Just think of it like this: if bureaucrat capital were only state-owned capitalism, and you confiscated this state-owned capital, in whose hands would the other, non-state-owned monopoly capital remain? In the hands of reaction, of the big bourgeoisie. This view which identifies bureaucrat capitalism with state monopoly capitalism is a revisionist concept and in our Party it was upheld by the left liquidationists. Hence, we understand this problem to be a very important one.

Furthermore, politically it allows us to differentiate very clearly between the big bourgeoisie and the national or middle bourgeoisie. And this gives us the means to understand, so that we don't pin ourselves to the tail of any faction of the big bourgeoisie, either the comprador or bureaucrat bourgeoisies, which is what revisionism and opportunism have done and continue to do in Peru. There have been decades of this perverse policy of labeling one faction of the big bourgeoisie the national bourgeoisie, hence progressive, and supporting them. Grasping bureaucrat capitalism permitted us to more clearly understand the differentiation, I repeat, between the national bourgeoisie and the big bourgeoisie, and grasp the correct tactics to carry out, taking up again precisely what Mariátegui had established. For this reason we consider the thesis on bureaucrat capitalism to be of utmost importance.

EL DIARIO: How would you sum up your political and economic analysis of the present conjuncture and its prospects? Is this situation perhaps favorable for the PCP? What does it pose for the reaction, revisionism and opportunism?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: We believe that bureaucrat capitalism has entered into a general crisis. Moreover, we believe that this bureaucrat capitalism was born sick, because it derived from semi-feudalism (or is tied to it) and from imperialism. Semi-feudalism is obviously outmoded, and imperialism is moribund. What kind of child could come from these two parents condemned to death by incurable disease? A sick, stunted monster that has entered its phase of destruction. We think that the crises will become sharper and sharper, that, even as some economists say, there have been more or less 30 years of crisis from which we have not emerged except for some small ripples of recovery. Or, as APRA says in its own internal documents, this is a crisis that has existed since the middle of the '70s.

We can see that each new crisis is worse than the previous one. And if we add to this the twocritical decades of the '80s and '90s, back to back, the situation becomes clear. What do they themselves say? That this government will leave behind an extremely grave situation, and that those who follow, supposing that others do follow through their electoral renovation, will have to seek some way to overcome the problems left behind, and consequently, not until I995 can they even think about any kind of development--and this is being said in a country which is already twenty years behind. Because of all this we think the prospects for them are extremely bleak. Is this favorable for the revolution, for the people's war, for the Party? Yes, it is. First and foremost for our class and the people, because all our work is for

them, so that our class can rule, lead, so that the people can exercise their freedom and satisfy their centuries-old hunger. We see no prospects whatever for revisionism and reaction. We believe that they are united, they are like Siamese twins, and they will march together to the grave. This is what we think.

EL DIARIO: Why do you characterize the APRA government as fascist and corporativist? What do you base this on? What is your opinion of Alan García Pérez's speech at the APRA Youth Congress in Ayacucho and the one he gave in Paita? What is your opinion of the economic measures of the new cabinet?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Concerning the characterization of the APRA government. Without looking at its historical aspect, which has other implications that we don't need to examine today, the concrete situation that APRA was faced with, when by agreement it was given leadership of the Peruvian state, was one full of dilemmas. There existed two tendencies within it. One was fascist and the other was demo-liberal. This is what was going on in APRA, and we understand that in this case the demo-liberal position meant the maintenance of the reactionary constitutional order established in 1920, in 1933, and in 1979. That's what we mean by the demo-liberal order.

APRA had a problem--its need for investments to be able to push forward the economy, or more exactly, to showcase some successes. This is what they have done, use up what little they had in order to present us with a showcase of successes as fragile as glass. And we are seeing the proof of this today. So there is no way you can say that APRA's plan was a good economic plan, because if it was such a good plan, why are the results so bad? It doesn't make sense. So APRA had to resort to using capital from the comprador bourgeoisie and they, obviously, demanded certain conditions. In APRA's own documents they say that by the end of I985 the big bourgeoisie, particularly the comprador bourgeoisie, was already beginning to recover and to cash in. The year I986 was like paradise for them. They made billions of dollars in profits, as they themselves have said, thinking that later they would reinvest. But this plan was not going to work, the economy was bound to go into crisis and fail, and therefore they could not reinvest. Since then the conflict between them has sharpened further, hence the struggles between the two factions of the big bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, APRA, with regard to the people, was confronted with the immense, unsatisfied needs of the masses. Demagogically, as always, they made promises to everybody; demagogically, because

what APRA sought to do was simply try to develop, to unfold the reactionary economic process which could not be carried out without restricting the income of the people, because, where do profits come from? From surplus value. So they had a problem with the masses and they knew it, hence, their repressive, anti-popular, anti-union, anti-worker policies. This could be seen from the beginning. But there were other circumstances, the people's war. Even though they did not want to, APRA had to confront the people's war, which was already a central problem.

All these conditions are the ones that determined that changes had to take place inside APRA in order to resolve their dilemma. But when did they resolve it? The dilemma got resolved with the genocide of 1986. The class struggle of the masses, the people's war principally, and the genocidal actions pushed APRA to choose fascism and brought about the triumph of the fascist faction. We believe that it was then that it happened, and so began what everyone now recognizes as the loss of prestige and a setback for APRA, not only in Peru, but in the whole world.

Why do we call it fascist? The fascist faction that already existed in APRA took political measures to implement corporativization, although it was already contained in the first speech by García Pérez in July 1985. What do we understand by fascist and corporativist? For us fascism is the negation of liberal-democratic principles, the negation of the bourgeois-democratic principles which were born and developed in the eighteenth century in France. These principles are being abandoned by reactionaries, by the bourgeoisie world-wide. So it was that the First World War that made us see the crisis of the bourgeois democratic order, that's why later fascism emerged. So, in APRA what is going on is this negation of the principles of the bourgeois-democratic order and we see daily proof of the negation of all the constitutionally established rights and liberties. We see fascism also on the ideological plane as an eclectic system without a defined philosophy. It is a philosophical position made up of fragments chosen from here and there according to what's most useful. This is clearly expressed in García Pérez. When he goes to Harare in Africa he's an African and he salutes the Africans, salutes Kenneth Kaunda. When he goes to India he salutes Gandhi, he's a Gandhian. When he goes to Mexico he hails Zapata, he's a Zapatista. When he goes to the Soviet Union, if he ever does, he'll be the champion of Perestroika. He's like that because this is the ideological and philosophical training of fascism, it does not have a defined stand, it is eclectic and it takes what is at hand.

With regard to its corporativism. We understand corporativism as the setting up of the state based on corporations, which implies the negation of parliamentarism. This is an essential point that Mariátegui gave emphasis to in "Historia de la crisis mundial" ["History of the World Crisis"--TRANS.]. He said that the crisis of bourgeois democracy expresses itself clearly in the crisis of parliamentarism. Looking at the parliament here, while it is true that in the last decades it has been the executive branch that has produced the most important laws in this country, it is during this APRA government that the executive has monopolized the creation of all the fundamental laws for its own purposes. No important laws have come from the parliament. This is a fact, and everything has been aimed at giving powers to the executive so that it can do and undo as it pleases. Everything is a negation of parliamentarism.

The problem of corporativism in our country is not a recent one. Already in 1933, during the second restructuring of the Peruvian State in this century, when the Constitution was being debated, Víctor Andrés Belaúnde put forward the corporativization of Peruvian society. Villarán, who was the chairman of the reporting committee of the Constitution, opposed it stating: how are we going to corporativize if there are no corporations? It was a way of dodging the issue Those are precedents. Now that they are talking so much about Mr. Belaúnde, whose works have just been published, it is fitting to remember his stand: in the face of liberalism--which focuses on money--and communism--which negates the individual--what we need are corporativist systems modeled after those of medieval times. It is good to keep this in mind in order to see corporativism's affiliation and its roots, and also keep very much in mind that it is intimately linked to the positions set forth by the Papacy starting in the past century.

Velasco also tried to corporativize the country. That's why he started the formation of corporations of agricultural producers, for example. His own agrarian law 17716 had the political aim of establishing corporativist bases. The industrial law did, too. How? Through the industrial community. His famous political organization, which was never consolidated, also put forward positions which were clearly fascist and corporativist. But they didn't succeed in carrying it out in Peru. And what are they trying to do? What do they want? They want the formation of corporations, that is to organize the producers and all members of society along corporativist lines. Let's assume that the small factory producers, the agricultural producers, merchants, professionals, students, the Church. the Armed Forces, and the Police Forces all name their delegates and, in this way form a corporative

system. This is what they are seeking to do and what APRA is doing. And the regions and micro-regions, what is their significance? This whole plan for establishing regions today serves thecorporativization of our country, that is why we have to oppose It openly- not only because it represents political maneuvering by APRA for electoral advantage, but because it is a corporativist system, and furthermore, it is putting a country which doesn't even have a consolidated national unity at risk. These are extremely serious matters. For these reasons we say it is a fascist and corporativist government. The road they are trying to promote explains their great preoccupation with the regions that they want to impose, no matter what it takes. This is what we are seeing and hence all these extraordinary parliamentary assemblies which have failed to fulfill what García has called for. Last year he stated, either the regions are formed or I'll stop calling myself Alan García Pérez. A year has passed and I don't know what he is calling himself today, because the regions have not been formed. Now they say by the end of this year. We'll see.

With regard to identifying fascism with terror, with repression, we think that this is a mistake. What's involved is the following: if one remembers Marxism, the State is organized violence, that is the classic definition. All states use violence because they are dictatorships How else would they assert themselves to oppress and exploit? They couldn't do it. Consequently what happens is that fascism develops a broader, more refined, more sinister violence. But to identify fascism as being the same as violence is a crass error. These are ideas that have developed here in Peru since World War II and they are ideas that Del Prado often promoted and spread. These same ideas were also put forward by Dammert.

Identifying fascism with terror means not understanding Mariátegui, who in "Figuras y aspectos de la vida mundial" ["Figures and Aspects of World Life"--TRANS.], when talking of H.G. Wells, tells us that the bourgeois State goes through a process of development and that it is this process that leads to a fascist and corporative system. This can be understood very well if we study Mariátegui's works, the previously mentioned "Historia de la crisis mundial" or "La Escena contemporánea" ["The Contemporary Scene"--TRANS.]. Let's not forget that he lived it, studied it, and came to know it directly.

In this country, we have to look at fascism in its different aspects beginning with its ideology, its politics, and its organizational form, how it uses violence, its terror. Today we see how it practices a skillful violence, more developed, broader, more brutal and vicious. This is what is called terror. But apart from this, white terror has always been

practiced, has it not? The reactionaries, when they have encountered difficulties, have always applied white terror. So we should never identify and reduce all fascism simply to terror. We must understand that fascism means a more refined violence, and the development of terrorism, yes, but that is not the totality of it but a component, it is fascism's means of unfolding reactionary violence.

As for García Pérez's speech at the APRA Youth Congress: in sum, there is an intense struggle in APRA, which has to do with their next congress, and the problem consists in whether Garcia Pérez will maintain his control over that party or not, while keeping himself in power in collusion with the Armed Forces. For some time it's been apparent that the APRA youth have questioned the work of the government, and this expressed itself in a big way at this congress in Ayacucho. And Garcia Pérez had to make a desperate trip in order to explain, to explain himself and to present himself as the Savior. This is what he wants, because he sees the importance of winning over the youth in the interest of his appetite to be fuhrer. I believe this gets to the essence of it. Concerning what he said about our Party, and the supposed admiration he says he has for it, this simply reveals the struggle inside APRA, because someone who is a genocidal assassin, who daily murders the people, the fighters, the communists, can't have admiration for us. This is demagogical posturing, uncontrollable appetites linked to the APRA Congress and related to his political prospects, because he can still play many cards. The man is quite young.

Concerning Paita, the "Paita speech," essentially it was a fascist speech, openly fascist. It was not, as some say, to give the parliamentarians who were raising a ruckus a slap on the wrist. That kindof thing is commonplace among them and there is nothing extraordinary about it. But that was not what this was about, it was a strictly fascist speech. Garcia Pérez wants to become fuhrer. There's a reason why they call him "conductor" Many times Congressman Roca himself has called him "conductor." Isn't "conductor" the same as fuhrer? It means the same thing in German. Therefore I think it's correct when some call him "the apprentice fuhrer." But in the end what he is showing us is that he's just a cheap demagogue with a big, unrestrained appetite, ready to do anything to satisfy it. I think self-idolatry is one of his characteristics.

As for the economic measures of the new cabinet, as was inevitable, no one agrees with them. Of course no one agrees with them, and the people least of all, which is what interests us. So a double contradiction emerges. The first one is with the comprador

bourgeoisie, because the economic measures are insufficient. They ask the APRA government for more measures and they demand a definition of the plan, because this plan is for 18 months, but consists only of a general outline, without dealing concretely with important problems. (For its five years in office, APRA is going to proceed like this, from one emergency plan to another and yet another. From emergency to emergency, which amounts to the total unraveling of the plans it had thought to implement during its term. I am referring here to their own documents.) And the second contradiction is inevitably with the people, whose belts are being tightened in the interest of generating new capital. How and from where can capital be obtained? By reducing salaries. These are, in sum, the measures, and that's why they have created more problems for APRA than they already had. Meanwhile they continue, demagogically, postponing what the very order within which they operate imposes on them and what they themselves bring on by being puppets, because they have long been in collusion with the United States, with imperialism. Their ties with the World Bank and the International Development Bank (IDB) are extremely clear, and these are the instruments that the imperialists are using more now due to the discrediting of the IMF--although the prospects are that APRA will return to the fold. So those economic measures are not resolving the situation, they are worsening it. And we are going to have an extremely grave and critical economic situation which will develop even further, becoming a tremendous burden on the backs of the masses.

EL DIARIO: Chairman, how do you see the upcoming elections shaping up, and the possibility of a coup or a coup backed by the government itself?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: If you'll allow me, I'd like to say that the main thing about the elections is the need to boycott them, and if possible, prevent them. Why do we say this? What do the people have to gain? Nothing. The people won't gain anything through an electoral renewal. I think this can be seen very clearly in this country's history. In the document, "Desarrollar la guerra popular sirviendo a la revolución mundial" ["Develop People's War, Serving the World Revolution"--TRANS.], we pointed this out, we showed this to be the case and no one has disproved it. We showed how the percentage of votes for the IU was what prevented the majority from expressing their opposition to the elections. I believe this has been shown. We have therefore put forward, and the facts have borne out, that the tendency in Peru is to expect nothing from elections or from a new government. The tendency is to reject elections. Where does the problem lie? In the way revisionism and opportunism continue

promoting elections, that's where the problem lies. So what is the key point here? To strike blows and expose what the electoral process means, that it means nothing except allowing the renewal of the authorities of this old and rotting order, that it means nothing else. Because they won't be able tell us that it means maintaining the democratic arena. This is an old story that no one is going to believe any more. This is the story that those who today belong to the PUM told us at the time of the Constituent Assembly. And then, in 1980, they said that there was democratic space, that we were in a pre-revolutionary situation, and that by using the parliament as a tribune we could go over to a revolutionary situation--only to tell us later that we had to focus on defending the existing order. I think that this is the main thing for the people, that the majority express their repudiation of the elections,even if by simply casting a blank vote, even if it is just by doing that. This is important because that is how the will of the masses of people, the immense majority who already understand that the electoral road offers no solutions, will be expressed.

I think they have wanted to make use of the elections, putting forward the electoral campaign, in order to get the people to focus their attention on the elections. But we see that this plan has failed for two reasons. The first is the serious problems that the people have, and how their fighting spirit is growing daily, which the People's War serves to push forward. Secondly, the very contradictions that have thrown all the existing political institutions into great turmoil. The IU is a jumble of contradictions, so is the so-called FREDEMO, and APRA is a pot brimming with party hacks. That's how it really is. And if their eager plans to divert the attention of the people have failed. and if the conditions are those of a people's war with great prospects, as is really the case, all revolutionaries who want to see this country transformed must push for the people to reject this process Let them figure out how to replace their authorities. It's their problem, not ours. That's how we see it.

About a possible coup d'etat, well, in this country the possibility of a coup always exists. And we understand that the Army itself is already alarmed, pointing out that they don't see any political force capable of confronting the people's war. If the army is saying that, then it means that a coup could occur at any moment. But it could occur in many different ways, and that's another question. It could be something similar to what happened in Uruguay with Bordaberry, which would be García Pérez in this case. It could be a self-engineered coup. That's another card that García Pérez has up his sleeve because a coup would remove him, as a victim and not as the political failure that he is. And since he's young, some time later he could come back as a martyr and

defender of democracy. That's why this is another card this demagogic expert in sleight of hand might pull from the deck. And looking deeper, the armed forces really do have to more and more unfold an increasingly developed counterrevolutionary struggle that strengthens their power. That's the way it is. And we think that the movement of the contradiction is in such a direction that we will have to confront each other--the revolutionary forces, the Communist Party of Peru leading the people's war, on the one hand; and on the other hand, the reaction. the armed forces leading the counterrevolutionary war in Peru.

EL DIARIO: Chairman, would you accept talks with Alan García?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The idea of talks is being bandied about, and it is also part of the superpowers' game, especially the social-imperialists. We see the situation this way: there is a time in the development of a people's war when relations and diplomatic dealings become necessary and do occur. For example, the meeting between Chairman Mao and Chiang Kai-shek. This is something people are familiar with. We also saw it in the case of Vietnam. It is a facet in the development of a revolutionary war and, even more so, of a people's war. But we must start from the understanding that in diplomatic meetings agreements signed at the table only reflect what has already been established on the battlefield, because no one is going to give up what they have not obviously lost. That is understood. Well, one could ask, has that moment arrived in Peru? That moment has not arrived So why raise the issue of talks? Such talks are simply aimed at halting or undermining the people's war, that's what they are aimed at and nothing more. So I repeat, the truth is that the time for meetings and diplomatic dealings has not arrived, it makes no sense.

As for the rest, I think it is a demagogic matter that they have been stirring up since the time of Belaúnde's government, when due to a proposal from someone from the United Left that was accepted, the then-president stated that there was no suitable interlocutor. Words! At bottom it was nothing but cheap demagoguery without rhyme or reason, and it's still the same today. And who talks about talks? The revisionists, the opportunists, and those who have hope for APRA, for this demo-bourgeois order, for this reactionary order. They are the ones. But are they not at the same time the ones who are promoting pacification, our destruction? Are they not the same ones who make proposals about how to pacify better, which means how to sweep us away, because such are their sinister dreams to satisfy theirappetites? They are the same ones. What a coincidence! So then, these talks are a sinister betrayal. Furthermore, one could ask: how can they talk about

dialogue, those who even made an amnesty pact with García Pérez, which he never honored?

So for me all this jabbering about talks is nothing, I repeat, but looking for a way to undermine the people's war, because it doesn't correspond to reality. When the time comes, the people's war will necessarily have to undertake diplomatic dealings. But our diplomacy will be aimed at seizing Power countrywide, fully and completely. We don't want a North Vietnam and a South Vietnam, we don't want a North Korea and a South Korea. We don't want a North Peru and a South Peru, we want only one Peru. This is our condition: full, complete and absolute surrender. Are they ready for that? No. What they are plotting is our destruction, and so talks are nothing but a part of that same plan despite all their demagogic and philistine cackling.

EL DIARIO: What do you think of the United Left and its political line? What destiny do you foresee for this revisionist front? And what is the PCP's stand on the National People's Assembly [Asamblea Nacional Popular (ANP)--TRANS.]?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Concerning this I would like to be very brief. First, because what is the line of the United Left at this time? We don't know. In earlier documents they state that the IU is "a mass front of the socialist trend," and it has focused, as is evident, on parliamentary cretinism. What is at the heart of their positions? A very simple matter, they think they can take over the government, and then, as they say, take over power. Well, they must understand that they cannot take over one without seizing the other. Moreover, first you seize Power and then you set up your government, because the essential problem of state is what system of state, which means: what class does the dictatorship that you exercise correspond to? And from this is derived your system of government. The rest are cheap inventions of putrid revisionists. If you look at their statements, they are not for the destruction of the reactionary State, but for a government that would permit them to continue evolving this outmoded and rotting order. This is what they are after with their proclamations about how, with this government and reforms, they can advance toward socialism. And all this is simply the unrestrained revisionism already criticized by Lenin.

On the other hand, we should look at their political theses and their congress. Regarding their political theses, they are yet to be published. I believe that in the IU--which is a front--let's not forget what we see is a re-creation of the old opportunist electoral frontism that we have seen many times in Peru. Such a front is the negation of a Party that

leads, and if there is no Party of the proletariat to lead, there is no transformation, no revolution. Revolution has never been made through parliament, nor will it ever be. They are giving a facelift to old arguments already discussed in the I9605. The IU, to be concise, how do I see it? As a jumble of contradictions, of collusion and struggle. What unites them? Collusion, greed, following the road of parliamentary cretinism, reviving old failures, or using them as a card for the reaction to play, to perform a sinister role like Ebert in Germany, that vile and perverse assassin of the revolution of 1919. I believe that is what unites them. And what divides them? Their struggles, their rank and file, their appetites, and the fact that they have different masters. Therefore, they subordinate themselves to how their masters define the situation, because there are revisionists in the IU who serve the Communist Party of the Soviet Union and revisionists who serve Deng, and they are subject to what their masters and the intermediaries of their masters say. Not to mention their ties with other centers of power.

That's the crux of the problem. There are things that should make those who really want revolution think. These are those who have the duty to think if they really are for revolution. They have to break with this useless, groveling electoral front which is an obstacle, and assuming their class position, according to the class that they defend, converge in a really revolutionary front. Let them do so, and come together for real. It is not enough to call others sectarian, you have to show that you are not, and in order to do so you must first quit being an opportunist, cease being a revisionist. And forothers, they must stop trying to take us down the dead-end road of Christian Socialism. If they want revolution, let them prove it, and express it in deeds by abandoning the erroneous road they are following. Let them stop being the tails of Soviet and Chinese revisionism; that is the first thing they would have to do, aside from, I repeat, not coming to us with positions based on the road of Christian Socialism. They should really come to understand Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism; so long as they do not understand it they will not advance. Let them understand what it means to make revolution through people's war. And let them understand and open their eyes, because the truth is irrefutable, they cannot deny what all the world except them sets. They must stop being so power hungry and must explicitly accept their class limitations and accept that it is the proletariat as a class that leads through a Communist Party, and this is what mainly interests us.

Regarding the National People's Assembly, the ANP is a peculiar thing. On the one hand they say it "is the germ of power." Very well, "germ

of power." I ask, are they trying to form soviets? Are they recreating the Bolivian experience at the time of Juan José Torres? Can power be created this way? To raise this supposed "germ of power" is simply and plainly to oppose the New Power that we are actually forging in the real world. On the other hand, they also say that the ANP is a "mass front." So is it a competitor of the IU, which is also a "mass front"? Okay, let them define what it is then. Is it a "germ of power" or is it a "mass front"? What is it really? Let them clearly state how power can be forged. What do we see here? Simply that the ANP is run by revisionism. There's lots of evidence. Their strikes follow the same mold and even the dates are the same as those established by the revisionists through the CGTP. Therefore revisionism is the leader here, and revolutionaries cannot follow revisionists. And those who really want revolution, I repeat, let them demonstrate it in their actions, and let them understand, first and foremost, the authentic revolutionary process of people's war that is taking place here in this country. Because as long as they don't understand it they will not be able to play the role that many of these people could very well play, people who simply have good intentions, but totally lack clarity, even though they believe the opposite is true.

EL DIARIO: Chairman, how do you see the situation in regard to the class struggle of the masses? What do you think of the existing organizations?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: As to how we see the class struggle of the masses, I'd like to start from this basic point: our people are heroic, our class, the proletariat, even more so. Since the people and the proletariat in general are persistent protagonists of the class struggle, they have never let up, nor will they ever let up, until we reach communism. I think the first thing that we must do is recognize the greatness of our people, of our proletariat. And secondly, we must recognize and be grateful for--see clearly and say firmly--that without their support, without their sustenance, we would have done nothing! Absolutely nothing! Because the masses are the ones who make history, and we believe this fervently. Just like we believe that "it's right to rebel." This is another key principle of the masses.

How do we see the masses? With the deep rejoicing of a communist, my greetings to this growing flood of arising masses who are beginning to recapture past glories, and write new pages in history. The masses have begun to participate in and will continue participating in an intense process of class struggle, and the pessimism that reigns in the IU, as Mr. Moreno, who leads the Patria Roja, himself recognizes, will not take hold among the masses, because the

masses are not pessimists. Let's remember that Chairman Mao said: only the revisionists and opportunists are pessimists, the proletariat and communists are always optimists, because the future is ours--it is historically determined so long as we keep to our course. The masses will not fall into pessimism, nor have they ever done so. That is absurd, it is a slander. The masses fight, but in order to fight they need leadership, a Party, because there is no mass movement that can unfold and sustain itself, much less develop itself, without a Party to lead it.

We are filled with revolutionary joy when we see how these masses are fighting and, as their own actions show, learning from those masses already involved m the people's war. And how themasses begin to put into practice the great slogan, Combat and Resist! This is not a time to just receive, we must be gracious and give in return, and do so doubly, so as to be doubly gracious. And I think that the masses are doing that, giving really outstanding examples that make us see the brilliant future, the future the masses themselves will see. Because they are the ones who make revolution, the Party only leads them. I think this is a principle that we all know, but it's useful to repeat it.

In regard to your question about the organizations, we believe that today more than ever we have to seriously study what Lenin taught us in his work, "The Collapse of the Second International," Chapter VIII. He says that the state of the exploiters, the bourgeois state, the reactionary state, allows the existence of organizations that sustain and serve it so that it can maintain itself and survive. And what do these organizations do, in order to maintain themselves? They sell out the revolution for a mess of pottage. I believe this saying fits them like a glove. But Lenin tells us more, that the revolution can expect nothing from these organizations. The revolution has to create its own organizations in times of war and revolution like the ones we are living in now and will live in from now on. And in the future, the revolution will triumph. So Lenin tells us that we have to create new organizations that serve the revolution, even though we have to go over the heads of those who sell out the workers, of the traitors to the revolution. I believe that those are Lenin's words, they deserve immense respect from us, and should move us to profound and serious reflection. Otherwise we would not be serving our class, or the people. And we have to emphasize the urgent necessity to help everyone acquire more and more class consciousness so that they live as what they are, as the working class or as the people, with interests that are opposed to and antagonistic to the exploiters. And they should feel clearly the power that they have when their strikes stop production. And let them understand and feel and carry forward a strike as a

School of warfare, as a School of communism, and continue unfolding their strikes as the main form of struggle in the economic sphere, because that is what they are. But under the present circumstances, these struggles must be inseparably linked to the conquest of Power. So let's unite the struggle for economic demands with the struggle for the seizure of Power--with the people's war. Because it is in the defense of their class interests, of the interests of the proletariat, of the people. That is what we need and that is what we believe the masses are pushing forward evermore.

In our Party, we came to the conclusion a long time ago on what we call the law of the masses, the law of incorporation of the masses into the war and into the revolution, like the one we are unfolding. And this is what applies here. The masses are joining the struggle in surges, bigger and bigger surges. This is the course that we are following and we will unite 90% of the Peruvian people. What for? So that the masses bring about the victory of the revolution and the culmination of the work that they initiated eight years ago, and have been carrying forward with their own blood. Because the revolution is theirs, it has arisen from them, from their depths. They, the masses, make history, I repeat, the Party only leads them. I believe this is true.

EL DIARIO: Chairman, in what political and social sectors does the PCP seek its allies? Do you have any affinity with political groups in the country? The opportunists claim that you are sectarian. How do you determine your united front policy? What is the strength of the Party in the countryside, in the workers' movement, among the people as a whole?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: If you will allow me, I will start from how we see the front. We have already explained how we are carrying it forward, but what we need to state clearly here is how we conceive of the united front which Chairman Mao spoke of. While I'm on the subject, let me say that it was Mao who established the laws of the front, the six laws of the front. There were no such laws before him. In accordance with these criteria of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, our goal is a front of classes, with the proletariat as the leading class, the peasantry as the main force, the petty bourgeoisie as an ally which we must pay attention to, and in particular the intellectuals, because they are necessary to the revolution, as Chairman Mao also taught us. And in this front, under certain circumstances and conditions, even the national bourgeoisie can and does participate. This is what we understand by theunited front. This front has a foundation, which is the worker-peasant alliance, forged in the countryside. We are forging it today, and have been for eight years with arms in hand. Why is the

worker-peasant alliance necessary? Because without it the proletariat would not have hegemony, and this front requires a Communist Party to lead it. This is our position. We are absolutely opposed to the revisionist theory being applied in Central America, and that they want to spread elsewhere, that "everyone is revolutionary," "everyone is Marxist," "there's no need for the leadership of a Communist Party," "it's enough to simply unite everyone and base oneself on a front in order to lead a revolution." That is the negation of Marxism. It is the negation of Marx, of Lenin, and of Chairman Mao. No Marxist has disregarded the need for the leadership of a Party. Without it, how can the hegemony of the proletariat be concretized? Only through a really genuine Communist Party, that is, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist Party that firmly and consistently serves the interests of the class and defends the interests of the people. This is how we see it and this is what we are forging and developing. For us the issue of the front has to do with the aforementioned thesis, that the Party is the selection of the best elements, and is the necessary leadership, but it does not make the revolution, because it is the masses who make it. Therefore, there is the need for a front to bring together 90% of the population, the immense majority. This is what we are seeking, what we are pursuing, and what we are doing.

As far as groups, we've had, at different times, links with organizations. And when we've had them, we have treated those organizations as they should be treated, as equals, and we have exchanged experiences. In some cases they have asked that the Party help them politically, and we have done so. There are various cases like that, but it is better not to mention names now.

About whether we are sectarian, please let me read what is in the document, "Desarrollar la guerra popular sirviendo a la revolución mundial" ["Develop People's War, Serving the World Revolution" TRANS.]. These are the words of our founder, and we use precisely these words because those who claim to be Mariáteguists must truly be just that. But you cannot be a follower of Mariáteg u without being a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist. Mariátegui said, "We are living in a period of total ideological war. Those who represent force for renewal cannot, either by accident or chance, unite or merge themselves with those who represent conservatism or regression. There is a historical abyss between them. They speak different languages and have a different understanding of history.

"I think we should unite the like-minded, and not those who differ. We should bring together those whom history wants together. There should be solidarity between those of whom history requires

solidarity. This, it seems to me, is the only possible alliance. A common understanding with a precise and effective sense of history.

"I am a revolutionary. But I believe that men who think clearly and definitively will be able to understand and appreciate each other, even while struggling against each other. The political force with whom I will never reach an understanding is the other camp: mediocre reformism, domesticated reformism, hypocritical democracy."

We adhere to this. We are not sectarian, nor are there any actions on our part that indicate that. What no one can demand of us is that we march into the swamp. Lenin taught us: if someone decides they want to head into the swamp, they have the right to do so, but not to call upon us to go into the muck with them. Lenin said, we must follow our steep and difficult road all the way to the summit, or, in other words, we must face the enemy's fire, but we will continue to advance. We are not, then, sectarians or dogmatists. We are simply communists, and we adhere to those wise words of Mariátegui. And what's more, we demand that those who claim to follow Mariátegui really follow him, and that they prove it.

As to the strength of the Party in the countryside, what I can say concretely is that the majority of our members are peasants, the vast majority. And a limitation that we have is the insufficient number of workers. This is a serious limitation, but we are making, and will continue to make, more efforts to correct it, because we need proletarian communists. The workers offer temperinl!, their steel-likequality, because this characterizes them as a class.

Moreover, we know how our strength and influence is growing among the people as a whole. We can say that the People's Guerrilla Army is made up of masses, of peasants, of workers, intellectuals, people from the petty bourgeoisie--we are talking about thousands of people. We have hundreds of People's Committees organized in Base Areas. And we exercise Power over tens of thousands of people. This is our reality. The influence of the Party is growing. We are gaining more and more influence among the masses. We are applying what Marxism espouses, teaching the proletariat, the people, the masses, by means of powerful actions that drive home the point. We believe that our growth among the masses has begun to make a big leap. This is what we can say to you. We want, and it is our task and part of our plan, to make a big leap in our work among the masses. The masses in this country need the leadership of the Communist Party. We hope that with more revolutionary theory and practice, with more armed actions, with more people's war, with more Power, we can reach the

very heart of our class and the people and really win them over. What for? To serve them. That is what we want.

EL DIARIO: Chairman, other organizations either don't define or talk vaguely about socialist revolution in Peru. Why does the PCP say that the Peruvian revolution has stages? What is the democratic revolution? What will the socialist revolution be like, and what will the proletarian cultural revolutions that the PCP will lead after the defeat of the counterrevolutionary forces be like? Will they be like the ones Chairman Mao led in China?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Defining the character of a revolution is a key question. For us, in keeping with what was established in our own Party Congress, the revolution is a democratic one. Adhering to Maoism, we have been able to develop a more complete understanding of the situation in our country. We think that Peru is a semifeudal and semicolonial society in which bureaucrat capitalism has developed. Therefore, the revolution is a democratic one. We think that the democratic revolution must confront three mountains: imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism, bureaucrat capitalism, and semifeudalism. This democratic revolution demands that we undertake a people's war. That is why we have insisted on this course. This people's war is what will allow us to destroy these three mountains and seize countrywide Power, in our opinion, in the not too distant future. That depends, in the end, on the increased effort that all of us who fight in the people's war exert, and on the masses rallying more and more to the people's war. This democratic revolution must be followed immediately by a socialist revolution. I want to spell this out. Basing ourselves on what Chairman Mao taught us with great farsightedness, thinking of the situations that might arise, he tells us that the democratic revolution ends the very day that Power is seized country-wide and the People's Republic is founded. That very day and hour, the socialist revolution begins. And in the socialist revolution we have to unfold a proletarian dictatorship and thus carry forward fundamental transformations in order to develop socialism.

We think that there is a third kind of revolution. By studying Chairman Mao Tsetung and the resolutions of the CPC, we are increasingly understanding the importance of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution as the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat. It is indispensable--without it the revolution cannot continue its march towards communism. We believe there will be successive cultural revolutions, but we think that those cultural revolutions will have to be forged in practice. While we

should base ourselves on the Chairman's thesis and the monumental experience of the CPC, we have to apply them to our own reality--in this we are also anti-dogmatic. We cannot be mechanical, that would be going against Maoism. We think that as a Communist Party we have one goal: communism. But to get there--excuse me for reiterating--either all of us on earth will get to communism, or none of us will get there. We are totally opposed to Khrushchev's revisionist thesis, in which he talked about communism in the USSR by the year 1980. Chairman Mao reaffirmed once again that either everyone or no one will enter the stage of communism. That is why our revolution is unbreakably linked to the world revolution. That is our final and definitive goal.Everything is stages, steps, moments. We believe that the prospect for arriving at communism is a long way off. We believe that Chairman Mao Tsetung's outlook on this is correct.

EL DIARIO: They say that when the PCP seizes Power in this country, it will confiscate all kinds of property. Is this true? How will it deal with the foreign debt?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: We've already seen that the Party Programme clarifies these matters. A democratic revolution like the one we are carrying forward has its targets, the three mountains we've already talked about. That is to say, that we are for breaking with imperialist, principally Yankee, domination. But at the same time, we struggle to prevent social-imperialism or any other imperialist power from ever exercising domination over us. We are for the destruction of semi feudalism, implementing the great slogan that is still valid: "land to the tiller." It is good to emphasize this, because many things are said about it. Chairman Mao stressed this slogan again and again, which for us means the destruction of semifeudal property and the distribution of the land as property to the peasantry, mainly the poor peasantry. And we are for the confiscation of bureaucrat capital, and I repeat again: this is very important because it gives the New Power an economic foundation from which to direct the economy and lead the way toward socialism. We are against those three mountains. As for the national, or middle, bourgeoisie, the policy is to respect their rights, and we adhere to this. Further than that we cannot go without changing the character of the revolution. The idea of "confiscating all property is nothing but one of the tales, one of the lies, that they have always spread against communists, as Marx so masterfully explained. To oppose communism, the reaction and the enemies of the revolution have always concocted falsehoods and lies. Since the great founder of Marxism endured all these slanders, lies, and distortions of his sagacious teachings, we believe that what is being said against our Party is nothing but a continuation of that old reactionary school and

of the enemies of the revolution.

EL DIARIO: What will the Party do about the foreign debt?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Since it is imperialist property, it will be confiscated. And I think we can add that it is the only way to really get rid of this immense weight which is oppressing so many countries, and impoverishing nations and peoples. Only through revolution can this be done--there is no other way. All the other means and approaches that they raise are only aimed at getting imperialism off the hook. Furthermore, we believe historical experience bears this out.

EL DIARIO: And the Communist Party, how is it solving the land problem? And what plans are APRA and PUM implementing?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The land problem is fundamental, because this problem is really the one that is resolved through democratic revolution, apart from the other questions we've already discussed. What we carry out is the destruction of semifeudal relations of production, and the distribution of the land to the peasantry, principally the poor peasants, then the middle peasants. On the condition that there is some land left, or if it is judged to be correct, land can be given to the rich peasants, and likewise, if it is correct or necessary, we can take land from them if there is not enough land to go around. Even the landlords, as the Chairman taught, if they want to work, can earn their bread by the sweat of their brow, as the saying goes, and learn what it is to till the land and not live from simply collecting rent. This is the policy we follow.

The policy of the Party on this question has been developing. One of the important things that we have done has been to promote a movement of land invasions, a very important one was in the department of La Libertad where more than 300,000 hectares were distributed, and 160,000 peasants mobilized. Looking at all the mobilizations that we have had, this one succeeded in mobilizing the most masses. This movement was promoted in order to undermine APRA's plans, and we also carried it out in Puno; we were the ones who started the land invasions in Puno, while PUM was arguing with APRA about what to do and how to do it. This is the plain and simple truth. Later, the government was obliged to issue decrees for Puno in particular, decrees that they have not enforced. In this case, as in others in the Andean region, APRA has aimed to carry out the redistribution that Morales Bermúdezproposed when he was president. The dispute with PUM has been over how to do it, whether the government should do it alone or if other organizations would take

part.

What have the government and PUM sought to do? To keep the river from overflowing its banks. This is what they've tried to do, and once more we see them doing what they did in I974, when they were the "Revolutionary Vanguard," with the "land seizures" in Apurímac where thousands of peasants were mobilized. And for what? To negotiate based on Law 17716, a corporative law of Velasco's fascism. The famous Acts of Toxama and Huancahuacho stand as proof of this. Someone should answer for this, and it would be good to refresh their memories. Did they help the regime or not? They helped it, because their analysis then was that law 17716 was a good one, and that its only shortcoming was that it was not a socialist law. This is political stupidity, because the land problem is an elementary democratic demand. And if it were not, Marxism would have to be modified on this question. This is what they are resuscitating today in collusion with APRA. Well, there are some things that get said a lot. But it would be good if, being what they are, they would put their hands on their chests and make an act of contrition and come clean as to whether they have served the enemy, even serving as informants with the result that our forces were attacked. It would be good if they thought about this. It has been proven, and we've known since the '60s, and also through a new study that we carried out in the '70s, that the simple act of getting land, if it is not linked to a people's war, to the struggle to seize Power, simply produces an incorporation into the system, and becomes a prop of the system, and the same stagnant semifeudal process continues. There is proof everywhere, Pomacocha and Ccaccamarca, in the department of Ayacucho, for example. I think that those are things we have to think about. The experiences in Apurímac in 1974, Vanguardia's "land seizures," what ends did they serve? The setting up of a corporative system, the development of the associative forms. Was this or was it not what Velasco wanted? Consequently this represented consolidation into the system, the evolution of feudalism, when the point is to demolish it, to destroy it. This is what PUM still does not understand today. Nor will they understand it. It requires analyzing things from another ideological viewpoint, from Marxism, in order to understand how to take and how to defend the land, with guns in hand. That's the point.

Furthermore, APRA has other plans. We must pay a lot of attention, especially to the plans they have for the uncultivated land of the coast, with the recent decrees, and "development plans" for those who have the ability to invest for the purpose of generating export products. And this is leading to a sham distribution and a scramble for land in Lambayeque, La Libertad, Ica, and in the Peruvian coastal

region as a whole. With their recent decrees it is lawful to allot up to 450 hectares to one person. Will the poor be the ones who acquire these lands? With what money will they be able to dig wells, for example, in order to have access to water? Impossible. These are greedy plans whose results are already clear, a sham distribution. Why else are they in La Libertad? For whose benefit, if not for APRA's, and for its leaders and associates, outstanding among whom is Minister Remigio Morales Bermúdez, a partner in several big monopolist enterprises, who plays an important economic role. This does not benefit the peasantry, and on the coast there are also peasants who need land, and the land should be for them. And that's why we saw an uproar not long ago in La Libertad, condemning the plans to irrigate the land.

Other problems: the distribution of land in the jungle region, 30 thousand hectares. Who will be able to administer this land? Dionisio Romero or someone similar. A poor peasant will not be able to oversee it, much less receive it. But the land is for those who work it, mainly for the poor peasantry. On the other hand, APRA has been handed a resounding defeat in their counterrevolutionary plans in the so-called trapecio andino. And we openly say to them, as others have even said to them, that we made them see that the Andean Region exists in Peru. It is because of this that García Pérez has rediscovered his trapecio andino in order to make his own showcase. But hisperverse plans have failed, they have fallen apart, are paralyzed. If that's not true, what happened to the Cachi plan in Ayacucho? This plan was inaugurated by the man who calls himself president, who flew there in a helicopter, and with a lot of fanfare explained from the punas what he neither knows nor understands. Or the plan for Rasuwilca? We destroyed it because it was a counterinsurgency plan, and because we insist that the lands be given to the peasants who need them, mainly the poor peasants.

I also believe that mention should be made of a few other things the rondas, the peasant patrols. What have they done with these organizations the masses created to defend themselves? These organizations are now under the control of the State, the armed forces, and the police. This is clear and concrete. And it is they, the IU, who proudly approved that famous law, and today are throwing a fit over the regulations in this very law. But the regulations are derived from the law, so if you approved the law, you have to put up with the regulations. Basically, what they have done is simply facilitate what the army and the armed forces were demanding, a law to sanction the mesnadas or "defense committees" set up by them. They said that there was no legal protection for what they were doing.

Well, such a law did exist, it was called the law of the peasant night patrols. Do the police use them or not? Does the army use them or not? Do the gamonales use them or not? This is the reality. They owe us an explanation for this. That much they owe us, not to mention their statutes. What are they like? Are they really Marxist? Were they drawn up based on the standpoint of our class, of the people? Don't they involve the outmoded ideology of the Incas? Don't they express a stand of Christian personalism? Don't they work in close connection with the Church? If not, why does the Church publish their documents? And when I talk about the Church, I mean the ecclesiastical hierarchy. It would be good, when you have time and you need a little diversion, to read over these regulations. They are extremely revealing.

We also denounce APRA's plans in the Alto Huallaga where, under the pretext of fighting drug trafficking, they permit the use of the deadly pesticide "Spike," which the Yankee monopolies themselves say is like a series of small atomic bombs.

EL DIARIO: Chairman, what will be the main characteristics of the New Democratic People's Republic that you and your Party propose?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Its characteristics are essentially those of a joint dictatorship. I insist on this, because in Peru we must think seriously about the problem of the State, and analyze it from the standpoint of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. And the first thing that the problem of the State raises to us is the question of the State system, or the kind of class dictatorship that is exercised. In our case, it is a joint dictatorship. Presently it is a dictatorship of only three classes, the proletariat, the peasantry and the progressives (the petty bourgeoisie). The national bourgeoisie is not taking part, but we respect their rights, this we do. The government system derived from the above is a system based on People's Assemblies. How do we carry this out in practice? As Committees. And these People's Committees grouped together form Base Areas, and the sum of the Base Areas constitutes the New Democratic People's Republic. This is what we are unfolding and will be unfolding until the end of the democratic revolution. What I would like to stress is that the Party has decided "to sow the seeds of Power" so that the people begin to exercise it, and to learn to run the State. Because once they learn to run the State they learn that this State can only be maintained by force of arms, as it is conquered so must it be defended. "Sowing the seeds of Power" requires that we sow in people's minds the need for the New Power and that people see it in practice. This is what we are doing. The people perform the overall functions of leadership, construction and planning as part of the New

Democratic People's Republic. I think that's enough on this subject, because other things have already been explained in the Party's documents.

V. International Politics

EL DIARIO: Chairman, let's talk now about international politics. Since communism is your goal, how do you see the conditions for world revolution? And what problems do the communists have to resolve?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: We start from the understanding that revolution is the main trend, and this continues to be so, this trend put forward by Mao continues to develop. In our view, there has been no stability since World War II, not even relative stability. The whole world has been shaken by great revolutionary storms. They've come in waves, of course, because it couldn't be any other way.

We hold that there are three fundamental contradictions in the overall situation that is unfolding. The first and principal contradiction is between the oppressed nations on one side, and the imperialist superpowers and other imperialist powers on the other. Although it may be redundant, we prefer to list them this way for the sake of clarity. This contradiction is resolved through democratic revolution, through people's war. A second fundamental contradiction is the one between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie. This is resolved through socialist revolutions and proletarian cultural revolutions, but also through people's war, bearing in mind, I repeat, the type of revolution and the specific conditions of each country. A third contradiction is the inter-imperialist one, between the superpowers, between the imperialist superpowers and the imperialist powers, and among the imperialist powers themselves. These contradictions among them are resolved through aggression, and imperialist wars, and tend toward defining who will have world hegemony through a third world war.

Why do we put the contradictions in this order? Because we consider this to be their order of importance. We insist that the contradiction between the oppressed nations on one side, and the imperialist superpowers and imperialist powers on the other, is principal and of great importance for the world revolution. It has to do, in our opinion, with the weight of the masses in history. It is obvious that the great majority of the masses who inhabit the earth live in the oppressed nations. It is also evident that their population is increasing four times as rapidly as the population of the imperialist countries. We apply the principle that the masses are the makers of history, and we take into account the fact that World War II caused the masses to stand up politically (something that even reactionary U.S. analysts recognize). We think that should the inter-imperialist contradiction generate a

world war, it would be a new inter-imperialist war for world hegemony and redivision of the world; and therefore it would be to divide up the spoils of war, and the spoils are the oppressed nations. They would therefore have to proceed to occupy our countries in order to rule us. And so, once again, the contradiction between the oppressed nations on one side and the imperialist superpowers and imperialist powers on the other would become principal.

We firmly believe in this, and it is not because of chauvinism or of being, as some say, inhabitants of oppressed countries or nations. It is not. This is the trend that can be seen in history, and this is the weight of the masses in history. And, moreover, facts continue to demonstrate that where imperialism is more and more being defeated and undermined is in the struggles that are being waged in the oppressed nations. Those are irrefutable facts. Therefore, we consider this principal contradiction to be of great importance, and think that it is going to be decisive in eliminating imperialism and reaction from the face of the earth, provided that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is put in command of the world revolution, that Communist Parties develop based on this ideology, and that they take up people's war again, in accordance with the type of revolution and the specific conditions.

This is the way we understand the great importance of the principal contradiction that we uphold. There are some who don't agree, and think that what's really going on is that we don't believe in revolution in the imperialist countries. We believe that these revolutions are a historical necessity and that the development of the principal contradiction provides them with more favorable conditions, and that even a world war will provide more favorable conditions for them to make revolution. And revolution will be made because it is a necessity. In the end, the two great forces, the two greatrevolutions, the democratic revolution and the socialist revolution must converge so that revolution may triumph in the world. Otherwise, it would not be possible to eliminate imperialism and reaction from the whole planet. That's what we think.

The question poses itself: what is the key point? It is Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, because it is a question of having a correct ideological and political line, and you can't have a correct political line unless you have the correct ideology. For that reason, we think that the key to everything is ideology: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism. Secondly, the development of Communist Parties. Why? Because the masses thirst for revolution, the masses are ready and crying out for revolution. So the problem does not lie with them. The proletariat cries out for revolution, the oppressed nations, the

peoples of the world cry out for revolution. So we need to develop Communist Parties. The rest, I repeat, will be done by the masses, they are the makers of history and they will sweep imperialism and world reaction away with people's war.

EL DIARIO: What role is U.S. imperialism playing in the world? What do you think of "Star Wars"? What about the so-called disarmament plans of the U.S.-U.S.S.R. and other European countries?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: In sum, U.S. imperialism arose after World War II as the gendarme of world reaction. But later it entered into a contest for world hegemony with social-imperialism. Thus, both of them make big plans to win hegemony. The issue of "Star Wars," or the "Strategic Defense Initiative," which is its official name, is related to this.

The U.S. government, particularly with Reagan, has started to elaborate big strategic plans that encompass decades of the next century. That is, they are thinking of their survival, and how to maintain hegemony and defeat social-imperialism. Within this, "Star Wars" is nothing but a plan that seeks to deploy a shield that would prevent missiles with atomic warheads from reaching their cities, and in turn allow them to protect themselves if they carry out an atomic attack against social-imperialism. But these are only plans and wishes, because up against one plan is another. Not long ago the Soviets retaliated by saying that there were ways to overcome this would-be shield, and consequently the supposed invulnerability of the U.S. would not exist.

As to the issue of disarmament plans between the superpowers, the U.S. and the USSR, we have to start from what Marxism as well as our own founder teaches us: the more they talk of peace, the more they prepare for war. A lot of empty talk, a lot of deceptive demagoguery is being made in relation to the disarmament agreements they've signed for the withdrawal of medium range missiles from Europe. What is being disarmed is the missile, that is the vehicle, but they keep the warhead in order to use it for whatever suits them. That is the essence of the farce.

The European powers are obviously in the line of fire of both superpowers, and if there is a world war, they would like to prevent it from taking place in Europe. That's what they want, because at bottom they are eager, as is Japan, that the two tigers fight each other so that later one of them can emerge as a great power, as the supreme ruler. Such are the dreams of Japan, West Germany, etc. But a world war

would also be waged in Europe, and the two superpowers are very aware of the Europeans' desires. So the situation creates contradictions among the powers and the superpowers, which unfold as a complex process involving collusion and contention. It could not be otherwise. How these powers fight to fulfill their dreams is also evident: Japan for dominance over Asia and South America, Europe over Africa and Latin America. And they don't restrict themselves to these regions, hence their bustling about and mediations, their separate and conflicting policies, because they each defend their own interests.

We believe that these are all demagogic debates that only serve to conceal big plans involving contention for world hegemony. That is what we believe, because imperialism will not cease to exist until we sweep it away. Its essence won't change--its essence is to exploit and oppress, to reduce nations to the state of semi-colonies and, if possible, to colonies. While I'm on the subject, it's high timethat we go back to using these terms, because they are terms scientifically established by Lenin. But the point is that in the face of these plans the main thing is not simply exposing them, but getting prepared to take them on. And there is but one way to prepare, and that is by means of people's war. Chairman Mao said: we have to prepare ourselves and prepare ourselves right now against an imperialist war, and principally against a nuclear war. How will we respond? Only with people's war, in no other way. That is the most important thing. Exposing them is part of carrying out a propaganda campaign that shows the world their sinister and hideous plans for mass genocide. But this will never stop a war, as Stalin dearly stated. These campaigns never stop wars, so the only thing to do if we want to prevent war, is to develop revolution. As the Chairman taught us: either revolution will prevent world war, or world war will give rise to revolution. This, I believe, is how we should view the situation.

EL DIARIO: Chairman, what do you think about the Soviet State? Lately they've been talking a great deal about Perestroika. How do you see this question? What is your opinion of the attacks on Stalin?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Lately, the subject of Perestroika has been bandied about. Perestroika, as far as I have been able to see, because I think it is necessary to study it carefully and understand all the revisionist filth it contains, is part of this new offensive of modern revisionism that we communists are facing. Gorbachev is thoroughly revisionist, a revisionist from head to toe. He claims that the XXth Congress of the CPSU was a historical event of enormous importance in the USSR. That was the fateful Congress in which the dictatorship of the proletariat was attacked under the pretext of attacking Stalin.

He admires Khrushchev, and portrays him as a great man, bold, determined, whose problem, he says, was that he fell into subjectivism, that he didn't elaborate correct plans, but overly ambitious plans that couldn't be carried out. Khrushchev was Gorbachev's teacher. And Gorbachev learned lessons from him, as well as from his other teacher, Brezhnev, even though he would like to distance himself from Brezhnev.

We have to focus on a key question with regard to Perestroika. Gorbachev himself says that Perestroika may be defined in many ways, but if we focus on "the key that expresses its essence most accurately, then we can say this, perestroika is a revolution." But there are those who don't see it that way. We have to pay very close attention to this. It is not a revolution, but a development of the counterrevolution, a more unrestrained unfolding of capitalist restoration aimed at eliminating what little remains that might serve the proletariat and people in combating social-imperialism. He says it is a revolution because it proposes an acceleration in the socioeconomic sphere, a radical change, and an advance to a new type of State. What would that new type of State be? A more shamelessly bourgeois State, structured in a new way that they have not yet found a way to define, because it has not been defined, not even in their most recent conference. So Gorbachev is completely unabashed. That's why it is useful to call attention to this term, because it is generally said that "perestroika is a restructuring, period. But Gorbachev says that the term that corresponds perfectly is "revolution," and that is a mockery, an irony, an outrageous joke.

What else does this individual put forward? He is developing Khrushchev's positions. Let's look at the question of war. He says that a world war will lead to the disappearance of humanity. In his own words, "In this war there will be neither victor nor vanquished. There will be no survivors," "If a nuclear war breaks out all living things will be obliterated from the face of the earth." And, "In a global nuclear conflict there will be neither winners nor losers, world civilization will inevitably perish." But what does he add? Allow me to read, "Politics must be based on realities. And today the most formidable world reality is the vast military arsenals, conventional as well as nuclear, of the United States and the Soviet Union. This gives our two countries a special responsibility in relationship to the whole world." What is this? Unabashedly he is telling us that his might is based on military superiority, and he brandishes it alongside the military power of Yankee imperialism, clamoring that they are all that matters in the world, and as a result, we are dependent on them. This is what he espouses, the mostshameless, blatant superpower politics that we have

seen. But according to him, it is not only a nuclear war that puts humanity at risk, but conventional war as well: given the sophisticated and deadly weapons that exist today, it could bring the same results. Thus Gorbachev tries to impose on us the most monstrous policy of subjugation. Faced with this, we raise even higher Chairman Mao Tsetung's banner, "It's right to rebel."

This high Russian official's revisionist inventions lead him to propose "a new thought." Listen clearly! A "new thought" that "takes into consideration, beyond ideologies and differences, the highest interests of humanity." What happened to the formal mention of a class viewpoint? Isn't this a revival on a higher level of Khrushchev's preachings? Clearly it is. And an essential part of this "thought" is that war is no longer the continuation of politics by military means. In his own words, "Clausewitz's maxim that 'war is the continuation of politics by other means,' which was classic in its time, now turns out to be ever more desperately outdated. It is destined for the libraries." But this thesis was upheld by Lenin and reiterated by Chairman Mao in this century and it is key in the military theory of the proletariat, and we are guided by it in the people's war. Thus, Gorbachev clashes openly with Lenin, as did Khrushchev. And the so-called "new conditions" that lead to the revision of Marxist principles is an old story that has been used since the days of the old-style revisionists, so it shouldn't serve as any type of comfort to this new revisionist standard bearer according to whom, "So much the better that in the West just as in the East new thoughts and new men are emerging, men who are beginning to see how they can reach agreement, because cooperation is the only thing possible." But we say that this collusion between the two superpowers goes on so long as the conditions have not yet emerged for fighting a third world war--if we do not sweep them away first. That is the essence of things, and I believe that it is necessary to point out clearly how Gorbachev, who perversely opposes Lenin, is so brazen in his deceit that he calls himself a "follower of Lenin" who is bringing about a "return to Lenin" and "has learned a lot from Lenin." This is what he tells us, and I believe these things are very corrosive.

On the other hand, after he advocates "basing international politics on moral and ethical norms common to the whole human race," Gorbachev says, "What will happen to the military-industrial complex, they ask... to begin with, each job in the military-industrial complex costs two or three times more than in civilian industry. In place of one, we could create three jobs. In the second place, the present military sectors of the economy are connected with the civilian economy, and they do a lot to help it. This is a starting point to using

their potential for peaceful purposes. In the third place, the Soviet Union and the United States could carry out extensive joint programs, pooling resources, and scientific and intellectual know-how to resolve the most diverse problems for the benefit of humanity." Thus he swaggers like Khrushchev and opposes Lenin's conception of imperialism and its economic process. Here also, as in everything, he is anti-Leninist, as is clear from his positions, similar to Deng's, separating the Party from the State and promoting economic growth more and more in the service of the bourgeoisie and imperialism.

Like the other imperialists, the social-imperialist Gorbachev proposes to combat so-called terrorism. He commits himself to this and to the use of the United Nations for this purpose as well.

Finally, I think something deserves to be said about how he sees Latin America, and Nicaragua in particular. In Nicaragua he thinks that because a dictatorship, that of Somoza, was overthrown by a popular revolution, this proves the correctness of the outlook that has guided and still guides the Nicaraguan revolution. This is extremely revealing. Concerning Latin America, his view is that the Soviets have no interest in disrupting the empire, or as they say, the relations between the U.S. and Latin America. This concerns us directly.

What do the social-imperialists of the USSR want? They are in a stage of trying to see how to resolve urgent problems. It is a moment when collusion is principal, and so they look to contain or cool off points of conflict in order to devote themselves to the development of their economic systems, while they continue making big plans to contend for world hegemony. Collusion is temporary, conflict andstruggle are absolute.

In conclusion, Perestroika is a perverse plan to continue with the modern revisionism that Khrushchev initiated. It is a new counterrevolutionary offensive of revisionism.

In regard to the attacks on Stalin, Khrushchev attacked him and so does Gorbachev, but Gorbachev has gone even further, rehabilitating those whom Stalin condemned. One of the things that should really make one think is the rehabilitation of Bukharin, as well as others. They've even recognized his status as a party member. You have to ask yourself, who's left? Only Trotsky, now he's the only one left. The attack on Stalin remains, as it has been, a pretext for deepening capitalist restoration, developing political plans to wipe out anything that may remain, and that might be of some service to the people in once again making revolution. That is their dream, but it will amount

to nothing but a dream, pure and simple.

Concerning Comrade Stalin, the revisionists say a lot about him and attack him. What is deplorable is that others should do the same, accusing him of all kinds of errors and maligning him. We believe that Comrade Stalin was a great Marxist-Leninist. What Chairman Mao said about him is correct: his errors amounted to thirty percent, and the root of these errors was in his limitations in grasping dialectics. But no one can deny that he was a great Marxist. The attacks on Stalin by Gorbachev and his henchmen should make others, who claim to be communists and who also attack and denigrate Comrade Stalin, think. They should really think about these coincidences there is something important behind these attacks.

EL DIARIO: How do you see the present leaders of China? Are they in the counterrevolutionary camp? What is the way out for the Chinese people?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The present leadership of China is revisionist, and is really led by a perverse character, an old and rotten revisionist, Deng Xiaoping. During the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution he was thoroughly exposed and the world saw what he was and continues to be, an out and out revisionist, a lackey of Liu Shao-chi. It's Deng who is leading China, once a socialist country, in a rapid and all-out restoration of capitalism. It is pertinent to point out that positions espoused by Gorbachev were previously espoused by Deng, in accordance with his own conditions.

What camp are they in? China acts like a world power. This is the political road they are following, one of collusion and struggle with powers and superpowers. Their dream is to be a superpower in the next century, that's their dream. The way out of this, as in other cases, is revolution, people's war. Let's remember that Chairman Mao, towards the end of his brilliant life, said to Comrade Chiang Ching that she could carry the flag of revolution to the summit, pointing out to her, if you fail, you will fall, your body will shatter, your bones will break and then once again guerrilla war will have to be waged. He gave us the answer. It's part of a poem. I don't remember the text very well, but that's the basic idea. The central point here is that guerrilla war will have to be waged again--people's war.

EL DIARIO: Chairman, do you think there are socialist countries in the world today?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Frankly no, I don't think so. There are those

who believe, for example, that Albania is a socialist country. I'd say to those who believe that Albania is socialist that they should study carefully, for example, the documents of the VIIIth Congress of the Party of Labor of Albania. That would be a good thing to study, because it says there that the center of world reaction is U.S. imperialism. And Soviet imperialism? What happened to the two enemies we have to fight? It was always just words. With Hoxha himself it was just words because he always wrote more about fighting Yankee imperialism than social-imperialism.

The same Congress also said that humanity has never been closer to its extinction than now. They repeat this just like the others, which is no mere coincidence. But what do they propose that we do? Concretely, expose imperialism. That is not the solution. Exposing imperialism will not stop a world war. The solution is to make revolution by carrying out people's war.

And if one looks at everything that is said there about the serious economic problems they have,one can see quite clearly the road that Albania has taken. However, it was not Ramiz Alia, the present leader, who chose this road, but Hoxha himself, who in 1978, in a speech before the electorate, stated that in Albania there were no antagonistic classes. We know very well what that means, because this question has been thoroughly explained by Chairman Mao Tsetung. And if we add to this his deceitful attacks on Chairman Mao, on the development of Marxism, what is he but a revisionist? Therefore Albania is not socialist.

If we look at Vietnam, the road it is following is that of an instrument of the Soviet Union that today clamors for imperialist aid with an economy in crisis and ruin. So much blood, for what? It's because there, there was Ho Chi Minh, a centrist, as can be seen in his famous testament, where he says he regrets seeing conflict within the International Communist Movement, when the question was which side he would take in the struggle between Marxism and revisionism. A communist has but one solution, to stand on the side of Marxism. Ho Chi Minh never did. Later came Le Duan, a rotten revisionist. Hence, the present situation in Vietnam.

This is why I hold that there are no socialist countries today. All this makes one reflect seriously, and come to understand the problem of restoration and counter-restoration. It's not a question that calls for lamenting or whining, as some try to promote. The point is to confront reality and understand it. And we can understand it if we grasp the question of restoration and counter-restoration that Lenin himself had

put forward and that Chairman Mao masterfully developed. Historically, no new class has established itself in power all at once. Power was seized and lost, reseized and lost again until, in the midst of great contests and struggles, that class was able to win and hold Power. The same thing is happening with the proletariat. But we've been left with great lessons, including in socialist construction. And so it has been a monumental experience.

In the final analysis, it is a historical process, and what we must be concerned about is how to prevent the restoration of capitalism. And every revolution that is in progress must think, as we've been taught, about the long years ahead, the long years to come, and be confident that the process of development for the proletariat in seizing Power and establishing the dictatorship of the proletariat and defending it and leading the revolution has already been defined. There have already been great historical milestones achieved in this process, and so the prospects are that our class, learning its lessons, will seize Power and establish the dictatorship of the proletariat throughout the world, and the proletariat will not be overthrown anymore, but will continue along this road of transformation until the State is brought to an end when we enter communism.

EL DIARIO: Chairman, with the triumph of the revolution, what kind of international relations will the New State have with bourgeois governments, especially with the Yankee State and with social-imperialism?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: The situation is clear. We must put an end to the domination of Yankee imperialism over our country. At the same time we must prevent the social-imperialists from introducing their domination, as well as warding off domination by any other power. In synthesis, that's the answer to your question.

EL DIARIO: Chairman, wouldn't the danger of total isolation put the New State in a precarious position?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: We believe the following: that we must keep to the path that will lead us to the emancipation of our class, the path that will take us to communism. And this path demands that we maintain our independence, so as to fulfill the interests of the proletariat in the world revolution. We believe, as is known, that there are disputes and contradictions among the imperialists, and these can be made use of, for example, to acquire certain resources. Since the market is getting tighter and tighter, and there is a real trade war, we may find those who will sell to us. Of course, they will demand an

exorbitant price and, as Lenin said, we will pay them with our curses. But at the same time, there are oppressed nations, revolutions in progress, there is the international proletariat, there arethe people throughout the world, and Communist Parties--they will help us and we will have to learn, because based on proletarian internationalism they will respond to our call and they will be well received. We are already seeing how ties between backward countries have been initiated, even how barter is used. We will find the appropriate forms.

We have not studied this question sufficiently, because it involves problems that will pose themselves in the future. We have general guidelines, but we agree with what Lenin said: You want to know what war is like? Wage it. And let us have inexhaustible confidence in the international proletariat, in the oppressed nations, in the people of the world; and most particularly in the communists, in the parties and organizations, whatever their level of development. Holding fast to our ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, we will advance, even if we begin by feeling our way in the dark, finding temporary solutions for certain situations or for brief periods of time, until we find the definitive one. As Lenin taught us, no revolution can be planned out completely ahead of time. And many times it must grope its way forward uncertainly, finding temporary or momentary solutions but that's how it advances. This is our approach, because our fundamental weapon is our ideology. We take what Marx said as our starting point: how easy it would be to undertake a revolution if we were absolutely certain of winning and having the whole problem resolved it would be easy, but revolution is not like that. The question is to commit ourselves to it and carry it forward, no matter what the cost. Since the masses are the makers of history, our people will rise to the occasion, and since it falls to us to arm them with the overall weapon Marx has given us, then we will defend our State by force of arms, because no revolutionary State can maintain itself on the good graces of imperialism and reaction. And in this way, with this firmness, with this determination, with the conviction that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, gives us, we will find the way, and we will find new roads.

Chairman Mao has taught us that we must think in new ways and generate new forms; this is a fundamental question. He laid out that, in economic matters, the question comes down to a clear political line, organizational forms, and great efforts. In regard to all problems, especially those we face that have not yet been resolved, we begin with a firm Maoist conviction that while there are Communist Parties and masses all manner of miracles will be achieved.

EL DIARIO: How does the PCP see proletarian internationalism today, and in the future?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: First of all, we see it as a principle, a very important principle, because, as I'll say again, the proletariat is an international class and we communists are internationalists, because in no other way can we serve communism. Our Party has always been concerned with training its members, its fighters, and the masses in proletarian internationalism, concerned with educating them in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, to serve the world revolution and to fight untiringly and unswervingly so that communism may flower on earth.

For a time we lost our links with other Parties. Later on, those ties were reestablished, and we are contributing in struggling for the International Communist Movement, which is why we are members of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement which we consider to be a step in the regrouping of the genuine communists. We think that this is a complex task, because, if it is complex and difficult to form a Party and carry it forward, how much more complex will it be to struggle so that the communists, through their different parties and organizations, can unite. We know that this is an enormous but indispensable task. We believe there are those who concur, who struggle; and we are struggling, with all the limitations we might have, to see that proletarian internationalism may again bring together the communists in the world to struggle jointly for the realization of our final goal. We understand that the problem is extremely complex and difficult, but we communists are made for this kind of task.

EL DIARIO: How do you, Chairman Gonzalo, analyze the different struggles being waged today in the oppressed nations? How do you analyze the armed actions in Europe, and the various national movement?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: There are numerous struggles in the oppressed nations. There are struggles in Africa, in Latin America, and in Asia, a region of such importance and weight in the world. Asia always deserves our very special attention because of the weight of the masses in history, and because of what Marxism itself has taught us. We think that the problem with the struggles in the oppressed nations lies in the lack of or insufficient development of the Communist Parties. Yes, some Parties really are going to have to make great contributions. We believe, on the other hand, that the question is that people's wars are not being developed. Consequently, we see the need to persevere in contributing to putting Marxism-Leninism-Maoism in

command of the world revolution, so on that basis powerful Parties can be formed and lead people's wars. We see this as the biggest limitation.

There are nationalist movements in the Middle East, Palestine concretely, in South Africa, etc. But we believe that these revolutions, in order to really follow the path opened up by the new era initiated by the October Revolution, must develop Communist Parties, because without them the revolution cannot go all the way. Africa has given us several examples of this. In Algeria, for example, there was an armed struggle, and a very fierce one, but socialism was never built because they had no Communist Party to lead a real revolutionary struggle. Without Communist Parties, nationalist movements develop that seek simply to be recognized as nations, in order to change from being colonies to being semi-colonies, while remaining dependent on imperialism, or, in other cases, changing masters. We have seen this in various movements tied to England and France, for example. In other cases, armed struggles are developed that the United Nations resolves, deciding what will happen, like in Cyprus. So the point is not simply waging armed struggle. The heart of the matter is people's war, a Communist Party and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Nevertheless, all these movements give strength to the struggle against imperialism, but they will only serve to completely wipe it out if they are led by a Communist Parry waging a people's war.

As for the armed actions in Europe, we've seen protracted armed struggles. They are an expression of objective reality. Therefore, the task is not to condemn them, but to understand, study, and analyze them to see how they are an expression of the fact that there is also a revolutionary situation in old Europe. And beyond that, that there are those who have taken up arms, understanding that that is the only way to seize Power. This is a powerful blow to revisionism, because in Europe itself, considered to be one of their bastions, revisionism is beginning to be abandoned. Regardless of the level reached, and the problems that remain to be solved, this is undeniably an important advance.

In some cases, the national question is involved, as in Ireland. In other cases, the issue of how to make their revolution is raised. We believe that these struggles must be studied seriously. The problem is in understanding what their ideology is, what politics guides them, what class they serve, and how they approach the question of the superpowers. We believe that they deserve a lot of attention, especially when there are organizations that propose taking up Mao Tsetung again, or that are starting to raise the need for a Party, or that

the armed struggle alone is not enough. We must look at this as a new awakening and understand that they might make a lot of mistakes when you get right down to it, who doesn't? But they themselves will sum up lessons from their errors, as they are doing, they'll advance, grasp Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and form Parties and wage people's war in accordance with the socialist character of their revolution and in accordance with their specific conditions.

In sum, to repeat, it is proof that in Europe, too, there is a revolutionary situation developing unevenly. There are people who are sick and tired of rotten revisionism who, in such difficult conditions, within the belly of imperialism where the struggle is complex and difficult, are taking up arms to change the world, which is the only way it can be done. This provides more hope, and helps us see that the main trend is revolution, and to see how Europe is also turning toward revolution. Let's also recognize that, after having been pioneers in the past, they are opening up a path and, in the end, providing more hope. And they deserve greater understanding from us since there are already thosewho are concerned about the Party and are taking up Mao Tsetung again. That is, they want to return to Marxism and to grasp it completely as Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. These struggles being waged in Europe also have their limitations and errors, as all struggles do, but we should see them as an expression of the irrepressible advance of revolution and how more and more countries and peoples are coming forward to take up arms to overthrow the existing order. They are summing up experience, and setting their course toward the Party and the ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism.

For me, seeing revolution begin to open a path in Europe is reason to rejoice. And regardless of possibly stumbling and falling along the way, we must have confidence in the masses and in the peoples--confidence that, as in other places, they will make revolution with arms in hand, following Marxism. They will do it there as well, that is how we must think. I emphasize that we must see this in historical perspective, take a long-term view, study these movements seriously, and encourage everything that tends towards Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, forging a Party and developing people's war.

EL DIARIO: What is your opinion of Nicaragua and Cuba?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: I would like to state what I said once when I was talking about these problems with some friends. Nicaragua carried out an incomplete revolution and their problem is that they didn't destroy the power of the whole big bourgeoisie. They focused

on being anti-Somoza. I believe that is one problem. A democratic revolution must wipe out the three mountains, and in Nicaragua that has not been done. Another thing is that the revolution has developed within the Cuban framework, readjusted in recent years. And this simply leads, in the end, to dependence on the Soviet Union. How can we prove this? Because the fate of Nicaragua, like Afghanistan or the Middle East, is discussed, manipulated, and dealt with in conversations between representatives of the two superpowers. The moves and countermoves they have made are indicative--the measures that are adopted in Nicaragua with regard to the "contras" coincide closely with meetings and agreements between the superpowers.

We believe that Nicaragua, in order to follow the correct path that the heroic Nicaraguan people certainly deserve, must develop the democratic revolution completely, and this demands a people's war. They must break with dependence on the Soviet Union, take their destiny in their own hands, and defend their independent class interests. This requires a Party which, of course, adopts a proletarian outlook. Otherwise, they will, lamentably, continue being a pawn. We believe that the Nicaraguan people have demonstrated a great fighting spirit, and their historic destiny can lie nowhere but in developing the revolution as it must be developed, with a Party based on Marxism-Leninism-Maoism and people's war, developing independently without the tutelage of any power, whether it be a nearby or distant one.

About Cuba, I can only say this concretely, they play a role in the service of the Soviet Union, not only in Latin America, but also in Angola, for example, and in other places. Cuba changed hands, from one master to another, by a process that the Cubans themselves call exceptional. One must recall clearly the basis that they laid out to guide their struggle: that there is no clear differentiation of classes, and what is needed, in sum, is a collection of saviors to redeem the oppressed. We've seen this along with the four following points in documents that are circulating in Peru. The problem here is not taking the class struggle as their starting point: "socialist revolution or a caricature of revolution," which means upholding a one stage revolution in the oppressed countries; a united front of three classes without the national bourgeoisie; no need for a Communist Party, which means dismissing the leadership of the proletariat; and the negation of people's war starting with rejecting the need for Base Areas. These ill-fated principles are propagated by the Cubans.

Cuba has a big responsibility in America, because it provided hope. But we must remember very clearly what happened in 1970. Fidel Castro said that the strategy of armed struggle had failed, and he

sought to abandon what he had encouraged and supported. Douglas Bravo confronted him, counteringthat the strategy had not failed, but Castro's tactics had. But, unfortunately later Bravo chose to accept amnesty. We believe all of this has generated a lot of problems in the Americas, but today these same criteria, readjusted to the dictates of the social-imperialist master, are being propagated and presented as a new revolutionary development being applied concretely in Nicaragua. This is false. What we must and do affirm is that Latin America is (and has been) ripe for people's war, and that is its road. Latin America has an important role to play. Let's not forget that it's "the U.S.'s backyard" according to the arrogant Yankee imperialists. Latin America also has an importance for the world which it will realize if it grasps the ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, forges Communist Parties and carries forward people's wars as part of the world revolution.

We Latin Americans will number over 500 million at the end of this century. There is much that unites us, and we must work together because of this closeness, which doesn't mean that we can detach ourselves from the world revolution, because we can only carry out our task as part of the world revolution. Latin America is not enough. Communism is for the whole world or for no one.

EL DIARIO: What is the Communist Party of Peru's contribution to the world revolution?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Our main contribution is to uphold Maoism as the new, third, and highest stage of Marxism, committing ourselves to help put this ideology in command of the world revolution, and as part of this to demonstrate the validity and all-encompassing perspective of Maoism. Also, to demonstrate that if one sustains oneself by relying on one's own efforts, maintaining independence from the superpowers or any other imperialist power, it is possible to make revolution, and what's more, it is necessary to do it that way. And to demonstrate the power of people's war, which makes itself felt despite all our limitations. And if possible, to provide, as some have said, hope, which implies responsibility- to be a beacon for the world revolution, an example that can serve other communists. In this way we are serving the world revolution.

Other Points

EL DIARIO: Chairman, we have come to the end of this interview. We've been talking with you for more than 12 hours. Now we'd like to talk about you personally, about Dr. Abimael Guzmán Reinoso. Was there anyone among your family or friends who influenced you in the development of your vocation and ability in politics?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: I'd say that what has most influenced me to take up politics has been the struggle of the people. I saw the fighting spirit of the people during the uprising in Arequipa in 1950--how the masses fought with uncontainable fury in response to the barbarous slaughter of the youth. And I saw how they fought the army, forcing them to retreat to their barracks. And how forces had to be brought in from other places in order to crush the people. This is an event that, I'd say, has been imprinted quite vividly in my memory. Because there, after having come to understand Lenin, I understood how the people, how our class, when they take to the streets and march, can make the reactionaries tremble, despite all their power. Another thing was the struggles of 1956, when the people fought, while others betrayed them--well, that is what the opportunists and reactionaries do--but the people fought and carried the day, and there were mass movements, powerful ones. These events, for example, helped me understand the power of the masses, that they make history.

I also had the occasion, going back a little further now, to see the uprising in Callao in 1948, to see with my own eyes the people's courage, how the people were brimming with heroism, and how the leadership betrayed them. And going back even further in my memory, I believe that World War II affected me profoundly. Yes, I remember, if that's possible, not very clearly--but as if in a dream--when the war began in September of I939, the uproar and the news on the old radios. I remember the bombing, the important news. I remember the end of the war too, and how it was celebrated with the blast of ships' horns, loudspeakers, a great clamor and happiness because World War II had ended.

I had a chance to see the so-called big five in the newspapers, and Comrade Stalin was among them. So I'd say that these events left their mark on me, and impressed upon me in an elemental and confused way the idea of power, of the masses, and of the capacity of war to transform things. All these things exerted an influence on me. I believe that like every communist I am the child of the class struggle and of

the Party.

EL DIARIO: At what age did you take up Marxism? Were you still in school, or were you at the university?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: My interest in politics began to develop at the end of high school, based on the events of I950. In the following years, I remember forming a group with my schoolmates to study political ideas. We were very eager to study all kinds of political ideas. You can probably understand what kind of period that was. That was the beginning for me. Then in college, the struggle at the university, I experienced firsthand big strikes, confrontations between Apristas and communists, and debates. And so my interest in books was sparked. Someone saw fit to lend me one, I believe it was "One Step Forward, Two Steps Back." I liked it, I began to study Marxist books. Then the figure of Comrade Stalin made a big impression on me. At that time people who were drawn to communism and those who became Party members were trained using Problems of Leninism. It was our mainstay and I studied it as it deserved to be studied, seriously, given its importance. Stalin's life interested me. He was, for us, an example of revolution. I had problems getting into the Communist Party. They had an absurd policy. To become a member, you had to be the son or daughter of a worker, and I wasn't. But others had different criteria and so I was able to join the Party. I participated in the defense of Stalin. At that time, taking him away from us would have been like taking away our soul. In those days, the works of Stalin were more widely propagated than those of Lenin. That's what the times were like.

Later I made a trip to Ayacucho for work reasons. I thought it would be a short stay, but it lasted for years. I thought it would just be for a year, because that's what the arrangements were. I had my plans, the proletariat had others. The masses and the people change us in many ways; Ayacucho helped me discover the peasantry. At that time, Ayacucho was a very small town, mainly countryside. If you go to the poor sections, even today, you find peasants there, and if you walk towards the outskirts, in fifteen minutes you're already in the countryside. There too, I started to understand Chairman Mao Tsetung, I advanced in understanding Marxism. The conflict between Marxism and revisionism has been very important in my development.

Some unlucky soul lent me the famous Chinese letter, "A Proposal Concerning the General Line of the International Communist Movement." He lent it to me on the condition that I'd return it. Obviously it was an understandable theft. The letter led me to get

more deeply into the great struggle between Marxism and revisionism.

I committed myself to work within the Party and to wipe out revisionism, and I believe that together with other comrades we achieved it. We gave up on one or two who were too far gone, they were dyed-in-the-wool revisionists. Ayacucho was of enormous importance for me, it has to do with the revolutionary road and Chairman Mao's teachings. So through this whole process I was becoming a Marxist, and the Party was molding me, resolutely and patiently, I believe.

EL DIARIO: Many people know that you've been to China. Did you ever meet Chairman Mao?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: I was not that fortunate. I was only able to see him from a distance. But I saw the recognition and deep affection of the people for a great Leader, an extraordinary Marxist, a pinnacle of Marxism. I didn't have the good fortune of meeting him, as I said. The delegation I belonged to made a lot of errors and demonstrated some foolish arrogance. I think that kept them from granting us that privilege.

Yes, I've been to China. In China I had the chance, which I'd like to see many have, of being in a school where politics was taught, from international questions to Marxist philosophy. They were masterful lessons given by proven and highly competent revolutionaries, great teachers. Among them Ican remember the teacher who taught us about open and secret work, a man who had devoted his whole life to the Party, and only to the Party, over the course of many years--a living example and an extraordinary teacher. He taught us many things, and he wanted to teach us more but some didn't accept it--after all, there are all sorts of people in this life. Later, they taught us about military questions. But here they also began with politics, people's war, then the forging of the armed forces, strategy and tactics. And then the practical part that went with it, like ambushes, attacks, military movements, as well as how to assemble explosive devices. When we were handling delicate chemicals they urged us to always keep our ideology first and foremost, because that would enable us to do anything, and do it well. We learned to make our first demolition charges. For me it is an unforgettable example and experience, an important lesson, and a big step in my development--to have been trained in the highest school of Marxism the world has ever seen.

Well, if you'd like an anecdote, here's one. When we were finishing the course on explosives, they told us that anything can explode. So, at

the end of the course, we picked up a pen and it blew up, and when we took a seat it blew up, too. It was a kind of general fireworks display. These were perfectly calculated examples to show us that anything could be blown up if you figured out how to do it. We constantly asked, "How do you do this? How do you do that?" They would tell us, don't worry, don't worry, you've already learned enough. Remember what the masses can do, they have inexhaustible ingenuity, what we've taught you the masses will do and will teach you all over again. That is what they told us. That school contributed greatly to my development and helped me begin to gain an appreciation for Chairman Mao Tsetung.

Later, I studied some more and I have tried to apply it. I think I still have a great deal to learn from Chairman Mao Tsetung, from Maoism, as well as from Mao's practice. It isn't about trying to compare myself to him, it is simply using the highest pinnacles as a reference point for achieving our objectives. My stay in China was an unforgettable experience. I was there on another occasion as well, when the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was beginning. We asked them to explain what was then called Mao Tsetung Thought. They taught us some more and that helped me understand more, a little more I should say. One thing that seems ironic is that the more I understood Mao Tsetung, the more I began to appreciate and value Mariátegui. Since Mao urged us to apply creatively, I went back and studied Mariátegui again, and saw that we had in him a first rate Marxist-Leninist who had thoroughly analyzed our society. It seems ironic, but it's true.

EL DIARIO: How does it feel to be the man most wanted by the repressive forces of the government?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: It feels like you re doing your job and working hard at it. What remains is to shoulder more responsibility for the revolution, the Party, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, for our class, the people and the masses. And to always understand that we carry our lives on our fingertips. If that weren't so, we couldn't be communists. So they have their reasons. Mine are those established by the Party, to which I wish to be more and more true and useful, because life can become entangled anywhere along the road, moreover it has a beginning and an end, more time, less time.

EL DIARIO: Is there anything you're afraid of?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Fear? I believe that fear and lack of fear form a contradiction. The point is to take up our ideology, and unleash the courage within us. It is our ideology that makes us brave, that gives us

courage. In my opinion, no one is born brave. It is society, the class struggle, that makes people and communists courageous--the class struggle, the proletariat, the Party, and our ideology. What could the greatest fear be? Death? As a materialist I know that life will end some day. What is most important to me is to be an optimist, with the conviction that others will continue the work to which I am committed, and will carry it forward until they reach our final goal, communism. Because the fear that I could have is that no one would carry on, but that fear disappears when one has faith in the masses. I think that the worst fear, in the end, is not to have faith in the masses, to believethat you're indispensable, the center of the world. I think that's the worst fear and if you are forged by the Party, in proletarian ideology, in Maoism principally, you understand that the masses are the makers of history, that the Party makes revolution, that the advance of history is certain, that revolution is the main trend, and then your fear vanishes. What remains is the satisfaction of contributing together with others to laying the foundation so that some day communism may shine and illuminate the entire earth.

EL DIARIO: What do you do when you're not busy with politics and the war? What books do you read?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Many times I don't have time to read what I'd like to. What do I like to read? I read a lot of biographies. I think that literature is a great form of artistic expression. For instance, I like to read Shakespeare, yes, and to study him. When you study Shakespeare you find political issues. There are very clear lessons in Julius Caesar for example, and in MacBeth. I like literature, but politics always wins out with me, and leads me to look for the political significance, what is behind it. After all, behind every great artist there is a political leader, there is a man of his time who is waging class struggle. I have also read Peruvian novels and sometimes I reread them.

I once read a short work by Thomas Mann about Moses. Afterwards, we used it to help us politically interpret a struggle in which we were involved at the time. One part of this work says that one can break the law, but not negate it. How did I interpret this? To break the law is to go against Marxism, to deviate, to have wrong ideas. That is permissible, but one cannot allow Marxism to be negated. I think it is possible to learn many things. I read Broad and Alien is the World, and All the Races [Todas las Sangres--TRANS.], and I have studied them as well. I like literature and music. Before I liked music more, now I enjoy it less. What other interests? I like science, books about science. In my early days at the university, I studied law because I had to have a profession. But I liked philosophy and I devoted myself to it.

Through philosophy I discovered science. I spent a lot of time studying questions of mathematics and physics. In my opinion, physics is an extraordinary science. It is quite fitting to call it "an adventure of the mind." The problem with science is that scientists, whose starting point is a materialist one, are good so long as they stay within the realm of science, but when they start to get into philosophy or other areas, if they are not materialists, they fall into idealism. This happened even with Einstein. I like science, I think it is extraordinary. This inclination for science can be seen in the thesis that I wrote for my degree in philosophy. It is an analysis of time and space according to Kant, from a Marxist point of view, using mathematics and physics. I would like to read it again, because there's no time now to go back and study all that again. But I don't even have a copy.

EL DIARIO: Do you like poetry as well?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: Yes. At one time I was surveying world poetry in an anthology. And I studied it before, too--there were some works at the university library that I had access to. I like poetry. It is another one of the things I admire about Chairman Mao, who was an extraordinary poet. As to Peruvian poetry, for me, Vallejo. Yes, he is ours, and besides, he was a communist.

EL DIARIO: Some say that your speeches, "The Flag" and "Initiate the Armed Struggle in 1980" are beautiful political poems of war. What do you say about that, Chairman?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: I'd say that sometimes in politics you have to let yourself go, so that the passion, the deep feelings, can strengthen our determination. At such times, so they say, the heart speaks and I believe that the revolutionary passion which is indispensable for war expresses itself. What literary value it might have I couldn't really say.

EL DIARIO: Do you ever get depressed?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: No. I believe that I've got an almost built-in optimism. And I occupy myself more with problems of understanding and conviction than with problems of feelings or depression. On the contrary, I think that I am quite optimistic. It is Marxism, Chairman Mao, who has made us understand that people, especially communists, are optimists. Whenever I find myself in a difficult situation I strive to look for its positive aspect or for what potential for development may stillexist within that situation, because nothing is completely black, nor is anything completely red. Even if there were to be a big defeat, even though we have not had one yet, there would always be a

positive aspect. The point is to draw out the lessons, and continue to do our work based on the positive aspect. You will always find someone to support you, to lend their ardent enthusiasm and assistance to the struggle, because communism unites people.

EL DIARIO: Do you have friends?

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: No, I don't. I have comrades. And I am very proud of having the comrades I have.

EL DIARIO: Chairman, we have reached the end of this interview.

CHAIRMAN GONZALO: We have worked very hard and I thank you for your efforts. I very much appreciate the difficulties you've had to go through in order to meet with me and be able to publish this first interview, which will reach the people through El Diario, a newspaper that has fought tenaciously to serve the people. Thank you very much.

EL DIARIO: Thank you, Chairman.

July, 1988

1990 - Elections, no! People's war, yes!

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ELECTIONS, NO! PEOPLE'S WAR, YES!

CHAPTER 1. ELECTIONS ARE CRUCIAL TO REACTION.

As the recent Session of the Central Committee, celebrating the victorious 10th ANNIVERSARY OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR, concluded, Peruvian reaction and its master, Imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism, needs to reinvigorate bureaucratic capitalism, once again restructure the old State, and annihilate the People's War. Those are their needs and their dreams because bureaucratic capitalism is experiencing its most profound economic crisis up to now, sinking the whole of Peruvian society into its deepest crisis ever. Its state, the obsolete dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie and landowners, restructured in 1978 for the third time this century, is still a rotten military- bureaucratic machine, more oppressive and bloody, the more impotent it becomes with the development of the People's War. Because the People's War, over these ten victorious years, mainly supported by the masses of poor peasants and under the leadership of the Party, has achieved the really thrilling prospect of conquering power throughout the country for the proletariat and the people. Reaction and the imperialists design new plans and actions, which inevitably will give more momentum to the class struggle, developing the struggle of the masses and raising the People's War to its highest expression.

The above is happening at a time when the superpowers and the powers, all of them imperialist or social-imperialist, in collusion and contention, stir up the contradictions on a global level (oppressed nations versus superpowers and imperialist powers; superpowers versus themselves and other imperialist powers; and the bourgeoisie versus the proletariat; of the three, the first is the principal contradiction); thus developing collusion and contention for areas of domination and a new partition of the world, which entails new defined wars, regional and worldwide in perspective, despite all the sweet talk about pacifism aimed at once more stupefying the world. Within these circumstances, from the middle of the last decade, a new counterrevolutionary revisionist offensive is developing led mainly by Gorbachov and Teng Xiao-ping (Deng). This offensive has intensified lately, and is acting colluded with the imperialist offensive against Marxism, loudly voiced again the presumed and widely publicized "obsolescence of Marxism." Thus, the collusion and contention of both imperialism and revisionism, and in this case mainly the collusion, are clearly seen in their sinister attacks against Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Under international conditions in which revolutionary

struggles, and increasingly the People's War acquires greater transcendence in the oppressed nations, they become the base of the world proletarian revolution as the main tendency in world history. This is a complex reality materialized in facts as it is happening in the country, like Eastern Europe with its contention between the decomposition of revisionism and the scramble for imperialist spoils, or Nicaragua whose incomplete democratic revolution has wrecked in the waters of black prospects, or the dialogue of M-19 in Colombia, with such instructive results, to name just a few.

Finally, there is the so-called "legitimization" as a political objective of the counterinsurgency war, in its form known as "low intensity warfare," which seeks governments produced by elections as a mean of providing them with "legitimacy" and "authority," which should be recognized as such by the people. In addition, according to them, they would "serve to satisfy the needs of the people." In that way, elections are but a tool of the counterrevolutionary war.

All this makes the 1990 general elections vital to the interests of Peruvian reaction and imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism.

CHAPTER 2. THE POLITICAL CRISIS INCREASES. THE CONTRADICTIONS DEEPEN.

In, "Against Constitutionalist Illusions and for the State of a New Democracy," the Party said:

"ON THE ELECTIONS. Marx pointed out: 'Every few years the oppressed are authorized to decide which members of the oppressor class will represent and crush them in parliament!' And that is even more true when the elections are to approve constitutions. Thus, elections are merely the method to renew the government administration of the dictatorship of the bourgeoisie in capitalist societies, and this happens even in the most democratic government we could imagine, and they are the usual means to preserve and develop capitalism.

In the landowning-bureaucratic States of Latin America, when elections have fulfilled their function of a changing of the guard, and at times during which the electoral norms of the bourgeois-democratic system are respected, election is just a tool of domination by the semi-feudal landowners and big capitalists, whether the renewal is done at standardized periods as lately in Colombia, or to end a period of military rule as also lately happened in Argentina, these are few examples of many in which our America is so prolific.

"The above can be demonstrated for this country. Although with important interruptions to the periodic electoral processes by military rulers -interruptions linked on the one hand to the development of the People's War and, on the other, to the contradictions between the landowners and the big bourgeoisie, and between the comprador bourgeoisie and the democratic bourgeoisie. Highlighting that the military governments themselves have been instrumental in implementing elections, be it to legalize its own situation, or to end its rule, or to guarantee them- elections in Peru have helped to preserve or develop the character of Peruvian State, the formal republic, the dictatorship of the semi-feudal landowners and the big bourgeoisie. Thus, elections have been, as couldn't be otherwise within the established social order, a tool first in the hands of the comprador bourgeoisie and then in the hands of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie. This has been the main characteristic in the electoral processes of the Peruvian State during this century, which has determined the class character of elections in this country.

"These fundamental matters establish the following:

1. The Peruvian State is landowning-bureaucratic, a dictatorship of a feudal landowners and big bourgeoisie, under ultimate control by Yankee imperialism; against whom the people struggle for the construction of a State of new democracy, which requires the destruction of the existing old order. 2. The Peruvian State, like every State, sustains, defends and develops itself by the use of violence, in the face of which the people need revolutionary violence, following the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside. 3. The elections are means of domination by the landowners and big bourgeoisie. For the people they are neither instruments of transformation nor a means to overthrow the power of the current rulers. Therefore, the correct orientation is using them only as a means of agitation and propaganda."

That was said in 1978 and it is still valid. Let's point out that the elections of 1980 and 1985 proved it with facts. Thus, within this function of elections in Peru, similar to that of other countries, and being as they are crucial to reaction, the 1990 general elections showed and developed themselves in defense of the obsolete existing order and evolution of Peruvian society. It was in this context that parties like APRA, IS (Socialist Left), IU (United Left), FREDEMO and CAMBIO 90 sustained and defended very similar objectives and goals which only differ in form and means of utilization.

The mobilization of troops for the elections amounted to 300,000 members of the police and armed forces, the largest ever for an election, as the State itself has recognized. In addition, they added tension and put into motion all State institutions; they unleashed an all-out campaign aimed not just at capitalizing votes but to pressure the people into voting and fighting against the People's War; all of that besides the most vile and low demagoguery. Let's highlight clearly how the open intervention by the Catholic Church in Peruvian politics is increasing by the day, as shown in these elections; but at the same time we must see with concern the role of the evangelicals in these elections, and behind which is the invisible hand of Yankee imperialism. Thus, while the armed force is still the big elector and warrantor, the so-called "spiritual power" of the Church rises more and more as political power. These elections show more clearly than others held previously in the country that "everything is valid in order to win elections," and how reactionaries, in their own intestine fights, are capable of snatching from the rest of the pack the best parts in the interests of their own groups or factions. So, what would they not do in their struggle against the people and the revolution? The current

general elections have set on their way two additional reactionary offspring: racism and religious struggle. The first is a nefarious fly-by-night ideology of purported superiority, which are totally opposed to the forging of a nationality in formation like ours, and the second, the religious struggle, is a sinister utilization of religion not just as an instrument in the class struggle, which it really is, but to pit masses against masses, derail the people's struggle and fetter the advancing revolution, the People's War. But not only have those foul elements been put into motion; the reaction and the classes, factions and groups that compose it, maneuver perversely with the threat of a coup d'etat, its useful instrument, while cynically declaiming themselves in favor of bourgeois democracy. All that, in addition to well- known machinations, tricks, chicanery and fraud at the vote counting, take place along with repression and genocide in the countryside. In that manner the electoral process smells of the dense foul odors of fascism.

Based on the review of data from the "Total compilation of the April 14 general elections," by the National Board of Elections and of the "National Consolidated Presidential Results" published by the same body (JNE) on May 11, 1985, the results are shown below as well as others in which we will refer to later on:

Registered Voters	9,983,400
Not Voting	2,116,600
Voting	7,866,800

GENERAL RESULTS

The table shows that those not voting are 21.2 % of the registered and 27% of those voting.

FREDEMO	27.6
CAMBIO 90 (Fujimori)	24.6
APRA	19.1
IU (United Left)	6.9
IS (Socialist Left)	4.0
Others	2.2
Null and Blank	15.3

VOTING PERCENTAGES

The very low vote obtained by the first two candidates stands out. Neither one of them, Vargas Llosa or Fujimori, reached even 30% of the votes cast; very far, then, from the 50% plus one votes their constitution demands to assume the presidency. It was also very clear,

and we will return to it later on, that absenteeism, simply staying away from the polls, has increased noticeably, reaching 21.2% of the registered and 27% of the voters; that is, the highest vote getter only obtained 0.6% more than absenteeism. There you see the self-proclaimed triumph of the so-called "democracy" and their purported defeat of the so-called "terrorism!"

The 19% APRA vote implied the bankruptcy of their "traditional third," which they bragged about for decades; however, their parliamentary contingent allowed them to continue fulfilling their nefarious role in Peruvian history.

On another side, the self-proclaimed "United Left" and "Socialist Left" were crushed by the same electoral process they worship so much; together, the two of them didn't even match the number of null and blank votes. This, their unrestrained parliamentary cretinism has suffered its most humiliating and catastrophic defeat: the just punishment to revisionists, opportunists and traitors to the class and the people.

In synthesis, last April's general elections were earmarked by vote dispersal and indefiniteness; the runoff election showed itself up as a still more murky, ambiguous and demagogic contest of gambling political hacks. But, besides that, with the distribution of seats, in parliament will develop a worsening collusion and contention between the various groups and factions of exploiters, causing the decrepit parliamentary system to rot even more. All of this shows how the Peruvian State has further weakened at its base, and will have to be sustained once more by the armed and repressive forces, showing more clearly to the people how the armed forces are the backbone of the State, and how this State is merely based on an organized violence for perpetuating the slavery of the people of Peru.

The electoral process highlights fundamental problems in Peruvian society, despite the pretensions of covering them up: First, the subsistence of semi-feudalism, basis of the agricultural production crisis, bringing back to the forefront the land problem which supposedly had been overcome. Second, the existence of bureaucratic capitalism, which is sustained in economic underdevelopment tied to imperialist domination; imperialism, mainly Yankee, as always sucking us dry of our blood and getting ready to suck us drier yet. In synthesis, it shows the generalized crisis of an obsolete society having only one solution: revolution, the victory of the ongoing People's War. On the other hand, the disastrous result obtained by the APRA government headed by the genocidal demagogue Garcia Perez, is

evident. In 1985, we said that the new government would provoke more hunger and would be still more genocidal; today hunger eats away and devours the class and the people; and while according to data from the so-called "Pacification Commission" of the Senate, the Belaunde government bloodied the country with 5,880 dead, the current one surpassed it with 8,504 dead from 1985 to 88, and with another 3,198 dead in 1989. Both of our 1985 predictions were correct, and in fact the APRA government of Garcia Perez created more hunger and more genocide than any previous one in Peruvian history The people will never forget him! All of which is sharpened and accented even more by the uncertainty of the first round of the election and the postponement of the resolution until the runoff.

The political parties were strongly shaken by the results of last April's elections and were forced out of necessity to enter all sorts of realignments and regrouping, not just for the sake of the runoff but, mainly, for their later development. While in the electoral campaign they upheld "non partisanship," to lure the vote of the independents, candidates trafficked with the lack of prestige of their own political parties and the repudiation of the revisionist parties of Eastern Europe, aiming in essence and perspective, against the party of the proletariat, against the Party, preaching the putrid thesis of "no need for political parties." On this, let's remember what Lenin said:

"Non partisanship is a bourgeois idea. Partisanship is a socialist idea." (Read communist.) All that merely shows is the crisis of the parties which sustain the old order; not a new crisis, but now sharpened by the electoral process and its disastrous results; a crisis of the parties which obviously reflects the deterioration of the old Peruvian State.

The first go around left two candidates. One, tired and in bad shape, Vargas Llosa, of FREDEMO, the arrogant preacher of the upstart personal success, individual freedom and the market economy, triumphant after having obtained first place with a meager 27% of the vote. The other, catapulted and infatuated, Fujimori of CAMBIO 90, the treacherous and sneaky carrier of the vaunted "Honesty, Work and Technology," the dark horse of imperialism and reaction who obtained a second place with 24% of the vote. Both represent the big bourgeoisie and imperialism. In the case of Fredemo the matter is clear. However in the case of Cambio 90 confusion arises because of the class origins of their candidates, from the petty-bourgeoisie and medium bourgeoisie, and by hiding their pragmatic points, especially before the first run. But what have Fujimori himself, and his advisors now preparing his government program, promised: a market economy, not even a "social market economy"; to recognize the foreign debt and

find ways to pay it; to strengthen the banking system; to promote exports and even big mining interests; to promote foreign investments and so-called international "assistance." Those are all positions of the great bourgeoisie, and especially of one of its factions, the comprador bourgeoisie, which will benefit the most. In addition, most of his advisors were formed by imperialism and are linked to big bourgeois institutions, opportunists who had participated in the APRA government, in IU, or coming from the Velasco regime. Of notice are the links with Hernando de Soto, a character with strong links to Yankee imperialism, directly endorsed by Reagan and Bush and a researcher of the so-called "informal production" with which all now pretend to traffic, even Vargas Llosa and Fujimori themselves.

So both Fredemo and Cambio 90 represent politically the big bourgeoisie. Already the recent Central Committee session pointed out: "Cambio 9O, that movement led by the former rector of the Agrarian University (Fujimori) has the same positions but not the weight of Fredemo . . . " The assessment of its class character is correct, however its definitive weight depends on the runoff election, given the importance of the Presidential elections. The heart of the matter is, while both are focused on the interests of the comprador bourgeoisie, Vargas Llosa presents himself as a defender of the exclusive interests of that faction, while Fujimori presents himself as a defender of the interests of the entire big bourgeoisie, but in addition, demagogically, he also claims to defend the interests of the medium bourgeoisie and the people. Although they try to deny it, that is the class character of the positions of both candidates, who lead Fredemo and Cambio 90 like "caciques" . Vargas Llosa desperately tries to overcome that limitation by appealing to all the people and promoting projects such us his so-called "social support program," while Fujimori assembles and reassembles his plans and keeps knocking on doors in search of connections and equipment for his possible future government.

In these circumstances the runoff election is prepared, in which APRA, IU and IS and their groups and factions play up to the highest bidder, leaning more and more toward Fujimori, and APRA looking for important posts in the new government. It already presented its detailed "conditions" to support Cambio 90, with phrasemongering to justify their "principles," while the poor orphan "Socialist Left" (IS) begs for crumbs off the big boys' table.

With all that, the basis on how the next government will look like, are being set. Whoever wins, it will govern in the midst of contradictions, with collusion and contention in the heart reaction and its lackeys.

CHAPTER 3. THE BOYCOTT DEVELOPS THE PEOPLE'S TENDENCY AGAINST THE ELECTIONS AND SERVES THE PEOPLE'S WAR.

Once more the "defeat of terrorism" is preached to the four corners of the world: from the genocidal demagogue Garcia Perez, to the various self-proclaimed and well paid "senderologists"; and from the political parties of reaction and their flunkies, to the bloody police forces; from the muddled and desperate presidential candidates, to well-maintained hacks of all sorts; in unison, as should be expected, all shout at the top of their lungs the purported and worn out *defeat of Sendero," so they, in defense of Peruvian reaction and especially of the big bourgeoisie, of social-imperialism and of imperialism, mainly Yankee can create counterrevolutionary public opinion for the benefit of the Old State and the armed forces' counterinsurgency plans. Once more their cruel black dream of forever crushing the people and annihilating the People's War sets in motion the fraud of the "defeat of Sendero, "which will materialize, they claim without proof, as ghosts labeled "strategic failure," or "the first and foremost loser," and "split and surrender" of Sendero. As their notorious wishful thinking prays, the Peoples' War "got into the swamp" in 1989, the elections would show the great defeat of the boycott, and the Party would split, and the fighters of the People's Army of Liberation would surrender.*

Let's begin with the so-called "strategic failure" due to "Sendero's falling into a swamp in 1989." Nothing better than starting from the Report on "Great Fulfillment of the Pilot Plan!", presented to the Central committee in June of last year, one of whose parts we transcribe below:

I. GUERRILLA ACTIONS. PLANS AND CAMPAIGNS DURING NINE YEARS OF PEOPLE'S WAR.

"The process of forging and development of nine years of People's War contains four milestones:

1. Definition,

2. Preparation,

3. Beginning and,

4. Development;

The People's War, strictly, speaking has developed as a process of qualitative leaps by means of four plans up to now. Each plan is a more higher and comprehensive than the previous plan expressing thus how the People's War has been getting more complex.

1. THE BEGINNING PLAN, fulfilled by way of two sub plans, spans less than a year: a) from May to July of 1980, 280 actions were completed. That was the beginning; and, b) from July to December of 1980, driving forward the People's War, fulfilling 1,062 actions. We already notice a leap, a growth, and the time also was longer: in total 1,342 actions.

2. THE DEPLOYMENT PLAN was broader yet, the plans spanning longer periods and consisting of more campaigns. Deployment had a previous plan: Opening up guerrilla zones, and developing platoons and detachments leading to Bases of support. Since the objective was to unfold the war fanning throughout the country, three campaigns were conceived:

a. Conquering weapons and resources,

b. Shaking up the countryside with guerrilla actions,

c. Scouting for the advance toward Bases of support, this last was applied in two stages. It spanned two years and carried out 5,350 actions.

While the earlier plan initiated the armed struggle, this new phase generated the New Power. By the end of this plan, the armed forces

entered directly to fight us (December of 82). This plan was more complex: several campaigns began to be managed as part of the same plan, each campaign marked by the definition of political strategy and military strategy.

3. PLAN OF CONQUERING BASES, from May 1983 to September of 86. First two campaigns were unfolded: Defend, Develop and Construct precisely in 1983-84, which was the most difficult moment; the armed forces were stopped short by those campaigns. This third plan developed a Campaign of great importance with a sub plan, The Great Leap, which meant largely overcoming the problems, and expanding the theater of military and political operations from Cajamarca to Puno, centered in the mountains but also spanning the Jungle and the Coast. By then, too, reaction thought they had annihilated us and swept away the People's War.

The plan of Conquering Bases took three years, four months, and consisted of 28,621 actions; it provided support bases and the entire support system, guerrilla zones, zones of operation and points of action.

4. GREAT PLAN OF DEVELOPING BASES (GPDB), with this we entered a very transcendental process because the support bases are the core of the People's War, there is no People's War without support bases; the Central Committee decided to apply the plan first as a Pilot Plan, from December 1986 to May 89, 2 years eight months more or less, with three campaigns, the third one in two parts; it consisted of 63,052 actions; it showed its merits and exceeded the objectives, now we begin its definitive approval.

Thus, we have in nine years a total of 98,365 actions; counting the complementary actions there were more than 100,000; mainly, the great final conclusion completed in July, as a second special ending.

The plans are strategically centralized and tactically decentralized; they are strategic plans that include actions and construction; they are developed through campaigns. Later the plan begin to be more complex and of longer duration; later still sub plans are developed, or limited plans developed within the general plans; and finally on entering into the GPDB, we propose applying it as a pilot plan. Each plan has its political and military strategy. They are tested and implemented in battle; the results show the readjustments to be made, and above all the subsequent conditions for the success of the subsequent plan. We concretize our judgement of the results in clear phrases that allow us to wield them easily, for example: "The Great

Completion of the Pilot Plan!"

The Central Committee approves Strategic Operating plans; such as the 1979 Expanded National Conference agreed upon, strategically centralized plans, which also takes into consideration the operational situation and establish the four forms of struggle:

1. agitation and propaganda,

2. sabotage,

3. selective annihilation and,

4. guerrilla combat.

They determine the parts, establish periods and fix the chronology.

We must always pay close attention to strategic centralization, since that's what determines our ability to within the plan and to develop the revolutionary waves systematically and simultaneously hit diverse and broad areas with all possible forms and means, to deliver hard and serious defeats to the enemy. Those who have studied the principles and military theory of Chairman Mao always point out that he established a strategically centralized plan, a key point that allows us to develop the actions: Applying it has enabled us to deliver hard and simultaneous blows to the enemy in almost the entire country, thus causing them more difficulties.

We must insist on strategically centralized plans, without forgetting they are tactically decentralized. Apply Strategic Operating Plans because these establish the nexus between strategy and tactics. Already comrade Stalin had suggested visualizing the bond joining the strategic whole with the concrete actions.

Let's point out how we began "out of nothing," because that is how Chairman Mao taught us. The main thing is to have a Party with a correct and just line, then the problem is to begin. Since the problem is not how many we are but is rather, if we want to initiate the armed struggle or not. With the People's War we have developed the Party, built the People's Guerrilla Army (today the People's Army of Liberation) and molded the New Power, and our mass work has experienced great quantitative and qualitative leaps; we have been wresting the weapons away from the enemy and the transfer of modern weapons is taking place more often.

The People's War has brought us to the Grand Completion of the Pilot

Plan, which we finished successfully and brilliantly! Thus, we have exceeded the accomplishment of the Pilot Plan of the Great Plan to Develop Bases; from that derives the need to Drive Forward the Support Bases. If we had not conceived it that way, it would not have the sense of having been completed. It began as pilot plan because this great plan implied very important qualitative changes. It was already proved in practice, its mandatory objective was to proceed with, Drive Forward the Development of Support Bases! , within the new GREAT PLAN OF DEVELOPING BASES TO SERVE THE CONQUEST OF POWER in the entire country.

In nine years we have developed, through these plans, the People's Army and the New Power and we have applied and will insist that the Party leads the People's War and absolutely leads the army, since we are guided by the Party commanding the gun and will never allow the gun to be in command of the Party. We have also insisted that, as Chairman Mao taught us, the war follows the politics; we will follow Lenin: War is the continuation of politics by military means; it has been and will continue to be that way, therefrom derives the class character of war. When Marxism is negated by others, we communists have to reaffirm ourselves more in our principles. When we confront counterrevolutionary campaigns like those worldwide against Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, like those in our country against the Party and the People's War, those are the moments we must grasp our principles more firmly and visualize the undeclinable objective toward which we are going: Communism. Let's insist on this more today, when Gorbachev, Deng and their cronies spread that we can no longer understand war with criteria from the past, that we can no longer say war is the continuation of politics; that what Clausewitz set forth, to which Lenin agreed and Chairman Mao developed, is not a principle that applies today according to Gorbachev, who also cries out loud that war will take us to the disappearance of the human race, that war will have neither winners nor losers because no one will survive it: sinister positions he inherited from Khrushchev. We condemn, and mark with fire, those revisionist positions against the People's War; we reaffirm ourselves that People's War is the continuation of politics by the force of arms in the service of the proletariat and the people, of their interests. If we were not firm in our principles and flexible in their application we'd lose the direction of the people's war and crash down into revisionism. That's why we must persist in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, in the people's war and in the Communist Party leading it until Communism.

Furthermore, let's emphasize:

1. centralization;

2. more complex plan;

3. the new, Great Plan of Developing Bases to Serve the Conquest of Power in All the Country! ; and,

4. persisting in the principles of People's War.

COMBAT ACTIONS AND ARMED STRIKE.

The Pilot Plan was successfully completed in three campaigns. The second part of the third campaign, Grand Completion of the Pilot Plan! , Whose balance we areevaluating, materialized an increment of 172% compared to the first part, a very noticeable increase even if the second part lasted longer than the first. In nine years of People's War there were 100,000 actions, this figure does not include complementary actions.

The total number of actions of the, Grand Completion of the Pilot Plan! Was 32,646 and the third campaign, in its two parts, shows an immense jump relative to the second campaign of the Pilot Plan, since it quadruples it despite lasting only three more months; there we have one of the extraordinary results of the First Congress of the Party.

AGITATION AND PROPAGANDA.

It's one of the four forms of People's War and, consequently, it is erroneous to see it as a separate thing; not to see it as a form of war leads us to make mistakes. The main thing is to develop it as the most profound campaign of agitation and propaganda ever made by any party in the country; that is, propaganda as the diffusion of ideas aiming toward the objective, and agitation as the utilization of concrete problems, which the masses struggle through. These actions, like the other forms, spread revolution, People's War, politics, ideology; today they disseminate the need to conquer Power countrywide. Thus, we go down to the lowest masses, who normally can neither read nor write; Engels taught us to solidify with facts the ideas in the minds of men, as a matter of principle; it is the material fact that generates knowledge; the four forms of war are material facts that those who execute them, or experience them, militants, fighters and masses, go on enduring the effect and the confirmation of the need for the war, for conquering political objectives, for conquering Power; of the need for the ideology of the proletariat. Thus, agitation and propaganda deepen among the masses of the country, stir the mind, disseminate and go on confirming the need for revolution; they deal with the real source of knowledge. Agitation and propaganda develop as psychological action and psychological warfare.

Lenin said that propaganda is never lost, no matter how much time there is between the sowing and the reaping, and if the action is done with weapons in hand, with armed actions aimed at mobilizing the

masses, that is the best school to forge the people in the ideology of the proletariat, in the politics of the Party and in the need for the People's War to conquer Power. Let's consider its great importance: it is linked to winning over and to forming public opinion to the fact that the People's War goes on generating a spirit of transformation among the masses, as Tulio C. Guerrero says. It has much potential to disseminate the People's War, and is fundamental to generate public opinion, to accentuate the People's War, the political objectives, the conquest of Power, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, the ideology, the politics of the Party and the policies on different levels, and we must keep in mind that we cannot conquer Power without generating public opinion.

SABOTAGES

They continue to play an important role, hitting the Peruvian economy hard, which develops itself in the worst conditions, in the deepest crisis in our history. Sabotaging the mining sector that has transcendent importance because the largest percentage of convertible currency comes from this activity; it hits the Peruvian State directly because, besides creating problems for it, those are blows it receives in the economic activity of the State, for instance Centromin It creates problems for the State itself, we burden with debt their corporative plans, which are fouled up. Furthermore, their "social measures," which they must always recur, are also hit and so the counterrevolutionary armed action itself is weakened. The sabotage of the electrical network is very important; the last few blackouts affected nine departments, from the northern Department La Libertad to the southern Department of ICA and going through the nation's capital, going inside the departments of Jun¡n, Pasco, Hu nuco, Ayacucho, Huancavelica, the heart of their economic system, the very axis of their administrative system, which is the capital. The blackouts are generating more problems for them each time. The paper El Comercio published about the last blackout that electricity could only be restored in Lima 10 days afterward. They have implied that they intend to utilize more thermal generators, a greater expense because the cost to produce that type of energy is very high. Besides hitting the public administration and their banking system data processing, industry also experiences difficulties. They greatly impact on the masses because whoever sees the blackout knows what its cause is, and the masses see how the Peruvian State, expressing its class character, tends first to the needs of the big bourgeoisie and postpones those of the people; that way, the masses are gradually forging clearer judgement each time. The big bourgeoisie suffers with the sabotages,

hence the Society of Mines and Petroleum demand that armed forces and police reinforce the military occupation in the mines.

The main thing is to let the effects of sabotage be felt in the most important, most advanced economic zone, in the central economic zone which at the same time is the most strategic zone to restructure the old Peruvian society, their old State.

SELECTIVE ANNIHILATION.

It is increasing and hitting hard the authorities. We reaffirm that this way the functioning of the State apparatus is beheaded and paralyzed. Some, the reactionaries and their cronies the opportunists, say "how is it possible to vilely murder mayors elected by the people?" First, it must be explained that the election is only a reactionary instrument of the bourgeois democratic system. We will never allow ourselves to be deceived by the political stupidity of those who only speak of dictatorship if there are no elections. United Left (IU) and their ilk may say such things; but a communist can never think that way since the State, first and foremost, is a class dictatorship, and the mayors, the governors, or the bureaucratic authorities, of the CORDES or similar organizations, are part of that State system, of that violent reactionary structure. Hitting or beheading State authorities or bureaucrats of whatever level hampers the running of the State and even more generates a Power vacuum. One of the traditional problems of the Peruvian State, as Mariategui already noted, is that it has never been able to extend its power to the remotest corners of the country; it is a fact that reaction is sited in central locations, in the cities, and has been extending its power to intermediate size cities, and once in a while it reaches small cities; while the annexes or towns in the countryside, villages or shantytowns are beyond the State and do not endure steady control; it is a problem linked to the semi-feudal bases sustaining it. So, then, the annihilations undermine the State order and that is good. It helps to erode it, because the political vacuum created is left in our hands, to fill it and exert power. Having five forms of Power we can set up any one of them. Remember that some say, "the Vietnam example is good," but they forget 13,000 authorities were annihilated there; thus, the annihilations made by the Vietnamese were good, but the ones we make are bad? Why? What objectives did they accomplish and do we accomplish? To undermine order, a problem clearly established by Cassinello in Guerrilla and Counter guerrilla Warfare .

GUERRILLA COMBATS.

The quantity is high and its percentage begins to grow even more. The two fundamental forms of combat actions are developing:

1) ambushes and

2. assaults.

Ambushes are developed, each time more stunningly and we are hitting the armed forces; to hit their officers has much importance and we already see its results: petitions to leave the army are growing so much that they had to prohibit them; desertions increase and clashes among them are starting; the selling of weapons is increasing and will continue to grow.

On this point reaction reaches the extremes of sarcasm, stupidity and ridicule by decrying we are "cowardly ambushing them," "they don't fight face to face." In what ambush does one show the face? The key to ambush is surprise. Ambush is a norm to us, as it is to all armies, but we should not allow ourselves to be ambushed nor counter ambushed. When we hit the military, they cry out, "Barbaric! ," "Brutal murder!"; so then, how do they say "we are at war" and what role do their armed forces have other than to fight in a war? Mercado Jarrin says the armed forces are the "insurance policy of the nation"; yes, they are the insurance policy of reaction and its backbone; that is why we have to annihilate them totally and completely.

Guerrilla combat, like annihilations, are lowering the morale of the armed forces, which are drafted troops fighting against their will, with little instruction and kept in check by ferocious reactionary iron discipline. Some say they would rather have a more reduced professional army, better armed with sophisticated weapons and very well paid, but that would not be beneficial to them, it would only allow us to increase our forces and make more critical the disproportionate ratio between us and them; as is well known, the norm is that when a guerrilla activity is well developed, reaction requires a ratio of up to 20 to one, as shown by international experience; in our case, although we are not highly developed, they need to increase their forces. In second place, can they do it? , No. They do not possess enough means to do it, officers themselves are badly paid and the severe crisis the country is experiencing does not permit great investments like that, consequently they need the "foreign aid" of the superpowers and/or imperialist powers and to them they appeal more and more. The USSR just sold them helicopters from Afghanistan at bargain prices. The USA gives them "military aid," training and giving them resources, and their direct participation is

obvious, such as the struggle against "drug trafficking" in words and against the People's War in deeds. Keep in mind what we have seen already about a possible Yankee aggression, considering especially the U.S. actions in Huallaga; remember what we read in the military magazine of the U.S. army about national strategy, it maintains that even not having a declared war, they develop subversive wars, insurrections, terrorist actions, drug trafficking and that those are areas in which the armed forces must participate and fight.

Thus, they are finding serious problems with the development of the guerrilla combat. As regards quality, we are seeing a leap especially in the guerrilla combats; each time the assaults are more important, an example is Uchiza , which even caused the enemy internal contradictions between the armed forces and the government, and between the armed forces and police forces; and successive ambushes show a better handling of them.

ARMED STRIKE.

It is a new modality in the struggle, which implies an entire combination of actions, it has to manage the four forms of war: agitation and propaganda, sabotage, selective annihilation and guerrilla combat; and at the same time it implies mobilizing an enormous mass which helps the force of the New Power, the existence of the New State and the questioning and negation of the old State. The armed strike, militarily speaking, manages the four forms and impacts on huge numbers of masses leading to isolating vast areas and demonstrating besides how easy it is to isolate the capital city (Lima). Since 1979 we know that Lima is the most vulnerable capital in Latin America, keep that in mind to continue hitting them, and for tomorrow, when we have Power in the whole country, we will defend it from counterrevolution.

Confronted with armed strikes reaction will aim, as it does, to fetter them and prevent them, to break them up; it will make false calls to strike or will use its weapons; for instance in Chosica they called a false strike just to make a show of force, to pressure, intimidate and lead the masses to reject the strike; but that will not be enough for them, they will have to repress the armed strikes, answer them militarily, not merely as a show of force, but to break the actual armed strikes with fire and blood.

Armed strikes are also making the revisionists nervous, the trade union bureaucracy, all those who ride on the backs of the masses; these hacks will continue opposing the armed strikes claiming these

are "an authoritarian imposition," that "the unions are not the ones calling them." Our answer is simple: it is not an industrial or trade union action but a military action to keep on isolating, hitting, eroding and undermining the old order so the people can see clearer each time the powerlessness, which the Peruvian State is being reduced to. Therefore, we are not talking only about a struggle for labor demands or just vindications, but rather we are developing a military action to undermine the old order, show its impotency, create public opinion and impact the broader masses; and that, in perspective, entails the sectionalizing of the country in a more extensive way, which will involve another problem of the plan we put in motion: the leap from guerrilla warfare to mobile warfare.

Military work develops in the country and the city following the path of surrounding the cities from the countryside, and our specific condition is that we also shake up the cities, but the four forms of war develop mainly in the countryside, and as complement in the cities. That scheme will continue to develop more, considering that the armed strike happens above all in the cities; for example the armed strike in Central Peru involving important cities like Huancayo, Jauja, Oroya, Huanuco, Cerro de Pasco; that is, departmental and provincial capitals. Work in the countryside is good, extremely important and principal, but advancing the work in the cities is a necessity that will increase and we must focused on that type of work.

In synthesis, as regards quality and quantity we can say that qualitatively and quantitatively the People's War is developing strongly and vigorously; we persist on the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside; the countryside is principal and the encirclements are already closing in more and more. Therefore, the People's War has made a great quantitative and qualitative leap in this Pilot Plan and it germinates a more transcendent advance.

PLAN OF STRATEGIC DEVELOPMENT

Our investigation shows that everything remains firmly grounded within the main points (the axis, sub axis, directions and mobile lines), they are well established and are being managed even better. What derives from this is that at this moment we have no need to change things; it would even be inconvenient to alter them at this time. Reaction enters into strong difficulties and contradictions; the problem of the municipal and general elections, the two electoral runs and the new administration take them to a collusion and contention; but each collusion is sustained within the contention and can explode at any time; these situations, of contention, of rupture, that can even

lead to a coup d'etat at least in the next two years that must lead us to advance boldly. For that reason it is not convenient to vary our plans and we must strive to wield them better. Don't forget that all of our Party's work is developed within the strategic development plan, provided that the Party leads everything.

THEATER OF OPERATIONS

It remains even clearer that we are developing within the Sierra region of the country. Historically Peru has had a vertebrate axis: the center-south mountains, it was that way at the times of the Incas; in the war with Chile it was the area defending itself better and where forces can retreat before a foreign attack.

We also develop within the jungle strips, areas which are showing good fighting conditions for the masses; most peasants there are linked to coca growing, the Upper Huallaga is the largest producing area in Latin America, larger than those in Colombia and Bolivia; for that reason as well it is important to reaction. We are also developing within the Apurimac jungle strip and we must emphasize our penetration into the Central region. The perspective is to cover all the jungle strips.

The theater is also being extended on the Coast. From the edges of the Coastal areas, you can penetrate into the Sierra, for example the mid-North (Norte medio) and the Mid- South.

This leads us to develop the other coastal zones, especially the work in the northern and southern coast of our country. Also, to develop more the cities in the Sierra. It is very important to focus the struggle in the cities, it has to do with the insurrection; if we don't prepare for the seizure of the cities, mainly the largest ones, to complete the final stage of the People's War, the conquest of power in the entire country will be delayed. The work in Lima must be developed more, considering that it is the capital.

Also the theater enables us to develop incursions, which facilitate developing the theater or retreating during enemy offensives.

In synthesis, the theater is showing its expansion and the interrelation between the committees, also the capacity of incursion between the one and the others. Consequently, the perspective of the theater is to vertebrate the entire People's War. With the development of the war, we will have to redefine the committees, above all to conform to the development of the EGP (People's Army.) Thus, the theater shows how

it is expanding and we see a process of vertebrate in which the encirclement of the cities is setting in, not just the capital but the rest of the cities too.

This ends the partially transcribed report. But let us consider the following outline:

PLANS AND CAMPAIGNS OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR

I. INITIATION PLAN (MAY-DEC. 1980) 1, 342 actions

Initiate the Armed Struggle Drive Forward Guerrilla Warfare
THIRD MILESTONE: BEGINNING OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR

II. DEPLOYMENT PLAN (JAN. 81-JAN 83) 5, 350 actions

Open Guerrilla Zones
First Campaign: Conquer Arms and Resources
Second Campaign: Rock the Countryside with Guerrilla Actions
Third Campaign: Stir 1 and 2 to Advance Toward the Support Bases

III. PLAN TO CONQUER BASES (MAY 1983-SEP. 1986 28, 621 actions

Defend Develop and Construct I and II
Great Leap
First Campaign: Initiate Great Leap!
Second Campaign: Develop the Great Leap!
Third Campaign: Develop the People's War!
Fourth Campaign: Cap off the Great Leap! (First Part)
Cap off the Great Leap with a Golden Seal! (Second Part)

IV. GREAT PLAN TO DEVELOP BASES. PILOT PLAN (DEC. 1986-MAY 1989) 63, 052 actions

First Campaign: Pilot Plan to Develop Bases
Second Campaign: To Brilliantly Fullfill it and Establish a Historical Miliestone!
Third Campaign: To consolidate and Develop the Great Completion! (First Part)
Great Completion of the Pilot Plan! (Second Part)

V. GREAT PLAN TO DEVELOP BASES AND TO SERVE THE CONQUEST OF POWER (AUG. 89-) 23, 090 actions

First Campaign: To Drive Forward the Development of Support Bases

The partial implementation to the end of 1989.
TOTAL NUMBER OF ACTIONS 121, 455
FOURTH MILESTONE: DEVELOPMENT OF GUERRILLA WARFARE

NOTE: Up to this time four milestones have been specified in the development of the People's War: FIRST: DEFINITION, whose center is the IX Plenum of the Central Committee, June of 1979. SECOND: PREPARATION, centered in the Expanded National Conference, November 1979. Furthermore, this table does not include the actions carried out within the complementaries.

This shows clearly the immense progress and great development of the People's War, unless someone tried to sustain the absurd claim that the leap was quantitative, a change, but not qualitative. It is seen clearly and convincingly how each subsequent plan implies a higher leap than the previous one. If we compare plans III and IV, although plan III took three years and four months, and plan IV only took two years and six months, the number of actions in the latter plan more than doubles the former.

On the other hand, if we consider the application of the new GREAT PLAN TO DEVELOP BASES IN SERVICE OF THE CONQUEST OF POWER just begun in August of 1989 with the First Campaign of Driving Forward the Development of Support Bases, in its four months of execution, until the end of last year, it materialized 23,090 guerrilla actions. Consequently, considering that four months is half the duration of the Grand Completion of the Pilot Plan! , The second part of the preceding plan, the new Great Plan has already achieved the notable increase of 41.5 percent in its guerrilla actions; an increase whose importance is better understood if we keep in mind the enormous increment that the completion of the Pilot Plan implied. And if we compare results, the 23,090 guerrilla actions involve 19.0 percent of the total actions up to December of 1989; 23.5% of the actions in the nine years before this plan started and 36.6% of the actions in the entire Pilot Plan. In about four months we achieved almost 37% of what we achieved previously in thirty! There it is, the new Great Plan has begun resolutely and victoriously.

Finally, if we center on 1989, the year of the proclaimed and supposed "swamping"; considering from October 88 to December 89, a period in which 32,644 actions were registered in the completion referred to above and 23,090 in the New Plan, we have a total of 55,736 guerrilla actions; that is about 46% of all the actions completed. There you have the great "defeat of Sendero!"

CONCRETE ACTIONS

With regards to concrete actions in this period, we emphasize the following: Regional armed strike in Ayacucho, lasting one week, in February of 89; while rural nucleations built by the armed forces were destroyed. Harvest [campaign] took place in Huaycan, in the capital itself in the same month: 2,000 people were mobilized with the support of the EGP (People's Army), who annihilated the manager and a foreman of the Fundo under attack; the masses appropriated the produce by sharing it. Assault on the police counterinsurgency base DOES-6 at Uchiza, March 27: the base was taken, the contingent of 48 military surrendered among them 15 wounded, three dead officers and seven police dead. The taking of Pampa Cangallo: in April, the 600 soldiers were kept at bay and unable to leave their barracks while the town remained under the control of the People's Army (EGP). Also in April, mobilization of the Committee of Families of Prisoners of War and Disappeared, in Lima, against the Ministry of Justice, with agitation and sabotage; it kept in check the plans of repression against families, and lawyers and genocide against the prisoners. The same month assaults to police posts in Yauricocha, Upper Lar n and Clemente, in the Mid South.

Regional armed strike in Central Peru, departments of Jun¡n, Cerro de Pasco and Huanuco. On May 10-12 an armed strike took place in Ca ¤ete, southern part of the Department of Lima, on June 1-2, and on the 7th, assault against the police station of Ambar, northern part of the Department of Lima. Ambush of a presidential escort transport car, "Jun¡n Hussars," in downtown Lima; 7 soldiers killed and 29 wounded in June 3. In the same month, armed strikes: June 5-7 in Huancavelica; on the 7th in Huaraz; and June 15-20 in Upper Huallaga. June 19, ambush of the army in Aguayt¡a, as part of armed strike: a convoy of six trucks on F. Basadre highway; annihilated were an army major (second chief at Ucayali political-military command), a lieutenant and 14 soldiers, besides 10 wounded, total 26 casualties.

In the month of July, armed strikes: on the 14th in Huamachuco; on the 20th in Lima, against hunger and repression, organized by MRDP [Revolutionary Movement in Defense of the People]; and from July 27-29 in Ayacucho. On the 5th, sabotage of a bus of the Soviets who pillage the country's marine life; 33 wounded; an ambush against a DOES police patrol in Az ngaro, Department of Puno, annihilated a commander, a captain, a lieutenant and three subordinates, on the 6th; assaulted the police station in Pacar n, Ca¤ete; the station was destroyed, the bridge joining Pacaran, in Yauyos, and Huancayo was

blown up. The military barracks in Madre Mia was destroyed, 150 soldiers (120 infantry and 30 engineers), in the Upper Huallaga Valley; the assault took place on July 27, on the eve of the "national anniversary": after a pitched battle the People's Guerrilla Army destroyed the reactionary army barracks thoroughly and completely, causing them 64 casualties (39 dead and 25 wounded) and conquered a good quantity of military supplies.

Also in that area, a year ago the police station in Cotahuasi, Department of Arequipa, was assaulted; and the police station at the Huancaray hydroelectric, in Apurimac. As well, in the Department of Huancavelica mesnadas of Pachaclla were annihilated and several towns were taken in the principal axis of the People's War in the region, generating a Power vacuum. And, ambush to army in Milano, Upper Huallaga; assault to police stations in Julcan, in Otuzco, Department of La Libertad, and in Cajacay, Department of Ancash.

Now, if we focus on the People's War according to the regions or zones in which it is developing we have the following scenario, centered on the First Campaign of the plan Driving Forward [Impulsar], opening the new Grand Plan:

AYACUCHO: The Heroic Struggle

If we consider from Pampa Cangallo in the south of the department; in October a series of actions against the armed forces and the micro region were carried out; the main one was the attack and eventual collapse of the barracks in Vilcashuaman, sabotage of State installations, propaganda, agitation and mobilization in the town, which was taken over by the People's Army (EGP); as well, the harassment and collapse hit the anti-guerrilla bases in Pampa Cangallo, Cangallo, Puente Matero, Accomarca, Ocros, Cayara, Hualla, Canaria, Huancapi and Chipao. Because of the large impact on the masses, especially those who under pressure of the military joined the mesnadas, and who have stopped patrolling and standing guard. The army reacted desperately and imposed a curfew, repressing, arresting, shaving heads.

Municipal elections in November were confronted by the new armed strike from the 5th to the 15th, which has proven to be a big weapon to hinder, boycott and impede elections wherever feasible. There were no candidates in Concepcion, Carhuanca, Huambalpa, Andamarca and Cabana; in Huancapi, Mualla, Colca and Cayara nobody knew who the candidates were; in Vilcashuaman all resigned except for a member of United Left while in a showcase of "bourgeois democracy," in

Carhuanca and Huambalpa, on the same day as the elections, SIN members captured two peasants at the town square, told them, "You are the candidates! ," and beat them up until they accepted their "candidacy." That is how their "democracy" and their "elections" truly are, the people are witnesses! However their objective failed because most of the population did not vote.

An action related to the elections is the stunning ambush on an army convoy on the 13th, in Andamarca, where 10 soldiers and an official of the electoral jury were annihilated.

And, though partially, the Little March that mobilized hundreds of people armed with various means and carrying red flags with the hammer and sickle, banners and posters about the People's War, traveled through many towns and villages like a little machine sowing the People's War, developing actions and profoundly moving the masses. On the other hand, hard crushing blows are delivered to the recalcitrant black heads who lead the "mesnadas" controlled by the armed forces, as in Huamanquiquia and Sacsamarca, province of Huancasancos. At the same time that the People's War extends to the main part of the Coast by the taking of towns like Ocana and the destruction of the police station, close to the highway to Nazca.

Consider the northern part of the Department of Ayacucho, the provinces of Huamanga, Ruanta and La Mar. The municipal elections obviously carried great importance. In the city of Huanta, the provincial capital, there were no candidates, since all of them quit; in Ayacucho, departmental capital, the candidates quit too, but when the APRA candidate quit (a former Bela£nde man who was unknown in Ayacucho and was not even there on election day) his resignation was not accepted by APRA; when the resignation of the United Left (IU) candidate, violating electoral norms, was withdrawn with the opposition of the rest of his ticket, he persisted in resigning, disowning his candidacy. Applying the boycott, as in other parts, the Party carried out the armed strike on November 11-13, throughout the area; from the 10th, transport was paralyzed by blocking and opening ditches across highways; through radio broadcasts, the masses were even asking for the electoral process to be halted. The armed forces, the police-military command, answered them by applying a 6:00 p.m. to 6:00 a.m. curfew; on the day following the attack of the 9th, the simultaneous capture of Ayacucho and Huanta by the People's Army (EGP); the armed forces decreed "a suspension of public activities until the 13th"; making large roundups and threatening arrest and other draconian sanctions to anyone who did not vote, according to the provisions repeatedly broadcasted through the radio.

On the 12th Ayacucho woke up amidst great explosions and under a huge deployment of military and police forces. The genocidal demagogue Garcia Perez came the same day to stage "the triumph of democracy in Ayacucho"; he proffered orders and counter orders as he saw fit, as he does daily; he conducted a rally of Apristas (APRA members), mesnadas (paramilitary peasants) and soldiers dressed in civilian clothes in which very loudly, histrionically and egotistically he announced his personal "victory" and the "defeat of Sendero," the "triumphant and exemplary electoral process" and the "boycott failure." But elections were not held in Huanta nor did Ayacucho elect a mayor, since the "leftism" chosen by some vanished amidst the over two-thirds of blank and null votes, of the small minority who voted at all; that too was the "victory" which United Left celebrated euphorically, loudly shouting "we won at Ayacucho!".

At the end of the counting, even the JNE hacks had to declare the results invalid. In addition, like in 1985, in some places the masses were forced to vote by soldiers and police kicking and hitting them, such as in San Jose; or their electoral books were simply stamped, then soldiers filled in the ballots for them, such as in Pischa and Acocro; while in Llochegua and Churcampa voting simply was done at the military barracks. In Julcamarca the People's Army (EGP) captured the town and after keeping the antiguerrila base at bay burned the municipal council (consejo municipal) and prevented the elections; in Acocro it forced them to be stopped, and the same in Pacaysasa, where soldiers abandoned protection of the tables leaving their lieutenant alone. In synthesis, the boycott was a brilliant political triumph; absenteeism was massive and even the minority who voted, voted mostly in blank or null ballots.

But notwithstanding the importance of the boycott, part of the People's War, a basic question in its development can be seen in the great advancement of work in cities such as Ayacucho and Huanta; the taking of both, by siege, on November 9, applying containment to prevent the police and armed forces from massively leaving their quarters, and forcing the foreign mercenaries to keep away and hide like rats in their nests at the airport, is clear proof of this advance. Also, the incursion into People's Cooperation in Ayacucho, against the Aprista candidate, annihilating his police escort, in October; and the attack on the technical police departmental headquarters annihilating a lieutenant and a corporal and wounding two others, in the same month; or the car bombs, one at the office of the director of education, and the other thirty meters away from the main square (Plaza de Armas), respectively in October and December. However, the main and more transcendent development of the People's War is still in the

countryside: the destruction of the mesnadas in five towns and finishing off fifty of their most recalcitrant members; the demolition of the nucleations in Vicus and Huayllay and the annihilation of their black heads, and nucleations organized and sustained by the armed forces against the will of the masses, especially of the poorest peasantry; the ambush against mesnadas in Pichihuilca or to an army truck in Palmapampa, barely three hundred meters from their anti-guerrilla base, in November and December respectively, and repeated hits to the marine infantry, show this in all clarity.

APURIMAC: Area of Intense Confrontation

The Department of APURIMAC too, is an area of hard and intense confrontation. Proof are the sabotages and leveling to the ground of installations, and Town councils, micro regions, "cooperation popular," Entel Peru, Ministry of Agriculture, the electoral registry, Sierra Centro-Sur, military registry, National Bank and TV stations; or the selective annihilations of snitches, infiltrators, cattle rustlers, promoters of the mesnadas and spies; or the assaults, ambushes and multiple confrontations registered. All that, together with hundreds of agitations and mobilizations and dozens of seizure of towns. There the State acts with harsher repression and the police and armed forces become increasingly more bloodthirsty and virulent; one sample of this are the genocidal forays by the army, in this area and in others; one of the most recent, in April, departed from Antabamba province, Department of Apurimac, going all the way to Cusco, plundering, burning and murdering in the peasant communities it overran; it was denounced, in vain as usual, before Congress. But responding to the slaughter, guerrilla actions rose up vigorously, Pushing Forward the People's War in those areas; such as the assault to the Vilcabamba police station, province of Grau, on May 14, 1989, executing in combat a policeman, a lieutenant, wounding several more, and generating a blackout in seven districts; that is the truth and not the deceit (fairy tales) printed by the reactionary press about "15 terrorists were killed in the surroundings of Cotabambas." Or the ambush to the army in Caraybamba, on 5 October 1989, annihilating three soldiers, and one lieutenant and wounding seven soldiers.

Close to that area we have the actions in Caraveli province, Department of Arequipa; and the taking of Caraveli, on December 1, 1989, where two police stations, the military registry, the Bank of the Nation, the electric power plant, a TV antenna and the quarters of the Ministry of Agriculture were sabotaged and destroyed; the old authorities ran away and took refuge in the port of Atico. Also the

taking of Pausa, capital of the province of P ucar del Sara-Sara, Department of Ayacucho, on December 2; the masses were mobilized, flags were raised and revolutionary slogans painted; besides the sabotage and burning of the council, police station, electoral registry and quarters of the Ministry of Agriculture, Entel and Center-South Sierra; this stunning blow also helped destroy electoral materials and by doing so elections were crippled in the entire province. And, of course, the just policy of "escape" applied in the Caraveli jail in December, which was easily overrun by the People's Army.

HUANCAVELICA: Place of Devastating Ambushes

Also has to its credit devastating ambushes, on October 23 the combatants handed another blow to the army in Lanchoj; a land mine blew up two trucks in a convoy of three, and after a demolishing attack; and later a violent combat with eight soldiers, who commanded by a lieutenant, remained some distance from the third truck; of those three were annihilated in combat; this convoy was heavily armed since it carried chiefs to their anti-guerrilla bases; as usual, newspapers minimized the facts: "four officers and nine soldiers were annihilated." when in fact we annihilated 36. Add to this action the clashes at Santa Ines and Chupamarca and the harassment at Castrovirreyna, totaling 11 dead. So the reactionary Peruvian army suffered 47 dead, among them 10 officers, not counting the wounded which, obviously, raises the number of casualties. Their furious response, impotent for not being able to hit their ambushers, preys upon the unarmed masses; at Santa Ana, on 25 October, they tortured peasants asking them about the guerrillas and murdering five; in the same place, on the 28th, they burned the hut of a peasant and murdered him for being an uncle of a revolutionary soldier; and in Lachoj, 70 soldiers stationed themselves on the road, on the 28th, stopping anyone coming through, they robbed, tortured and raped women; and on the 31st they murdered four more in Pucara. Here too, the electoral process has been deepened the class struggle; reaction has set up its elections, maintaining them primarily on its armed forces; to that end they brought in more soldiers from Huancayo and marine infantry from El Callao; from Huancavelica to Ticrapo they deployed into the countryside campaigning for the elections and calling on people to vote, threatening with the firing squad anyone not doing so.

Part of their control was to establish a permit (safe-conduct) system for traveling; 5 days before the elections they stopped the train leaving Huancavelica, arrested 400 passengers, whom they robbed,

tortured and paraded through the city while they shouted the same would happen to all those who don't obtain and produce a safe-conduct pass. In the same city the soldiers waged war against revolutionary signs (paintings) with Party slogans on the walls, taking down red flags, which they dragged through the streets, shooting and reaping them, but contrary to their expectations, the people laughed and ridiculed them. Then military proceeded to conduct illegal searches of homes and murdering and disappearing noncombatant civilians (among them 13 students from the Pedagogic Institute, the victims of repeated searches.) The masses were also black mailed, for instance, as a condition to pick up their pay checks, teachers had to attend a boring lecture by the political-military chief; at the same time flyers were dropped from helicopters: "peasant friend, reject the terruco because he is your enemy" (any similarity is not a simple coincidence!). But faced with this sinister campaign, the People's War confronted it boldly and resolutely; as a sign of this advance in the departmental capital itself on October 8, the army barracks, commissary and police cafeteria were sabotaged; there was a blackout and, most important, agitation was begun at the cinema, the masses went out into the streets and formed a steadily increasing chorus, which turned into a roaring rally at the Main Square, shouting "vivas" to Chairman Gonzalo, the Party, the People's War and urging, "Don't vote!", amidst the darkness, dynamite explosions and rifle shots; neither soldiers nor police went out and the People's Army (EGP) controlled the city. The 12th, election day, passed amidst the strike and the daily blackouts from the 11th to the 13th of November; the dawn broke with red flags with the hammer and sickle posted conspicuously on the streets and violent explosions; it was a dead city until about 11:00 a.m., at which time soldiers began to enter houses looking for leaders and members of electoral boards, and bringing the people out to vote by force; but that resulted in less than 40% of the electorate in that city voting; but in the barrios, young towns, and their surroundings they did not go to vote, the strike besides, which the highways into the city were blockaded. If this happened in the capital city, in the smaller cities and in the countryside the problem was worse for reaction; since, besides not having any candidates in many places, not to vote was the sentiment and desire among the masses, because from experience "voting" means nothing for them. Here we have, too, a good example of how to use elections in a revolutionarily manner.

THE CENTRAL REGION.

It is the heart of the economic process of Peruvian society, whose

vertex is Lima and it is key within the State's geopolitical plan, considering this reality, the action and development of the People's War in this region is better understood. There the struggle increases in intensity and shows sharper characteristics than in other locations; sabotages there are tremendously stunning, like the leveling to ground in SAIS Tupac Amaru and Ramon Castilla, or the Los Andes fish farm, or the offices and encampment of the Pichis-Palcazu project; and among these, the of SAIS's Tupac Amaru horses used by the army; and sabotage of the agricultural enterprise of Romero , a concoction of bureaucratic capitalism and the big bourgeoisie, in Chanchamayo, where 10,000 sacks of coffee were destroyed. Great sabotages against the State enterprises; at Enafer, blowing up of locomotives or derailments like those in Yauli and Chuccis; attacks at Centromin, sabotages in mines of Casapalca and Morococha, in the latter paralyzing the mineral concentrator or in Oroya paralyzing the refinery and foundry, besides the derailments of trains loaded with minerals; at Electroperu, the taking down of towers, 59 of them during the November armed strike, thus generating large and extensive blackouts.

Also, blowing up of bridges: Four in Muclo, Comas and Concepcion-Satipo highway. Moreover, not just State mining is hit, also hit are two other "private" mining centers like Allpamina, property of R. Gubbins, notorious member of the big bourgeoisie. In addition, of great importance are the cattle (livestock) requisitions and invasions of land, 8,200 sheep and 10,300 hectares, all for the masses, mainly for the poor peasantry. That way the traditional economic base of Peruvian society is seriously hit and the basis of the Old State deeply undermined in this region, as in others. It is in turn very important how the People's War penetrates into the central jungle strips, developing in the provinces of Tarma, Chanchamayo and Satipo; while at the same time empowering the class struggle in Huancayo, the departmental Capital, whose undeniable examples are the mobilizations by 5,000 high school students secondaries in July, and 15,000 students in October; besides the selective annihilations of authorities and candidates, which shake up the entire region (in August, in Tarma, the sub prefect was the only remaining civil authority; while in Huancayo the sub prefect and lieutenant-mayor were annihilated; and in Concepcion the provincial mayor); and to emphasize how the struggle is elevated, ambushes against Centromin and Enafer train were carried out. As regards the municipal elections, in order to activate them and control them they brought troops from Lima, Trujillo, Iquitos and Tacna; they unleashed electoral blackmail, genocide and psychological warfare, deploying thousands of soldiers

and police from their repressive forces. There too, the Party applied the armed strike from the 11th to the 13th throughout the region. It was a remarkable success and the masses observed it, especially in Junin and Pasco. Through force reaction tried to break the strike and force the people to vote, and to that end, from the eve of the elections, above all in the marginal neighborhoods of the major cities, they began to drive the masses like if they were cattle. But they failed in their effort to obtain a large voter turnout since the absenteeism was massive; despite the collaboration of revisionists, opportunists and reactionaries, the elections had to be held only in the departmental and provincial capitals.

THE HUALLAGA VALLEY.

The Huallaga Region, and above all the Upper Huallaga is strategic, and each day of greater importance; not only because of its huge potential in natural riches, whose plundering by the World Bank, the International Development Bank and imperialist enterprises in collusion with the great bourgeoisie and the Peruvian State have been planned for years, but mainly because of the vigor with which the People's War develops there. Its forcefulness and advances are clearly seen in the hard blows administered against the reactionary armed forces, such as the destruction of the army barracks in Madre Mia, added to the numerous ambushes which followed, among which these stand out: against the army again, on the highway connecting Uchiza and Progreso, in the second part of 1989, annihilating a lieutenant and seven soldiers, with four wounded and the surrender of three; and against the police in Villa Palma, with the annihilation six police and two wounded; both in September. And in October, the ambush against an army convoy with 35 troops, of whom one officer and four soldiers died, and leaving 12 wounded. Guerrilla actions which, given the conditions of their development, considerably increase the annihilations against authorities, snitches, infiltrators, spies and enemies of all kinds. Around the elections, as in the entire country, these actions increased, especially against municipal authorities and candidates, paralleling an intense campaign among the masses calling on them not to vote; with all this, in spite of the bloody genocidal electoral repression, it could not prevent a high degree of absenteeism. On the other hand, it is of substantial importance for revolution and counterrevolution (or its risk) the greater repercussion of the People's War each day in the areas bordering the north of San Mart¡n, all of Huanuco and Ucayali; obviously this prospect, as that in the rest of the country, increases the nightmares of reaction, disrupting still more their uneasy sleep of a cornered beast. But the struggle there also

justly hits the genocidal demagogue himself, Garcia Perez, capturing and flattening the cattle ranches "Acuario" and "Mi Sue¤o," of his property, located at Km. 35 on the Federico Basadre Highway, and at Km. 7 on the highway to Nueva Requena; attacked on May 24 and June 5 of 1989, respectively; distributing the confiscated goods and cattle among the masses (more than 700 persons participated), among these were 188 cattle and 50 calves, six horses, 15 pigs, etc.; and destroying calamine, dozens of drums of petroleum and oil, 10 tractors, three (large) electric generators, etc. Of course, that is nothing compared to the immense crimes committed by this sinister individual; meanwhile, let us get one hair out of the wolf; some day the people will do justice.

The situation in the Huallaga Region raises an important concern of a possible direct intervention by Yankee imperialism. This matter revolves around the prospect that the contradiction nation versus imperialism might become principal, which would represent a basic change in the strategic and development of the People's War in Peru. A magazine of the United States army states:

"Finally, and more seriously, the United States confronts one aspect of the insurgency in Latin America which offers a greater threat, but one which perhaps could still provide us with the weapon allowing us to recover the moral superiority, which we apparently have lost.

"There is an alliance among some drug traffickers and some insurgents. Several countries in Latin America confront the corruption of their rulers and military officers. These countries make an effort to treat the problem with the uncertain support of the United States and with varying degrees of success. The dollars earned by the drug traffickers are delivered to the boxes of certain guerrillas or, possibly, in the form of weapons and material, to the hands of the guerrilla.

"A solidification of this connection in the public perception and in Congress will carry us to the necessary support to counter these guerrilla terrorists/drug traffickers in this hemisphere. It would be relatively easy to generate such support once the connection is proven and a total war is declared by the National Command Authority. Congress would have difficulty preventing the support for our allies with the training, advising and security assistance necessary for them to fulfill their mission. The religious and academic groups who tirelessly have supported Latin American insurgents would see themselves in an indefensible moral position.

"Above all, we would have an unblemished moral position from which

to launch a coordinated offensive effort, for which we would count the resources of the Department of Defense and the rest of the sources. The recent operation in Bolivia is a first step. Instead of answering defensively to each insurgency according to the individual case, we could initiate actions in coordination with our allies. Instead of immersing ourselves in the legislative mesh and the financial constraints characteristic of our position of security assistance, we could answer the threat more swiftly. Instead of debating each separate threat, we can begin to perceive the hemisphere as a unity, and at last arrive at developing the vision that we so much need." (Military Review, Spanish-American Edition, May 1987, pp. 49-51.)

Thus, "drug trafficking" is a "weapon to recover the moral superiority" of Yankee imperialism, providing it with a "moral position for a coordinated offensive" and with the "hemispheric vision," which it now lacks. These criteria, obviously more developed than before, guide Yankee politics. We see very clearly how sinister is the plan to slander the People's War as "narco-terrorism" and whose interests it serves, and what the aim of the Old State is, of reaction, of revisionism, of the opportunists and their lackeys of all kinds, whose arch-reactionary campaigns for many years have slandered and charged the People's War with "narco-terrorism." The objective of such slander is plainly and simply to promote the aggression and intervention by Yankee imperialism, serving and defending their interests, as well as those of Peruvian reaction. That is why we must expose even further the counterrevolutionary essence of presenting the People's War as "terrorism" or "narco-terrorism"; we must denounce the increasing Yankee intervention and its plans of aggression. Let's develop and popularize our anti- imperialist campaign of, "Yankees Go Home!". Let's aim better and make an effort to unite the Peruvian people, the immense majority of them, on the basis of the peasant-worker alliance; to prepare ourselves ideologically, politically and organically to continue developing the People's War under any circumstances, raising even higher Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought; to go on fighting each day persistently and relentlessly to conquer Power in all the country, as part of the world proletarian revolution, to which we are linked stronger than ever in the overflowing cause of Communism; and to hit our enemies accurately and stunningly, whoever they are, and even more so Yankee imperialism, as we already did in the attack of Santa Lucia, its military base of anti-national aggression, on April 7, one day before the general elections of 1990.

THE SOUTH.

In the South of the country the People's War develops mainly in the Department of Puno. Among its noticeable actions we have the assault and taking of of Ananea, province of Sand¡a; where we hit simultaneously the two police stations, and annihilated the governor, the mayor, the judge and nine policemen, including one wounded and two who surrendered. In Yunguyo, on the Bolivian border, sabotage destroyed the sub prefecture, meeting nearby were Garcia Perez and the Bolivian president. This action generated, once again, patrol incursions by the armed forces of the neighboring country; as in Ananea, it was carried out in October. In November, while Azangaro was taken, peoples' trials and anti-electoral propaganda were made, the candidates resigning en masse as in Huancane. In December, Orurillo, province of Melgar, was taken and peoples' trials and selective annihilations were applied. But actions were not restricted to Puno, also in the departments of Cusco, Arequipa, Moquegua and Tacna, although these departments sabotage and armed agitation and propaganda develops more.

THE NORTH

On its turn, in the North of the country, the city of Huamachuco, capital of the province of Sanchez Carrion, was taken over in October, the mayor was annihilated. In November, annihilation of the mayor of Sanagoran; as well as in Trujillo, capital of the department of La Libertad, five sabotages shook the city, in the near vicinity the ministers of foreign relations of the Group of Eight countries were meeting, the satellite TV antenna was sabotaged, a simultaneous action was done against Channel 7 in Santiago de Chuco and two radio stations run by revisionism in Cajabamba, Department of Cajamarca. And in December, an attack on Cachicad'an and assault on the Mollebamba police station. The actions developed too on the Northern Coast, besides Trujillo, Chimbote, Chiclayo, Piura and Tumbes are, as cities (the three last ones are departmental capitals), theaters of the People's War, developing in them not just propaganda and sabotage but selective annihilations, against an army captain and two policemen, in Tumbes and Chiclayo respectively.

Both in the North and in the South the "land problem" is fundamental, and where the Party's policy is applied, developing (with arms in hands) the invasions and distributing land, as well as defending them later on. The issue is to defend and conquer the land with the People's War, and in a like manner to conquer and defend the necessary conditions to develop production for the benefit of the people. Both in the South and North as well as in the rest of the country, the

campaign to boycott the municipal elections were carried out successfully. Armed strikes were promoted to raise the political conscience of the masses, and they were organized only in places where it was possible to guarantee its success, such as in the provinces of Azangaro, in Puno, and in Santiago de Chuco, Otuzco and Sanchez Carrion in the department of La Libertad. These armed strikes paralyzed those regions and resulted in greater voter absenteeism and had repercussions.

In the Mid North, part of the Department of Lima and Ancash, an attack against the president of the electoral board in Huacho, and the annihilation of two policemen at Barranca, both actions took place in September. A sabotage of a bank in Supe and the blowing up of the municipality and police station in Carquin; destruction of micro region in Bolognesi; in Cajatambo, attack on the police counterinsurgency base, peoples' trial to the mayor and sabotage to the regional educational direction; on the Callejon de Huaylas, for three days in a row, electric towers were blown up generating blackouts in 50 towns, red flags with hammer and sickle were raised and anti-electoral slogans were painted; the seizure of Trillos, in Bolognesi province, peoples' trial was held; all these guerrilla actions took place in October. The government decreed a state of emergency in Barranca, Huaura, Cajatambo and Oyon provinces in the Department of Lima; and sent an army battalion to Huaraz. The day before municipal elections, the People's Army took over a bus 25 km from Huaraz, the capital of the Department of Ancash, and after getting the passengers out dynamited it (the companies suspended service); sabotage to the residence of the governor; a general blackout in Aija, Recuay, Yungay, Carhuaz and Huaraz. In the Mid South, the southern part of the Department of Lima and ICA, violent guerrilla hits in the mountain province of Yauyos took place, bordering the departments of Junin and Huancavelica, the People's Army seized several towns and wounding one policeman in a clash in Lincha, in September; and in the same month the towers were blown up at Ca¤ete, while the newspapers themselves cried out: "They have taken over the ICA countryside." In October, taking over the city of Palpa, provincial capital; the precinct and the investigative police post were smashed, annihilating a captain and six policemen. During the same month, a 48 hours armed strike were carried out in the province of Nazca, it was a complete success since the city streets were completely deserted. Also in October, the district of Zu¤iga was taken over by the guerrillas, in the province of Ca¤ete, with more annihilations; and topping off the month's actions, the Coyllor bridge was blown up. The November campaign was focused on the boycott, with propaganda

and agitation not to vote; actions against government buildings in Nazca, in the districts of San Clemente and Tupac Amaru of the province of Pisco, whose capital experienced a blackout; actions aimed against the residences of the candidates; the Aprista meeting in ICA was interrupted, and in Pisco it was canceled. In the Mid North, an intense campaign was developed for the boycott and against the municipal elections, and an armed strike was organized in the Callejon de Huaylas with multiple guerrilla actions. It was a complete success throughout the Callejon, helping much to increase electoral absenteeism. Both the Mid North as well as the Mid South are, strategically, of paramount importance to surround Lima, as everyone knows.

LIMA.

The capital city, with one-third of the nation's population; macrocephalic capital of an oppressed and backward nation, is a great concentration of economic, political and military power, a gigantic mirror of the general crisis in Peruvian society; an immense drum of national and international repercussion; but at the same time, mainly the primary center of the Peruvian proletariat, prime witness of the hunger and struggles of inexhaustible legions of popular masses, flesh of the flesh of our heroic people who constantly toil, day after day, working and fighting at the factories and in the neighborhoods and shantytowns.

Based on these outstanding characteristics, we can judge the fundamental and transcendental importance of waging the People's War also in the capital; more so if the road from the country to the city, of surrounding the cities from the countryside, must be crowned, after the arduous struggle of the protracted war, in the insurrection in the cities and mainly so in the capital city; especially if we keep in mind the peculiarities of the People's War in Peru, which follows the road from the countryside to the city, but develops the struggle in both, with the countryside the main part, as it still is, and the city as a complement, as was set in the "Outline of the Armed Struggle" approved in the VIII Plenum of the Central Committee. Starting from that premise, part of the Party's propaganda reaches the capital to profoundly transform and shape its ideological and political foundations; there the proletariat and the people receive the class ideology, turning into the strength of their arms the messages they get in their minds: the "Interview to Chairman Gonzalo"; the poster "Nine years of People's War"; the graphic publication "Day of Heroism. Third Anniversary"; Chairman Mao's "Nothing is impossible to whomever dares to climb the heights"; Lenin's anthology "Imperialism is the

waiting room to the social revolution of the proletariat"; or the pamphlets "The proletarian revolution and Khrushchev's revisionism" and "On the dictatorship of the Proletariat"; or "In commemoration of the 40th anniversary of the Chinese Revolution" and "The Party, the People's War and the Boycott."

Among the guerrilla actions shaking up Lima, during the First Campaign of Developing, in the last third of 1989, we conducted armed propaganda and agitation, the successive campaigns developed with the masses, with the proletariat, the leading class of the revolution and the poor masses of the neighborhoods and shantytowns, the base of party work in the capital; an intensive campaign of flyer distribution in support of the class struggle, always aiming at the deepest sectors of the people, who will transform the old society. This form of struggle consists from the simple painting of slogans in people's boards, up to the conspicuous murals painted at San Marcos University, which proclaim the rebellion of the youth; from the vibrant leaflets in the hands, to the huge posters stamping the words "People's War" on the walls, showcases, buses, trains; from the red flag commanded by the hammer and the sickle, which announces the new proletarian dawn, to the thundering unleashed by the explosive charge; from the steeled spirit of the class which animates the marches, up to the vigorous overflow of the armed mobilizations which explodes in blockades and flaming tires of Molotovs and noise bombs. In synthesis, from the idea that arms the mind to the shining hands in guerrilla actions.

The sabotages too express themselves, like the one at Renasa, action in support of the struggling mining proletarians during the month of September. In October, car bombs at the embassies of the USSR and China and at the United States Consulate. The actions against the two imperialists superpowers are part of our answer to the new global counterrevolutionary offensive, which is headed by Gorbachev, Deng and their gangs of traitors. The burning of buses, about ten of them were burned, as well as others before and after October, is another form of sabotage that has had a great impact, which hit mainly State enterprises, since the State uses those enterprises politically, trying to break up the people's struggles.

The electrical blackouts are another type of sabotage that has importance and repercussions each time. In September, October, November and December there have been blackouts of major dimensions, spanning not just from Marcona, in ICA, up to Chiclayo, in Lambayeque, going through the Department of Lima and mainly in the capital, but also hitting all of the Coastal and central Sierra; but

besides their duration with all their sequels they often lasts more than ten days. In observing how the state handles blackouts and their derived problems, we see clearly whose interests it protects and whom it benefits, that is, to whom they serve first and better.

Selective annihilation hits hard the snitches, recalcitrant enemies of the class and the people, and other individuals with debts of blood; let's mention only two: first the Commander of the National Police and sub chief of Interpol, who in Ayacucho bathed in the blood of the people, murdering the children of the masses. Second, this is recent, the former president of the Social Security (IPSS), F.S. Salaverry, who was a sharp knife in the heart of every insured in Peru, a hated trafficker of public health and daily murderer of all the retirees in the country; his annihilation hit particularly hard the bureaucracy (one of the fundamental pillars of the State, the principal one after the armed forces.) The hypocritical wailing of some is not truly for the justly annihilated, but a venting of anxiety by the guilty conscience of the big oppressor bureaucrats, over whose heads pend the implacable word of people's justice, which may take a while to be accomplished but it is sure to come.

The guerrilla combats materialized in the attack of the main police station at the San Ildefonso Market on October 2; annihilated were a lieutenant and five subordinates, according to bourgeois newspapers. On December 15, 1989, an ambush of a Peruvian army bus transporting 35 or 40 effective of the army intelligence service (SIE), trapped at the crossing of Zarumilla Avenue and Jiron Pedregal, in the San Martin de Porres district. Four were annihilated and 15 wounded, some seriously, according to reaction's own newspapers.

The armed strike of November 3rd deserves special mention. This strike in the capital acquired great importance since it targeted directly the municipal elections, and for this reason it merited the concentrated fury of the reactionaries, revisionists and all of their lackeys in general. They mobilized heaven and earth trying to break it up; but when they saw it was uncontainable, they appealed to their usual great argument, unrestrained violence, and there we had the real cause of the brutal and widespread repression at Victoria Square. There, the National Police once more unleashed its bloodthirsty fury, and brutally assaulted the multitude of friends and relatives of those victims of repression who marched in the hundreds, carrying wreaths, flowers and banners, led by the Committee of Families of Prisoners of War and Disappeared, to the cemetery, in order to render tribute to the Heroes of the People fallen in the Rebellion in the Luminous Trenches of Combat, and to the rest of the fighters and children of the

people who have given their lives for the revolution and shed their blood for the People's War. But the defying courage of the people, the militant defense of the fighters and the support of the masses, shone to confront the reactionary ignominy. For that reason, it deserves our firmest rejection, the treacherous "condemnation" against the brutally attacked marchers, not only by our recalcitrant enemies, but also by those who call themselves "revolutionary," who in collusion with reaction "condemned" the victims of repression, and in essence, as usual they supported the government and reaction. However, repression proved useless to contain the preparations of the strike, which directly threatened the electoral hacks; the self-proclaimed "Left Unity" (IU) jumped to the forefront. Henry Pease, IU candidate to mayor of Lima, jumped to defend what he called "democracy" and against the purported "terrorism"; and he convoked a de facto anticommunist crusade of fascist odor, under the banner of a "civic march," invoking unity of all "democrats" at a meeting held on November 3rd, the same day as the strike. Their meeting was conducted under the umbrella and protection of genocidal army and police guns, and under the "spiritual" mantle of the Catholic Church; present were the candidates, the bosses of the reactionary parties, among them (of course) the revisionist chiefs, including the "caudillos" of the workers unions bureaucracy; first and foremost was Vargas Llosa, for now the narrow winner of the first round in the elections, with whom H. Pease united in an embrace of black collusion and contention. What did IU and its candidate Pease get out of this meritorious service? The defeat of Pease and IU in the municipal elections of 90 and a major disaster in the April [presidential elections], was a just and well- deserved repudiation by the people. But neither the anticommunist march was able to contain the armed strike on November 3, which was a resounding victory for the proletariat and the people, one further step toward the major incorporation of the masses to the People's War. "It doesn't matter what the traitors say!"

It is not possible to speak of the People's War, of the un declinable toil it entails, without having very much in mind the men and women, militant fighters and children of the masses, who every hour of the day, twenty-four fours each day, fight an uphill battle in the dungeons of reaction; those who throughout the country built the Luminous Trenches of Combat out of those dungeons; those who on June 19, 1986, by shedding their own blood gave us the "Day of Heroism," a historic milestone of the rebellion, those who never bent their knees, rose Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought to the heights and do it and will continue to fight for the victory of the People's War, no

matter what kind of trench it happens to be in.

This is the direction of ten years of People's War and, in synthesis, the great development achieved on its tenth anniversary. Its uncontainable and ever growing expansion materialized in the multiplication of the Open People's Committees, achieved precisely in 1989, a historic victory and transcendental step towards conquering Power countrywide. Then, what does he purported "swamping" of the People's War claimed by reactionaries consist of? It consists simply of a black vomit spewed by the reactionaries and their hacks. Over this supposed "swamping" they carry out a taunted and widely publicized campaign of "strategic failure of Sendero," which they try to keep up, besides, with their supposed "abandoning of the revolutionary road" and "non achievement of goals." What is their base for this supposed "abandoning of the road?" No other than the advancement of the People's War in the cities! An old publicity trick by the reactionary press, tried in much the same way during the elections of 1985, which is not simply a coincidence. However, what is real and practical are the continuous and victorious actions materialized to date, and how the war flows on the road of surrounding the cities from the countryside and which is applied firmly and consequently.

Moreover, according to our specific conditions, we apply this road following the norm of developing simultaneously the People's War in countryside and city, the countryside being the principal and the city a complement. Dialectically, the progress in the cities is an evidence of the development of the road from countryside to city, and the perspective to transfer the vertex of the People's War from the countryside to the city to conquer Power in all the country. All of which is in strict conformity with the process of surrounding the cities from the countryside; and consequently the People's War in Peru, is the application of the theory of the People's War of Chairman Mao Tse-tung, as part of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, applied to the specific conditions of the Peruvian Revolution.

On the other hand, what is the basis for their empty chatter of "non-achievement of goals?" On this, they viciously traffic with revolutionary secrets, since we can publicize general policies and even concrete policies in certain fields, but not addressing specific details, which obviously only serve the enemy. Thus, competing among themselves on who serve best their masters (reaction and imperialism, mainly Yankee), they cry out loud: "they haven't met their goals," "the People's Guerrilla Army doesn't exist," "there is no New Power," "they didn't achieve the strategic equilibrium." If the People's Army didn't exist, then what armed organization has carried out more than

120,000 guerrilla actions (1980-1989)? What armed organization is developing the People's War in almost the entire country? What armed organization have the reactionary armed and police forces been fighting for ten years? Our military practice is made of solid and stunning realities and only an armed force like the People's Guerrilla Army can fulfill it and maintain it. The thing is that People's Army is an army of the new type, therefore its construction, fighting methods and development follow other principles; Chairman Mao taught us: "You fight in your way and we in ours; we fight when we can win and retreat when we cannot"; great principle explained in 1965 as follows: "In other words, you rely on modern weapons and we rely in the masses of people with a high revolutionary conscience; you play with your superiority and we with ours; you have your combat methods and we have ours."

ABOUT THE NEW POWER.

Since 1982 we have been destroying the Old Power in the countryside; generating in consequence a Power vacuum, each day greater and extending to larger areas; as is well known and recognized. Does that Power vacuum remain a political limbo, an interregnum of the class struggle? Can anyone believe that the Old Power is destroyed and nothing can replace it? Doesn't the destruction of the Old Power imply, as counterweight, the construction of the New Power? Aren't destruction of the Old Power and construction of the New Power two terms of the same contradiction? Well then, over the destruction of the Old Power the New is created, which is a joint dictatorship, based on the worker-peasant alliance and supported by the People's Army. As the ABC of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism reads, the New Power in its development obviously follows the fluidity of the People's War, and the specifications of our concrete reality. But precisely with the multiplication of the Open People's Committees, in 1989, the New State tends to achieve a relative stability.

About strategic equilibrium, we can't just pull it out of a thin air, nor like a gambler pulls an ace off his sleeves. These problems must be studied seriously, and especially the military ones. The point is clear and concise: the defensive, the equilibrium and the strategic offensive, as we well know, are the three elements of the protracted war. The first being longest and, how international experience shows it, the development of the second and third are intimately linked to the complex situation of the overall class struggle in the country, and to the world situation, since they entail sweeping away in the entire country, the rule of reaction and of imperialism and the installation in

the entire nation of a People's Republic, with all the repercussions it has in the world, starting from the neighboring countries.

The above is a brief description about the direction and perspective of the People's War in Peru, which continues firmly and on the rise, with unbending tenacity. Have we set any specific date to go over to strategic equilibrium? Did any military plan have that specific objective? Is it an unfulfilled "commitment?" Is it a task linked to the reactionary elections? or is it a "goal" of Capping off the Great Leap with a Golden Seal! or any other campaign, as they say? Pure speculations aimed at slandering the People's War, trying to discredit it before the masses, and sow confusion. As the Central Committee session stated, this engender is being propagated precisely at the time that Peruvian reaction and imperialism have "a need to develop the counterinsurgency war, empower their military actions, mobilize the masses and increase intervention, mainly Yankee," and when, under the disguise of fighting against "drug trafficking," Yankee imperialism plans its greater direct aggression against the People's War. Situations which, linked to the transcendental progress of the People's War in 89 enabled the advance from guerrilla warfare to war of movements, and clearly showed that strategic equilibrium was in the cards and that the revolution developed in decisive moments. That too, of course, was within our concrete material conditions.

In conclusion, the purported "strategic failure of Sendero," supposedly based on the so-called "swamping" sustained by the nonsense that there is "an abandonment of the road" and "non attainment of goals," is simply a new sinister reactionary campaign led by Yankee imperialism itself. It is part of the psychological warfare and the ongoing plan to empower the counterinsurgency war. But besides all that, in the short term, it seeks to sow confusion amidst the Peruvian people and to undermine the linking between the masses and the People's War.

In order to expose and mark with fire those vile mercenaries who miserably and treacherously help reaction and imperialism, it is worth highlighting two questions: First, they do not pay attention to the material conditions of the Peruvian Revolution; this is something they obviously cannot see now or in the future, but we take it fully into account, which at the same time refutes the lie that we practice dogmatism. Second, that behind their demagoguery, lies the old rotten revisionist criteria about revolutionary situations, which take them to imagine today (even if they do not say so explicitly), the existence of a revolutionary crisis that, according to them, not to seize Power now would imply the failure of the revolution in general and of the

People's War in particular. Let's remember the three requirements for the existence of a revolutionary situation:

1. Power escapes the hands of reaction,

2. revisionism and opportunism do not exert an influence over the masses,

3. the masses close ranks around the Party.

Specifically in our case, the revolutionary crisis is linked to the People's War, it suffices to say:

1. the armed forces retain it capacity to sustain the old State;

2. revisionism and opportunism continue to ride over the masses through the industrial and trade union bureaucracy and;

3. the People's War must still generate the great jump about incorporating the masses, which happens at the end of it.

Therefore, what we have is a revolutionary situation in increasing development due to the sharpening of the class struggle and, mainly, the People's War, which not only has persisted for ten years, but each day goes on, it is demolishing the Old State and constructing the New Power a little more, aiming at completely sweeping aside the obsolete and putrid Peruvian society of oppression and exploitation. Consequently, the perspective of the current revolutionary situation in development is the revolutionary crisis or the rise (auge) of the revolution, in the words of P. Mao Tse-tung.

Closely linked to the lie about the "strategic failure of Sendero" is the lie about "division and surrender." The "surrender" farce is not new. Since the beginning of his genocidal demagogic government, Garcia Perez and the armed forces staged it; in the [document] "Develop the People's War to Serve the World Revolution," we read:

"The October 1986 Lurigancho genocide followed, after the reactionary APRA government staged the farce of the `massive capitulation of Senderistas' at Llochegua and Corazon-Pampa, province of La Mar, Department of Ayacucho; even, as reported by all the media, an interview was staged between the `supreme chief' (Garcia Perez) with `surrendered leaders' who he received at the Palace, 'an act filmed from a distance' in which nobody heard anything or saw anyone's face due ostensibly to `understandable security reasons.' But the engender was quickly disemboweled by the

published statements of a navy officer who took part in the operative in question: `the same officer explained in the interview by this reporter that the hundred or so people who allegedly surrendered, among men, women and children, never got near the bases of Corazon-Pampa or Llochegua, but were rounded up by marine infantry at the mountain heights and later on taken to both localities. When lieutenant Anibal was asked if the peasants, at the time of the surrendering, carried any weapons, he answered no . . . '; according to La Republica of October 25, 1985. That was the famous lie about the 'surrendering.'"

Again today, they resurrect the same treacherous lie trying to undermine the People's War and cover up the forceful nucleation they inflict upon the peasantry, to create mesnadas (paramilitary peasants), repeating obsolete molds previously smashed by the convergence of the enslaved masses themselves and by guerrilla actions. It is evident that with the increasing surrender of mesnadas created by the armed forces, which we saw more frequently these past few months, their aim is to reenact the genocidal blood bath of the years 83 and 84.

THE REACTIONARY DREAM "SPLIT IN SENDERO".

This purulent tale repeated over and over by reaction is "based" on the purported "surrender," "swamping" and "strategic failure" discussed previously, and on forgered flyers distributed by the armed forces (as part of their psychological warfare) as well as on a supposedly, "being tired of so much fighting," "being sorry for so many deaths," "hard life and difficult conditions," etc., all falsehoods that clearly revealed which institutions, organizations and feathery pens were the sources of such engenders. All of them are defenders or sustainers or "retainers" of the old State and the obsolete Peruvian society: deadly enemies of the People's War who cover up the crimes of the Peruvian State and its armed and police forces of the daily genocides they perpetrate against the people. These hacks deny the basic principles of war; the quota needed to annihilate the enemy, the aspects of construction that the war requires. They are sunk in the historical pessimism of reaction and imperialism, whom they serve, incapable of understanding that the People's War is animated and developed by the optimism of class provided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought and that each fighter of the People's Army is forged by the principle of, "Serving the people with all her/his heart." The nonsense they preach, naturally, is well suited to the counterinsurgency plans and aimed against the People's War and the Party, seeking to fetter the brilliant revolutionary perspective.

In addition, those who have internal problems derived from their own mistakes and opportunism, infatuated especially by their persistent electioneering, joyfully cry out the supposed existence of the two positions in the Party: "a militarist one and a political one." Such differentiation is theoretically erroneous; assuming, as they speculate, the existence of a military position as such, would be a right opportunist line, whose component, with regard to the military line, would be bourgeois line opposed to the Party. On what do they base such Philistine speculation? On the disemboweled "defeat and swamping of 1989" and the "strategic failure!" All this only shows their desperation and impotence before the advance of a People's War which threatens their nefarious riding on the masses and shakes their blessed chapels of parliamentary cretinism.

However, all that chatter is only dead leaves before the strong unity of the Party, solidly sustained on the Basis of Party Unity (BUP), sanctioned at the First Congress, and an irreplaceable warranty of the steady development of the People's War.

In synthesis, what are the bottom causes of the insane fabrication about "split and surrender?" The general elections, which acquire a crucial character to reaction and its lackeys, even more so after the major weakening of the demo bourgeois system derived from the April election and the dark perspectives faced by whoever results elected in the runoff. The emboldened wave of strikes, the stunning expression of the sharpening class struggle, which day after day assumes the slogan of, "Fight and Resist!" And the vigorous and expansive development of the People's War, whose brilliant perspective is to, Conquer Power in all the Country! These are the three bottom causes carrying the armed and police forces, no doubt with the approval and support of their "supreme chief," the genocidal demagogue. No one with at least -a half an ounce of brain can take seriously the crude and ridiculous fabricated lie about "split and surrender." A campaign launched also launched as part of their psychological warfare. And each organization, parties, celebrities, candidates and lackeys, "revolutionary leader," and workers' unions hacks, according to his/her particular degree of dialectic collusion vs. contention in the amidst of reaction, as well as appetite and pay, has trafficked with the bizarre farce. But who, with the persistence of a gambler, has trafficked most with the engender, is its coauthor Garcia Perez, the notorious "charismatic" genocidal demagogue, the nefarious head of the government bringing in most hunger in over 1000 years of Peruvian history, who especially in the last few months, cried at the top of his lungs "the defeat of Sendero." In this way, in that personal style of his which cavalierly ignores the most obvious truths, oblivious to reality,

champion of the flamboyant empty chatter; and so he stated last April: Terrorism proposed a social revolution, an insurrection generalized in the entire country. And in all that it failed, I assure you without any doubts." What is Garcia Perez after? To present himself as the victor and his government as successful in order to, manipulate the disaster the next government will be, returning as a savior in 95. That is his dream, to which some self-proclaimed "revolutionaries" are helping too. That is, then, the gaseous lie of the so-called "split and surrendering of Sendero," which as its predecessors, vanishes before the fire storm of the People's War.

And since it couldn't be any other way, the reactionaries loudly preached that the votes and parliamentary cretinism of the general elections, as well as the municipal elections in 89, loudly preached the "first and biggest loser," and the imaginary defeat of the boycott. Already in the 1985 election the same was cried; then Belaunde, now a conspicuous member of FREDEMO, proclaimed "the biggest loser is terrorism." While Barrantes, "the natural United Left candidate," who today can't even get 5% of the votes cast, recited: "Sendero will fail . . . the electoral results of April 14th, with the massive presence of the entire people, constituted the best rejection of terrorism." But, who truly failed? Where is now the bankrupted champion of votes and polling places? At the same time, the current editor of "Expreso" pontificated: "there were two big losers in Sunday's general election: sender ism . . . " Therefore, the chatter is nothing new, the lyrics and the tune are the same, except that today is more anguished as well as more unbelievable. Now Garcia Perez, the non-registered candidate, who prepares his presidential dream for 95, who in the municipal elections called to cast blank or null votes, because, he claimed, the issue was to vote in any way in order to "defend democracy against terrorism." On the same April 8th, Garcia Perez proclaimed arrogantly and triumphantly: "Today you will see how the immense majority of the people (99% according to the APRA's daily Hoy) participate in democracy by casting their votes, and will bury terrorism by the electoral act."

Meanwhile Vargas Llosa and Fujimori, the winning candidates of the first round, with the emphasis and interpretation satisfactory to their endeavors, then in closed solidarity greeted the "triumph of democracy and the defeat of terrorism," thus repeating and honoring the same reactionary blabber of their predecessors. H. Pease, the new hero of the so-called "Left" Unity, from the ebb of his 7% of cast votes, proclaimed: "The first and biggest loser is Sendero." Of course, all of their statements were accompanied by an obliging chorus of the media and feathery pens. A simple conclusion follows from all of this: the

same script and characters, defense of the existing order and the Old State, only the actors are changing, publicity increases and demagoguery grows. The same grotesque farce every five years!

In their publicity development, elections have the following course: First, to elevate to the skies the importance of elections and fight the alleged "sinister terrorist plan of preventing elections throughout the country by threatening to amputate fingers and murder those who vote";

Second, to loudly celebrate with drums and platters the "massive participation of people in the polling places" (in Peru voting is compulsory and, according to experts, if it wasn't forced not even half of current voters would show up), as well as the "triumph of democracy," the "failures of the boycott" and the "defeat of Sendero," while results are manipulated and adulterated, especially in the emergency zones, and the true figure on absenteeism is hidden; and,

Third, as late (and slowly) as possible, data on results begins to trickle in, until finally the well groomed and tailored results are announced by the National Electoral Board. Keep in mind this process so as not to be fooled by the electoral mumbo jumbo and find the truth behind all that compromised reactionary charade.

Well then, what do the official electoral results themselves say? Besides the fact that some 20% of able voters are not registered at all, 21.25% of those registered did not go to vote, a percentage which rises to 27% if we consider blank and null votes, including those who voted blank or null. Thus, this amount (27%) is only 0.6% less than the one obtained by Vargas Llosa (the winning candidate in the first run), and 2.4% more than the one obtained by Fujimori, who finished second. Consequently, if we compare the last two general elections in the five-year period, while absenteeism in 1985 only reached 8.8% of registered voters, in April of 1990 it climbed to 21.2%. In other words, from 1985 to 1990 absenteeism increased 2.5 times (150%). So, can anyone with a grain of sense speak of the failure of the boycott? , Or can anyone with a breeze of objectivity say, "the first and biggest loser is Sendero?" The matter is very clear and stunning, the tactic of the boycott, applied by the Party as part of the People's War, is each time more successful and complete, deepening the class struggle throughout the country with an increasing tendency against the elections, and in that way undermining one of the fundamental pillars of the demo bourgeois order, of the Peruvian State, of the class dictatorship headed by the big bourgeoisie. An anti-electoral tendency was also reflected in the municipal election of 89, when it was also

loudly preached the defeat of the boycott, then absenteeism, according to projections, reached 17%; which obviously shows an evident increase. The boycott, therefore, is an incontrovertible reality and an undeniable success. It shows clearly how the policy of obstructing the elections, of undermining them and impeding them wherever possible is highly successful and, above all, it generates an anti-electoral tendency helpful to the formation of the political conscience of the people. A boycott tactic and anti-electoral tendency applied are forged by the People's War and is developed as an integral part of it. It is a good example of how to utilize the elections in the development of the People's War.

As to blank and null votes, they reached 15.35% of votes cast, that means in 1990 there was an increase of 1.45% with respect to 1985. Although null/blank votes went up, however it was much less than absenteeism; which (reasonably) raises the issue of fraud with this type of votes in detriment of those who cast them.

The following comparative table is most expressive; of importance is the increase of absenteeism, especially in areas in which the People's War develops more intensely:

INSERT TABLE HERE

THE BOYCOTT: AN UNDENIABLE SUCCESS

Here we can see the boycott as an incontestable success, a boycott which besides developing a tendency among the people against the elections, it helps the People's War; and the results of the April 1990 elections, an electoral process which, contrary to what reaction and imperialism wanted, weakened the system undermining its purported legitimacy (an important matter for the counterinsurgency war), a matter of obvious grave repercussions for the existing order. To conclude, on the elections and on the boycott, we only need to remember the following paragraphs of the already quoted "Developing . . . " [Document of the PCP, Developing the People's War at the Service of the World Proletarian Revolution - TRANS. "]:

"The fundamental thing about these tables is that the sum of the non registered, of the non voters and the null and blank voters added millions. This large mass is composed mostly by the non registered, that is people who operate outside the existing political system or who are openly against the same. It is also composed by non voters, who are against the elections or who are not interested in them; and by null and blank voters who formally comply with the obligation to vote

and do not expect anything out it, its outcome or are not in agreement with any of the participating political parties. In general terms, this mass of citizens expresses repudiation, or indifference with respect to the existing political order and its elections to choose oppressors, its parties, which are instruments in the service of maintaining the established order, its preservation and evolution.

In synthesis, it means the objective negation and questioning of the Peruvian society and its institutions, of the historically obsolete social system, which must be swept away, as we are already doing with weapons since there is no other way of doing it, in the search of a new society which truly serves the people." And:

"In the last elections, as in others, the Communist Party of Peru only called for the boycott, to obstruct them and impede them wherever possible, but not to prevent the entire process as reaction pretends to impute the Party in order to proclaim its false triumphs due to the lack of real ones. But the historical main tendency is the fusion of the People's War led by the Party, with that great torrent represented by the millions of non registered, non voting and those blank or null vote casters; this is the torrent, which the Party is helping to structure as part of the sea of masses which necessarily will sweep away the old order of exploitation and oppression."

Up to here is the development of the People's War, and the boycott as part of it; but the principal, and transcendental question concentrating our attention, as necessary consequence of the road followed, is the conquest of Power countrywide. This is the brilliant perspective of the People's War; more so in light of the turbulent and decisive years we visualize for Peruvian society in the years to come in the near future, and especially in view of the extremely complex class struggle developing in today's world. For that reason, let's keep more in mind than ever Mariategui's words:

"I am a revolutionary. But I believe that between men of clear thinking and defined positions, it is easy to understand and appreciate each other, even when fighting against each other. Above all, fighting against each other. With the political sector that I will never be able to reach an understanding is with the other one: with mediocre reformism, with domesticated socialism, with pharisean democracy. Furthermore, if the revolution demands violence, authority, discipline, I am for violence, for authority, for discipline. I accept them, as a whole, with all their horrors, without cowardly reservations."

And above all what Marx, the great founder of Marxism, established:

"Only under an order of things in which there are no classes or class antagonisms, is that social evolutions will cease to be political revolutions. Until such time comes, on the eve of each general reorganization of society, the last word will always be: `Struggle or die, the bloody struggle or nothing. It is the inexorable dilemma.'"

CHAPTER 4. ELECTIONS, NO! PEOPLE'S WAR, YES!

To resolutely uphold Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, mainly Maoism, it is decisive to conquer Power countrywide, build the People's Republic of Peru and serve the world proletarian revolution by assuming firmly the undefeated and unblemished ideology of the proletariat in its three integral parts: the Marxist philosophy, the proletarian political economy and scientific socialism, not only to understand the world, but mainly to transform it. Thus, we must always base our politics on the powerful truth of Marxism- Leninism-Maoism, today more than ever, because Marxism is standing up against the sinister converging attack of both imperialism and the counterrevolutionary revisionist offensive led by Gorbachev and Deng. This is true even more so today, when the bloody world counterrevolution dreams of wiping out the proletariat and its irreplaceable historic role, aiming at the heart of the class: its ideology Marxism- Leninism-Maoism Class of which Chairman Mao said: "The proletariat is the greatest class in the history of humanity. It is the most powerful ideological and political revolutionary class, and due to its strength, it can and must unite the great majority of the people isolating and smashing the handful of enemies." Toward this end, we base ourselves on the First Congress of the Party, which in the first part of the Programma, highlights the basic principles:

PROGRAM

Volume 3: 1991-1992

1991 - Sobre las dos colinas (Documento de estudio para el balance de la III Campaña)

¡Proletarios de todos los países, uníos!

SOBRE LAS DOS COLINAS (Documento de estudio para el balance de la III Campaña)

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I. INTRODUCCIÓN.

1. CITAS.

"La segunda etapa puede ser denominada de equilibrio estratégico. Al final de la primera etapa, debido a su escasez de tropas y a nuestra firme resistencia, el enemigo se verá obligado a poner término hasta cierto punto a su ofensiva estratégica. Llegado a este término, detendrá su ofensiva estratégica y entrará en la etapa de consolidación de los territorios ocupados. En esta segunda etapa, el enemigo tratará de consolidar los territorios ocupados y de apropiarse de ellos por medio del fraudulento método de establecer gobiernos títeres, para saquear hasta el máximo al pueblo chino; pero, entonces tendrá que enfrentar una tenaz guerra de guerrillas. Aprovechando el que a la retaguardia del enemigo quedan regiones sin ocupar, nuestra guerra de guerrillas experimentará un amplio desarrollo en la primera etapa, y se crearán muchas bases de apoyo, lo que constituirá una seria amenaza para el enemigo en su tentativa de consolidar los territorios ocupados; así, durante la segunda etapa, aún seguirán estableciéndose vastas operaciones militares. En dicha etapa, nuestra forma de lucha será principalmente la guerra de guerrillas, y la guerra de movimientos jugará un papel complementario. Para entonces, China habrá podido conservar un gran ejército regular, pero todavía le será difícil lanzar de inmediato la contraofensiva estratégica, porque, por una parte, el enemigo adoptará una posición estratégicamente defensiva en las grandes ciudades y a lo largo de las principales vías de comunicación ocupadas por él, y, por otra parte, China no estará aún equipada técnicamente en forma adecuada. Aparte de las tropas dedicadas a defender los frentes, gran cantidad de nuestras fuerzas se trasladarán a la retaguardia enemiga en formaciones relativamente dispersas, y, apoyándose en todas las zonas que el enemigo aún no haya ocupado y en coordinación con las fuerzas armadas creadas por la población local, desencadenarán una vasta y violenta guerra de guerrillas contra los lugares ocupados por el enemigo y, hasta donde sea posible, le obligarán a trasladarse a fin de destruirlo en una guerra de movimientos, como se hace actualmente en la provincia de Shansí. En esta etapa, la guerra será cruel y las regiones de operaciones militares sufrirán una grave devastación. Pero la guerra de guerrillas tendrá éxito y, si es bien dirigida, hará que el enemigo sólo pueda conservar aproximadamente una tercera parte del territorio que haya ocupado, mientras que alrededor de dos terceras partes se encuentren aún en nuestras manos. Esto será una gran derrota para el enemigo y

una gran victoria para China. Para entonces, todo el territorio ocupado por el enemigo estará dividido en tres categorías: bases enemigas, bases de apoyo de la guerra de guerrillas y zonas de guerrillas disputadas por ambas partes. La duración de esta etapa dependerá del grado en que cambien la correlación de fuerzas entre el enemigo y nosotros y la situación internacional. Hablando en términos generales, sepamos que nos espera una etapa relativamente larga, y habremos de recorrer un camino penoso. Será un período muy doloroso para China. El país se encontrará ante dos graves problemas: las dificultades económicas y las actividades de zapa de los traidores a la patria. El enemigo desplegará desenfrenadamente sus actividades para socavar el frente único de China, y las organizaciones de los traidores a la patria en todas las zonas ocupadas por el enemigo se fusionarán para formar un llamado "gobierno unificado". Dentro de nuestras filas, debido a la pérdida de las grandes ciudades y a las dificultades causadas por la guerra, los elementos vacilantes abogarán a voz en cuello por las ideas de compromiso, y el estado de ánimo pesimista alcanzará serias proporciones. Nuestras tareas entonces consistirán en movilizar a las masas populares de todo el país para que se unan como un solo hombre y perseveren con inquebrantable firmeza en la guerra, ampliar y consolidar el frente único, barrer todo pesimismo y toda idea de compromiso, promover el espíritu de lucha dura y poner en práctica una nueva política para los tiempos de guerra, a fin de salir airosos de esta difícil prueba. En esta segunda etapa tendremos que llamar a todo el país a que mantenga con decisión un gobierno unificado y se oponga a la división; será necesario mejorar sistemáticamente nuestra técnica de combate, reformar el ejército, movilizar a todo el pueblo y prepararse para la contraofensiva. En esta etapa, la situación internacional se tornará aún más desfavorable para el Japón, y las principales fuerzas internacionales pasarán a brindar mayor ayuda a China ... La vasta guerra de guerrillas y el movimiento popular anti-japonés fustigarán a esta enorme fuerza japonesa, desgastándola en gran medida, por una parte, y, por la otra, quebrantando su moral al estimular el crecimiento de la nostalgia y su sentimiento de aversión, e incluso de hostilidad, hacia la guerra. Aunque no puede decirse que el Japón no logrará absolutamente nada en su pillaje de China, sin embargo, como carece de capital y es hostigado por la guerra de guerrillas, le será imposible obtener resultados rápidos y sustanciales. Esta segunda etapa será la etapa de transición de toda la guerra, y también el período más duro, pero marcará, al mismo tiempo, el punto de viraje de toda la guerra. El que China se convierta en un país independiente o se reduzca a una colonia, no estará determinado por la conservación o la pérdida de las grandes ciudades en la primera etapa, sino por el

grado del esfuerzo de toda la nación en la segunda. Si podemos perseverar en la Guerra de Resistencia, en el frente único y en la guerra prolongada, China adquirirá en esta etapa las fuerzas suficientes para convertirse de un país débil en uno fuerte." (Presidente Mao en "Sobre la guerra prolongada"; págs. 235 a 237, Escritos Militares).

"En la segunda etapa, continuarán desarrollándose en ambos bandos los cambios antes mencionados; y, aunque no se puede predecir con detalle la situación, en términos generales, el Japón continuará en descenso y China en ascenso. Por ejemplo, los recursos militares y financieros del Japón resultarán desgastados en enormes cantidades por la guerra de guerrillas de China, crecerá el descontento de la población del Japón, declinará aun más la moral de sus tropas y será aún más aislada su posición internacional. En cuanto a China, habrá progresos aún mayores en lo político, militar y cultural y en la movilización del pueblo; se desarrollará aún más la guerra de guerrillas; su economía experimentará un cierto desarrollo nuevo sobre la base de las pequeñas industrias y la agricultura de vastas zonas, en el interior del país; la ayuda internacional aumentará en forma gradual y tendrá un aspecto muy distinto de lo que es ahora. La segunda etapa probablemente durará un tiempo bastante largo, durante el cual se producirá una gran inversión en la correlación de fuerzas entre el enemigo y nosotros: China se elevará poco a poco y el Japón declinará más y más. China saldrá de su inferioridad y el Japón perderá su superioridad; de forma que, tras un período de equilibrio, la correlación de fuerzas entre los dos países quedará invertida. Entonces China habrá completado en lo fundamental sus preparativos para la contraofensiva estratégica y entrará en la etapa de la contraofensiva y de la expulsión del enemigo del país. Es necesario subrayar una vez más que el llamado cambio de inferioridad en superioridad y la conclusión de los preparativos para la contraofensiva, implican el aumento de la fuerza propia de China, el de las dificultades del Japón y el de la ayuda internacional que recibamos. La combinación de estos factores producirá la superioridad de China y dará cima a sus preparativos para la contraofensiva." (Ibídem, págs. 239 a 240).

"China pasará de la inferioridad al equilibrio de fuerzas, y luego a la superioridad; y el Japón pasará de la superioridad al equilibrio, y luego a la inferioridad."

"En este punto, los partidarios de la teoría de la subyugación nacional y del compromiso se presentarán nuevamente a decir: Para pasar de la inferioridad al equilibrio, China necesita una potencia militar y

económica igual a la del Japón; y, para pasar del equilibrio a la superioridad, necesitará una potencia militar y económica superior a la del Japón. Pero esto es imposible, y por consiguiente, las conclusiones precedentes son incorrectas."... Esta es la llamada teoría de `las armas lo deciden todo', teoría mecanicista en el problema de la guerra, reflejo de una forma subjetiva y unilateral de abordar este problema. Nuestro punto de vista es opuesto a esta teoría; no sólo consideramos las armas, sino también a los hombres. Las armas son un factor importante en la guerra, pero no el decisivo. El factor decisivo es el hombre, y no las cosas. Determinan la correlación de fuerzas no sólo la potencia militar y económica sino también los recursos humanos y la moral. La potencia militar y económica es manejada por el hombre." (Ibídem, pág. 241).

"Guerra popular. Guerra de masas dirigida por el Partido. Campo centro de la guerra popular y su desplazamiento a la ciudad para conquistar el Poder en todo el país. Gran salto en la incorporación de las masas a la guerra popular. Incorporar amplia y organizadamente a las masas, al pueblo, a la Guerra popular; clave para la Conquista del Poder en todo el país, especialmente para la insurrección, y para la defensa de la República Popular, Futuro Gran Plan de Conquistar".

"La Guerra prolongada y sus tres etapas. Las tres etapas especificas de la guerra popular prolongada en el Perú. El equilibrio estratégico y preparación de la contraofensiva; el enemigo, recuperar posiciones para mantener su sistema; nosotros, preparar ofensiva estratégica a través de Construir la Conquista del Poder. Por ello a la reacción se le plantea la necesidad de aniquilar la guerra popular y al Partido y el pueblo construir la conquista del Poder".

"Las tres etapas de la guerra civil revolucionaria tienen características diferentes a las de la guerra de resistencia antiimperialista; en aquélla, la defensiva estratégica es más prolongada, y va de guerra de guerrillas a guerra de movimientos que es principal".

"Carácter prolongado derivado de la correlación de tres situaciones: 1) la nuestra; 2) la del enemigo; y 3) la internacional. Esta última es la que hoy y en perspectiva inmediata presenta problemas, pero aparte de que la revolución expresara más concretamente su condición de tendencia principal acicateada por la propia contrarrevolución, lo principal es apoyarse en las propias fuerzas y conquistando el Poder, servir al desarrollo de la revolución mundial, para a su vez seguir desarrollando nuestra propia revolución socialista construyendo socialismo y dictadura del proletariado."

"Campañas de cerco y aniquilamiento y contracampañas, forma principal. A través de ellas, ampliándolas y desarrollándolas, principalmente manteniendo la iniciativa hemos llegado al equilibrio estratégico. No hemos tenido ninguna gran derrota, prepararnos para que tal no se dé, pero si se diera (lo que requeriría acción mayor directa o indirecta del imperialismo yanqui), solo seria una derrota parcial y relativa dentro de una perspectiva de desarrollo de la guerra popular apuntando contra el imperialismo yanqui y sus títeres, dentro de polarización nacional y hacia la Conquista del Poder. Además la situación internacional y sobre todo el internacionalismo proletario y el apoyo de los pueblos del mundo se expresarán más amplia y decididamente." (Presidente Gonzalo en II Pleno: Consideraciones).

2. SITUACIÓN POLÍTICA EN QUE SE DESARROLLO LA III CAMPAÑA.

La lucha de clases internacional ha confirmado los planteamientos acordados en el II Pleno del Comité Central. La nueva ofensiva convergente del imperialismo y el revisionismo se ha desenvuelto y hemos entrado a la ofensiva contrarrevolucionaria general a nivel mundial comandada por el imperialismo yanqui. El revisionismo ha pasado de su descomposición general a su bancarrota total; muestra fehaciente es el fallido "putsch" de la facción fascista contra la facción demoburguesa en la URSS. La política del imperialismo sigue desenvolviendo áreas de dominio y nuevo reparto del mundo como lo prueban la guerra del Golfo, la situación de Europa Oriental, la guerra en Yugoslavia y la aparente solución de viejos puntos a través de la ONU como Kampuchea, Medio Oriente y El Salvador. Y, la revolución como tendencia principal en el mundo se vive con mayor fuerza en la antorcha en la guerra popular del Perú, marxista-leninista-maoísta, pensamiento Gonzalo, demostrando la vigencia del marxismo-leninismo-maoísmo, principalmente maoísmo.

La lucha de clases en el país se caracterizó por la coyuntura de un año de nuevo gobierno reaccionario dirigido por el cínico y taimado Fujimori, el gobernante más descaradamente pro imperialista yanqui hasta hoy. Gobierno que nació altamente desprestigiado ante el pueblo y que en su primer año de gestión actuó en el marco de la aplicación de las tres tareas que se le presentaban como necesidades a la reacción peruana y al imperialismo: reimpulsar el capitalismo burocrático, aniquilar la guerra popular y reestructurar el Viejo Estado.

En la primera tarea ha revelado falsos éxitos, pues, la inflación, pese al shock del 8/VIII/90 y de las medidas de diciembre 90 y enero 91, con la correspondiente muda de ministros de economía, no ha sido conjurada; la recesión se ha mantenido por tercer año consecutivo y particularmente este año se ha acentuado más; se ha mantenido un precio "bajo", ficticio del dólar para aparentar una baja inflación. La tónica ha sido ajustarse a todas las exigencias del FMI, aplicando un plan que internacionalmente se considera uno de los más duros del mundo. El costo social, reconocido por los propios economistas del imperialismo norteamericano, ha sido gravísimo y, si ayer hubo 12'0 de peruanos en situación de pobreza, hoy son más y la mayoría en nivel de pobreza crítica. Su plan de estabilización ha fracasado, y necesitan uno nuevo, su "reinserción" se ha reducido a ser declarados

elegibles por sus amos imperialistas yanquis; la deuda no fue condonada ni en mínima parte, sino refinanciada para incrementar los pagos. Así, el 92 será un año difícil; la situación de las masas será peor, las exigencias del imperialismo mayores. Esto aparte de que el año 91 no significó dejar de pagar ni recibir el cacareado dinero fresco; pues, a los pocos dólares que entran se tienen que sumar más de donde no hay para pagar la parte de deuda que corresponde: y, más aún, el 93 asumirán los fuertes pagos contraídos. En buena cuenta, no conjuraron la inflación, la recesión prosigue y se ahonda y no han culminado la "reinserción"; entonces, no han logrado la ansiada estabilización y posponen más la reactivación económica. En consecuencia, en la tarea de reimpulsar el capitalismo burocrático no han alcanzado los objetivos que se trazaron, y se cumple la ley del capitalismo burocrático de madurar las condiciones para la revolución; así, en nuestro caso, maduran las condiciones para la conquista de Poder en todo el país.

La tarea de aniquilar la guerra popular tampoco ha logrado éxitos ni grandes ni pequeños. Mientras que la III Campaña se ha cumplido como expresión grande, estremecedora y contundente; muestra de ello ha sido que la simple difusión del saludo al proletariado y el pueblo por el gran triunfo de haber entrado al equilibrio estratégico genero inmediata y gran repercusión en la reacción peruana y mundial, como lo prueban los debates en el Congreso del propio imperialismo yanqui, la carátula sobre la guerra popular en una de sus revistas con un artículo de 6 páginas, los desmentidos y afirmaciones del hambreador mercenario del imperialismo yanqui Fujimori y sus compinches, los ministros de Defensa, del interior y del presidente del Comando Conjunto de las Fuerzas Armadas genocidas y los improperios del revisionismo armado del MRTA y de los adoradores del cretinismo parlamentario como el PUM; además del creciente basurero de lacayos y plumíferos "violentólogos", "senderólogos", etc. También los editoriales y columnas de los diversos periódicos y revistas reaccionarios, y de los revisionistas impenitentes como Patria Roja. Repercusión que en el proletariado y el pueblo ha sido de júbilo y satisfacción por tan trascendental triunfo popular que demanda su indeclinable decisión de seguir combatiendo por la conquista del Poder a través de la guerra popular.

Finalmente, en cuanto a la tercera tarea, el Viejo Estado marcha a su mayor reaccionarización, se dan violaciones sistemáticas de su Constitución, normas y leyes; se recortan derechos y conquistas del proletariado y del pueblo. Fujimori, calificado de "autoritario", ha seguido avasallando al Legislativo, rebasando las facultades otorgadas para legislar en materias especificas como en la reciente dación de

126 decretos legislativos, 23 de ellos contra la guerra popular y la mayoría para traspasar el monopolio estatal al no estatal, restringir las funciones del Estado y despedir empleados públicos; además estos decretos legislativos, como disposiciones anteriores son parte de la reestructuración estatal. También Fujimori ha introducido el sarcasmo jurídico de la enmienda de leyes a través de fe de erratas. Su tónica es el menosprecio olímpico al Parlamento y al Poder Judicial; pero la respuesta del primero ha sido mediatizada expresando profundos intereses de grupo, abdicando más en el ejercicio de sus funciones de legislar, fiscalizar, especialmente en lo referente al presupuesto y cuentas nacionales, demostrando la podredumbre del Viejo Estado. Sus elecciones municipales complementarías han sido un rotundo fracaso Fujimori continúa apoyándose más en la fuerza armada (FF.AA.), en elementos de la gran burguesía compradora y en sirvientes directos del imperialismo yanqui como Hernando de Soto director del Instituto Libertad y Democracia (ILD); y prosigue genocidio y siniestra, política de quemar todo, robar todo, y matar a todos. Signos todos que revelan la creciente reaccionarización del Viejo Estado peruano; su democracia burguesa cruje y se tambalea, se comprueba más la fragilidad del Estado peruano y de sus instituciones. Lo que no está definido aún es que grupo o facción de la gran burguesía se impondrá en la reestructuración estatal, observándose avances en la burguesía compradora y posiciones fascistas en Fujimori quien marcha más hacia la centralización absoluta y concreto absolutismo del Ejecutivo, más específicamente absolutismo presidencialista.

En cuanto a la situación de las masas, la contradicción masas-gobierno se ha agudizado; aprendiendo de la guerra popular, potencian y elevan sus luchas y siguen desenvolviéndose dentro de la tendencia hacia crisis revolucionaria, incorporándose ampliamente a la guerra popular.

II. LA GUERRA CONTRASUBVERSIVA Y SUS ALIADOS.

1. LA GUERRA CONTRASUBVERSIVA

a) SOBRE ESTRATEGIA

LA "NUEVA ESTRATEGIA". PLANTEAMIENTOS DE FUJIMORI Y AUTORIDADES. El II Pleno justa y correctamente decía: "Lo de `nueva estrategia' es totalmente falso, apuntan a una guerra contrasubversiva más desarrollada, esto es, librarla en todos los campos; sin olvidar que de los cuatro: sicosocial, económico, político y militar, centrarán necesariamente, y al fin y al cabo en lo militar, de ahí que tengamos presente lo planteado y "estar vigilantes para no dejarnos sorprender" y "ser superiores al enemigo". La llamada pacificación es parte de la llamada guerra de baja intensidad del imperialismo yanqui de ahí que busquen participación social y acuerdo nacional y legitimación". Esta previsión es certera y nos arma ante las acciones contrarrevolucionarias de Fujimori. Nosotros estamos armados con el pensamiento Gonzalo; mientras el cínico y taimado esta desarmado pues nunca imagino lo que significa enfrentarse a una guerra popular marxista-leninista-maoísta, pensamiento Gonzalo, menos aún en su segunda etapa de equilibrio estratégico en marcha a la conquista de Poder en todo el país.

Qué criterios está desenvolviendo Fujimori? En primer lugar ha amparado el genocidio cometido en torno a las elecciones generales del 90, fomentando la impunidad no ha denunciado a los autores ni expresado su condena o pedido su sanción. En segundo lugar, ha proseguido con la política de genocidio. Ya en el balance de la II Campaña del Plan de Impulsar y su ampliación denunciamos una parte de los crímenes salvajes cometidos por las Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales bajo mandato de Fujimori que, como siempre, quedan en la impunidad o son ocultados por las mismas autoridades militares y civiles que los cometen. Lo primero que queremos agregar aquí es cómo las propias palabras de Fujimori confirman nuestras afirmaciones: "Desde hace diez años el pueblo del Perú vive sufriendo la violencia subversiva... más de 15,000 víctimas y daños por 17,000 de dólares...", dio esa cifra al asumir el mando. Según la Comisión Especial sobre Violencia y Pacificación del Senado, hasta el mes de setiembre 91: 23,196, tenemos que durante la gestión fujimorista, de julio 90 a setiembre 91, en poco más de un año, se habrían producido

3,761 muertos. Tomando la misma fuente, el total de muertos del quinquenio de García fue de 9,660 y del de Belaúnde fue de 8,103; comparados con los 3,761 de Fujimori en un año 2 meses, lo muestran largamente más genocida que sus antecesores. Esto aparte de que las cifras de ese organismo presidido por Bernales se basan en informaciones del Ministerio de Defensa; sin embargo, sus datos dicen que el primer año de García arrojo 1,268 muertos comparados con los 3,761, cómo calificar a Fujimori?

El segundo hecho que comprueba lo que afirmamos es el haber avalado que el Parlamento no apruebe la acusación de genocidio contra su antecesor y querido compañero aprista; dio la consigna a su partiducho Cambio 90 para que votara. Así Fujimori queda en la historia peruana como quien permitió que el genocidio de las Luminosas Trincheras de Combate del 86, quede en la impunidad y como el protector del demagogo y genocida García Pérez. Un tercer hecho, en diciembre 90 emitió el Decreto Supremo N 171 por el cual protege el genocidio y la corrupción de sus Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales, pues convierte todos sus crímenes en delitos de función, por tanto bajo la impunidad de los fueros militar o policial. Cuarto, el público homenaje que rindió a las Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales en el mensaje de su primer año de gestión y, más aún, el conjunto de homenajes, cultos y pleitesías que rinde a las cobardes y genocidas Fuerzas Armadas expertas en derrotas, pese a ser calificadas como violadoras de los derechos humanos por organismos internacionales. Quinto, no investigar y más bien ocultar el documento del Ejército que el periodista Hildebrant presentó a la televisión, acerca de cómo la Fuerza Armada, plantea que "el mejor terrorista es el muerto...hacerlo extensivo a familiares y amigos...ejecutar sin dejar huella"; hecho que tiene antecedentes como la exculpación del genocida Noel y lo dicho por el general EP Monzón, ex-presidente del CCFFAA el 86, en la comisión parlamentaria que ventilaba el genocidio de García Pérez: "la acción militar es acción de combate que inserta en la `estrategia antisubversiva', se sustrae del derecho humanitario de la guerra, y al margen de la Convención de Ginebra, legítima en concepción genocida la represalia violenta, las ejecuciones extrajudiciales y el desconocimiento de los derechos humanos de los subversivos y de los presuntos subversivos". Hechos que demuestran fehacientemente la política genocida de las Fuerzas Armadas peruanas en el combate a la subversión desde el primer gobierno genocida de Belaúnde; pero que, ocultándola siniestramente Fujimori, el nuevo presidente genocida, se contentó con la versión cínica de su ministro de Defensa quien dijo: "Fue un desliz de un oficial y no refleja una posición institucional". Sexto, la Directiva presidencial sobre derechos humanos aprobada en

consejo de ministros, en setiembre, precisamente emitida cuando el gobierno norteamericano debía desbloquear su aporte a la guerra contrasubversiva. La Directiva extiende la función de policía, así la PNP interfiere más en el proceso judicial, ver testigos, pruebas, etc. y "...coordinar con las autoridades judiciales la conformación de tribunales especializados... poner en practica política penitenciaria"; esto es crear un sistema judicial diferente y especial, adiós poder judicial! También crea nueva política penitenciaria basada en dispersión de prisioneros de guerra (a cuarteles?, campos de concentración?) y aislamiento de prisioneros; plantea "jueces capacitados intelectualmente", o sea adecuados a la política del presidente, que se sometan a sus órdenes; discrimina a los imputados por terrorismo y narcotráfico, dando valor pleno a las pruebas indiciarias monstruosa violación del derecho demoburgués!, un cambio completo del derecho procesal penal. Y, finalmente, todo "...dependerá directamente del Presidente y su responsabilidad política alcanza al presidente del Concejo de ministros..."; significa que todo queda en manos del genocida Fujimori.

Otras pruebas de su genocidio en marcha: los 540 muertos del mes de junio, calificado por los propios diarios reaccionarios como "el mes más sangriento"; o la denuncia del CEAPAZ (Centro de Estudios para la Paz) de que "la Región Cáceres encabeza los asesinatos políticos así como desapariciones". He aquí la proclamada "nueva tónica" o que "las Fuerzas Armadas ya no entrarán con fusiles solamente sino con picos y palas". Pero las pruebas no acaban ahí, el Perú fue calificado por tercer año consecutivo como el principal violador de derechos humanos por organismos internacionales. Finalmente, sus hechos genocidas que describiremos más adelante prueban fehacientemente que Fujimori es el mayor continuador de la política genocida y de violación de los llamados derechos humanos.

Sobre esta base, analizaremos sus discursos para desentrañar qué "nueva estrategia" aplica, tomando muy en cuenta lo taimado y cínico que es, pues, una cosa dice y otra hace, aparte que de un discurso a otro se contradice partamos de que, por la responsabilidad de su función ha debido informar al país sobre la situación de la guerra popular y de la acción contrasubversiva pero, como siempre, a los regímenes reaccionarios nada les importa el pueblo y carecen de respeto a sus propias instituciones. En los lineamentos de mayo, durante su campaña electoral, en su primer mensaje y en el informe de su ex-Premier Hurtado al Parlamento, planteo simples ideas y un llamado plan general de pacificación.

Comenzó a hablar de "nueva estrategia" a raíz de la incautación de

videos, en febrero 91, utilizando el hecho para ocultar sus fracasos y desviar las presiones de grupos y facciones de la gran burguesía en el problema económico, principalmente. Planteó: "nueva estrategia basada en inteligencia", y que en adelante ya no apuntarían a reprimir hacia "abajo" sino a las cúpulas, presentando un organigrama que era un zafarrancho de los tres instrumentos de la revolución. La inteligencia, primero, no tenía nada de novedosa puesto que es una constante en toda guerra, los dos regímenes anteriores la usaron y apuntaron a desarrollarla. Segundo, los "éxitos" que celebró derivaron de la acción del gobierno aprista. Por qué entonces habló de inteligencia como parte de su "nueva estrategia"?, para ajustarse a los planes de la "guerra de baja intensidad" del imperialismo yanqui; para los norteamericanos esa guerra tiene una serie de componentes "no militares": inteligencia, operaciones psicológicas, asuntos civiles y control de la población y recursos, siendo la inteligencia el primero de estos y apuntando, los cuatro, a desarrollar su acción militar; es considerada el cimiento de todas las operaciones de baja intensidad. Por tanto, potenciar inteligencia es parte de su guerra de baja intensidad, a la cual contraponemos elevar más nuestra lucha contra la policía política y mas alta clandestinidad.

En Marzo 91, en el cuartel general del Ejército, en Lima, apanicado por el estremecedor inicio de la III campaña, anuncio el triunfo final sobre la subversión basado en inteligencia, alabando a las Fuerzas Armadas genocidas "Serán aplastados ...el enemigo está identificado, acorralado y sin argumentos...", clara expresión de sus deseos y parte de su magra campaña de guerra sicológica; palabrería para animarse y, elevar la moral de las FF.AA. y policiales (PP). ya que sus operativos iban a empezar, y destaquemos que nosotros no pedimos prestadas fracasadas estrategias como el que mal repite la de sus amos imperialistas principalmente yanquis. Además, retirando sus alabanzas a las FF.AA. dijo: "soy testigo ...del intenso amor que inspiran sus actos;...de su profesionalismo y preparación"; aparte de su público pacto de defensa mutua, quiere hacer creer que son respetuosos de los llamados derechos humanos y que estén capacitados para manejar la guerra contrasubversiva, una de las exigencias de su patrón Bush para dar la "ayuda" económica.

Dentro de su guerra de baja intensidad, los norteamericanos plantean que los gobiernos reaccionarios deben introducir reajustes de diversa índole, entre ellos la modificación de la conducta de las fuerzas armadas frente a la población; recordemos lo que dicen: "el objetivo es fundamentalmente político, dirigido a ganar las mentes y los corazones del pueblo. Un instrumento es la acción cívica, pero otro sustancial es la humanizacíon de la guerra". Es dentro de esto que se

mueve Fujimori, de ahí que llegue a afirmaciones fantasiosas que no corresponden a la realidad "la iniciativa ha sido retomada y ahora corresponde que se afiance la iniciativa social fundada en la acción conjunta, la solidaridad y la identificación entre las Fuerzas Armadas y la población civil" terminando con otra cínica declaración: "todo el país tiene confianza en su Ejército". Con esto lo que hace es darles más poder, las avala, pues se ampara en las Fuerzas Armadas genocidas bañadas en sangre del pueblo, las que jamás van a ganar ni la mente ni los corazones del pueblo porque el pueblo es testigo de los crímenes monstruosos e impunes que cometen en forma sistemática, dado el carácter de clase reaccionario del Viejo Estado terrateniente burocrático que sostienen. Y, si el objetivo de la guerra de baja intensidad es político, el centra en lo militar; y si plantean "reformas" estas no son sino las tres tareas de reimpulsar, reestructurar y aniquilar. El instrumento de acción cívica en manos del Ejército y la Marina es mínimo y formal, basado en la "ayuda" imperialista, principalmente yanqui y a través de la Agencia Internacional de Desarrollo (AID), porque la profunda crisis económica, también recortará sus medios, y las "obras" que pretenden serán con fines militares de guerra contrasubversiva, usando como siempre el trabajo gratuito de las masas apoyándose en algunos lacayos. Por esto Fujimori tiene a soldados y marinos trabajando en carreteras, ocupando pueblos, pintando hospitales, interviniendo universidades, entrando a las barriadas y ocupándolas y ayudando a repartir alimentos y medicinas donados a otras organizaciones. Así, tal "humanizacíon" es imposible porque su guerra contrasubversiva es reaccionaria e injusta, y sólo es otra condición imperialista tanto para su guerra de baja intensidad como para su "reinserción".

Al desarrollarse más la III Campaña, proclama a las FF.AA., principalmente al Ejército, "vanguardia de la lucha por el desarrollo y la justicia social". Esto choca con lo que dijo el 90: "solución no exclusivamente militar" o con "es predominantemente el pueblo quien con apoyo del gobierno combatirá la subversión". Peor aún, si al poco tiempo de haber hablado de nueva estrategia y nueva inteligencia, lo oímos decir "con esa misma inteligencia" y "sólo ajustes..." y ante las críticas crecientes "la estrategia la he explicado en mensaje y no puedo dar mayores detalles", revelando otra de sus tantas incoherencias. En el mensaje del 90 habló de atacar causas estructurales eliminando marginación e injusticia y de dar prioridad al desarrollo de las zonas andinas y selváticas convulsionadas; pero cuáles son las acciones de desarrollo que ha empezado?, ninguna. Con régimen de explotación jamás podrá desarrollar una nación, sino crecer en contra de los intereses del pueblo y con mayor constreñimiento de las fuerzas

productivas.

Otra orientación de Fujimori es armar ronderos. Dice: "Las Fuerzas Armadas las están proveyendo de armamento defensivo...Esta es una parte del cambio de estrategia defensiva. Ya no son sólo los policías y militares sino toda la población la que lucha contra la subversión..." o "ganaremos la lucha interna teniendo a la población de nuestro lado..." Y empiezan sus viajes a repartir escopetas a los ronderos hasta que el 28/VII/91 los hace desfilar en la capital como parte del desfile militar y en su mensaje los llama "ronderos, bravos soldados de la civilidad, autentico ejército de la democracia".

El imperialismo yanqui en su guerra de baja intensidad concibe como factor de esa guerra el control de la población y recursos, cuyo objetivo es desmontar la infraestructura de apoyo al movimiento revolucionario y evitar nuevas adhesiones a su causa. Para lograrlo conjuga acciones de inteligencia, operaciones sicológicas, asuntos civiles y otras medidas de carácter militar. Los proyectos de "pacificación" contemplan incorporar estos elementos y apuntan a ganar las mentes, los corazones de los campesinos, mejorar las aldeas y lograr la seguridad económica y política de las mismas (subrayado porque es la misma palabra que uso Fujimori el 28/VII/90). Implica reasentamiento forzoso, formación de aldeas estratégicas y la incorporación obligada del pueblo a las tareas de defensa por medio de la constitución de fuerzas o patrullas de autodefensa civil.

Cual es la experiencia de control de la población y recursos en el Perú? Para la reacción peruana las rondas campesinas surgieron como "alternativas complementarías a la seguridad publica, organizadas de manera pacifica, democrática y autónoma, al amparo de la ley, que defienden su propiedad, sus tierras, sus cosechas y sus vidas del bandolerismo social y político". Para ellos, se han convertido en "firmes aliadas de las Fuerzas Armadas y barrera contra el accionar terrorista" y "contribuyen a la paz social". El demagogo y genocida García Pérez promulgo la ley de rondas con la anuencia de la IU y las puso bajo control de las Fuerzas Armadas y del Ministerio del Interior; pero están ligadas a los criterios de Defensa Civil de Velasco; y además, el genocida Noel las aplicó al ingresar el ejército a combatirnos por disposición de Belaúnde el 83. Prueba de esto es la celebración, en abril del 91, del "7 año de las rondas campesinas de Hatum Pampa" en Huayllay, provincia de Huamanga, cuando desfilaron hombres, mujeres y niños armados con armas fabricadas por ellos mismos, ceremonia presidida por el general (EP) H. Martínez Aloja jefe del Frente Huamanga. Así, no tienen nada de novedoso, salvo, que Fujimori las está desarrollando dentro de los criterios de la

"guerra de baja intensidad". Además, ya el II Pleno nos advirtió que entrarían a desarrollar su plan de mesnadas pero en nuevas condiciones de 11 años de guerra popular, las rondas campesinas están siendo conformadas como fuerzas contrarrevolucionarias complementarías de las Fuerzas Armadas, pues estas son insuficientes para combatirnos; que a los ronderos se los llame "soldados de la democracia", implica concebirlos como "fuerzas populares de autodefensa" basadas en nativos organizados de acuerdo a sus condiciones étnicas, sociales, religiosas, de raza, etc. y parte del control de la población y recursos, según la teoría de la "guerra de baja intensidad" de imperialismo yanqui.

Es a partir del 89 que van a infiltrar marinos y soldados, como también lo hicieron el 83 antes del primer gran baño de sangre, y van a conformar compañías de 50-100 hombres de falsos combatientes del Ejército Guerrillero Popular para desprestigiarnos ante las masas; en el Centro, los marinos del servicio de inteligencia capturados lo confirmaron. Usaron la supuesta división, armaron una red de espionaje y vestidos de civiles arrasaron y asesinaron a las masas; en muchos puntos obligaron a punta de fusiles a organizarse bajo su control so pena de ser aniquilados como subversivos. También han vuelto a basarse en algunos licenciados aparte de lacayos, preferentemente campesinos ricos. La composición de esas fuerzas contrasubversivas armadas es, una parte de cabezas negras, infiltrados y lacayos, otra de apoyantes y una tercera, la gran mayoría, masas presionadas. Como Marx nos enseñó, los reaccionarios usan la parte más atrasada del campesinado para contraponer masas contra masas.

Otra vez como ayer, usaron la mano blanda con los servicios de la Iglesia Católica, la IU y el MRTA. Además han presionado con volantes en los que decían "si quieres sembrar tienes que defenderte contra los terrucos" o denuncia a "los terrucos asesinos", etc. Y después del genocidio repartían caramelos envenenados; en sus llamadas acciones cívicas. Pero todo esto lo han hecho enfrentándose a feroz resistencia de las masas como lo prueban las 1,000 muertos en el Centro, las fosas de Huanta, los cadáveres lanzados con helicópteros en Pucallpa, entre otros.

Por otro lado, se impulsa el armamento de las rondas campesinas desde mediados de abril 91 cuando el Ejército entregó el primer lote a las comunidades de la Sierra Central, en Alto y Bajo Tulumayo, organizadas en rondas. El carácter agresivo de estas organizaciones armadas reaccionarias lo encubren tras la palabreja de "autodefensa"; pero por sus acciones, son fuerzas ofensivas y sangrientas como lo demuestran los ronderos de Andamarca, en Junín, uno de cuyos jefes,

"jefe campesino", entregó 14 cabezas de "senderistas" al Jefe militar del Frente Mantaro, como informa la revista norteamericana "Newsweek" del 26/VIII/91. O los rastrillajes y matanzas de masas en Huanta; o las acciones de rondas como las de Quinua cuyos jefes son denunciados por su barbarie por algunos reaccionarios inclusive; o las redadas desatadas por los ronderos del Apurímac, en el pago de Yanachoqecc, distrito de Julcamarca, en Huancavelica, capturando y vejando a esposas de los miembros del EGP "a quienes acusan de cometer acciones terroristas", así como la captura de dos "supuestos senderistas". Las constantes denuncias ante la Fiscalía de Ayacucho contra los ronderos por sus atrocidades, demuestra, más aún su carácter reaccionario como el asesinato de un niño, en el de Miraflores, San Francisco, La Mar, o el de un comerciante en Quimbiri, pretendiendo, como es usual, inculpar al PCP, etc. Acciones todas propiciadas o instigadas por las Fuerzas Armadas porque ellas no sólo las han organizado y entrenado en su sistemática política genocida, sino que las llevan al genocidio bajo su mando, complicidad y encubrimiento. Pero, además de sus patrullajes constantes, incursiones y persecuciones, en muchos casos actúan a la vanguardia de las fuerzas armadas y policiales que actúan conjuntamente en porcentaje de 10-1, recibiendo el golpe principal de los enfrentamientos, son, pues, carne de cañón de los soldados, marinos y policías que se parapetan tras los ronderos. Otras veces actúan solos sin que las "fuerzas del orden" lleguen a tiempo por mil y una excusas para "defenderlos". Todo esto, además de estar encabezados por delincuentes conocidos como el publicitado comandante Huayhuaco de la ronda del valle del Apurímac, hoy preso por asesinato, trafico de drogas, robo y abuso de autoridad.

En cuanto al armamento, su reglamento dispone usar escopetas calibre 12 o 16, tiro por tiro, sólo las entregan a unos cuantos y el cabeza de la ronda responde por las armas que deben estar concentradas; las recomendaciones de "no usarlas para resolver problemas internos o entre comunidades" son constantes. Las pretensiones de Fujimori de desarrollar un ejército complementario de las Fuerzas Armadas genocidas revelan 1) la guerra popular avanza; 2) carecen de fuerzas suficientes; 3) los ronderos siguen siendo carne de cañón; 4) chocan con la idea de humanizar la guerra contrasubversiva centrando en lo militar; y 5) es parte del control de la población a recursos de la estrategia yanqui de "guerra de baja intensidad".

En cuanto a las aldeas estratégicas. El 83-84 hicieron nucleamientos, los que penetramos y destruimos con acciones de dentro y desde fuera; concentraciones que en sí mismas ya estaban fallidas dado el total cambio de hábitos, el sojuzgamiento, la prohibición de salir a

sembrar y cosechar solos, pues, solamente podían hacerlo escoltados por los soldados. La tendencia hoy es a descentralizar y que las comunidades asuman su labor productiva; organizan en las propias comunidades comités de defensa civil o rondas armadas, les dotan de un responsable local que es el más lacayo sino uno de los entrenados para este tipo de trabajo. La voladura de nucleamientos no es sino la destrucción de cuarteles de fuerzas contrarrevolucionarias complementarías de las fuerzas regulares; y los enfrentamientos constantes son choques armados, son combates con esas fuerzas entrenadas y adiestradas militarmente, no es por tanto la "matanza de campesinos" que nos imputan y propagandizan.

Estas rondas armadas desarrolladas por el gobierno de Fujimori han encontrado diversas respuestas, desde el apoyo más altisonante como el eco del senador fujimorista Bernales, quien pregona: es "correcto armarlas en defensa propia"; hasta las oposiciones de una parte de la gran burguesía por considerarlas violatorias de la Constitución, como la del periodista Ricketts, pasando por los vergonzantes apoyos de quienes dicen "es insuficiente", como la de S. Pedraglio de la IU. O las de algunos jerarcas de la Iglesia Católica que caen en la simpleza de considerarlas un "show que no resuelve nada", en tanto sacerdotes bendicen las armas que el gobierno entrega a los ronderos; aunque últimamente se pronuncien en contra de ese armamento, actitud hipócrita pues arguyen que no están preparados para portarlas. Dentro de esta gama transcribimos la del periodista premiado por el imperialismo yanqui por su articulo "Terror en los Andes", publicado en la revista New York Times: "positivo armar ronderos para autodefensa...oposición a entrega de armas a ronderos encierra un tono de racismo y desconfianza a las organizaciones populares campesinas, sorprendente sobre todo si viene de la izquierda...yo confió más en un agricultor que defiende el trabajo de su vida..."; así como encubre la aplicación de la estrategia yanqui en la guerra contrasubversiva del Perú, en esta opinión oculta tras "organizaciones populares campesinas" el engendro de fuerzas contrarrevolucionarias complementarías a las Fuerzas Armadas regulares, porque como periodista, sabe que son cabezas negras, campesinos ricos, lacayos, y campesinos medios y pobres presionados. Pero, así como dice que es un avance, considera que a la vez es un peligro porque las podemos revertir o convertir en vehículo de traspaso de armas como pasó en Vietnam, por eso demanda que ese plan debe ir acompañado de una estrategia de defensa interna "agresiva, creativa y comprensiva". Aquí podemos ver el papel que cumplen los periodistas de la reacción peruana pagados por el imperialismo para implementar sus planes de guerra contrasubversiva, son activos elementos

contrarrevolucionarios.

Finalmente, han generado la proliferación de tipos de rondas, así el obispo Gurruchaga de Ancash organizo las "rondas por la paz" y acogió en su diócesis a "voluntarios combatientes por la paz" en el Perú organizados y dirigidos por el Papa. En la misma región Chavín se organizaron, a decir del Prefecto, "rondas federadas" de la IU contrarías a las conformadas por esta autoridad, las "rondas democráticas". Pero como la guerra popular se desarrolla en todo el país y se expande a las ciudades, en el parlamento empezaron a plantear "rondas urbanas", a propuesta del PPC, amparándose en el concepto de defensa civil y autodefensa, que coordinarían con la PNP y el Ministerio Publico. Rondas urbanas aplaudidas por el ministro de Defensa quien, según Expreso del 17/VII/91 ante 50 corresponsales extranjeros, afirmo que si la ciudadanía decide por propia iniciativa formar rondas urbanas, contará con el apoyo de las Fuerzas Armadas. Siguiendo esta orientación de las FF.AA., en Juliaca, (Puno) un licenciado, Emilio González Andia, formó "brigadas antiterroristas" con disciplina militar, uniforme y autorización de operar merced a resolución otorgada por la Tercera Región Militar con sede en Arequipa, que incluso exoneraba 4 jóvenes del servicio militar. En Lima han aparecido los "serenazgos" en varios barrios residenciales de clases media y alta, en los asentamientos humanos se han organizado "espontáneamente" rondas vecinales contra la subversión y gestionan su reconocimiento ante el Ministerio del Interior. Sin embargo, ante ellas hay temor de que rebasen el limite de la "autodefensa" y ejerzan la justicia popular, y están pidiendo se definan sus funciones dentro de la defensa del Estado de derecho; las conciben, pues, como parte del control de la población y medios para la "pacificación nacional".

Pero cuál es el resultado hasta hoy? Ultimamente el Instituto de Estudios Peruanos ha realizado un evento con representantes de los ronderos y ha concluido que efectivamente son "carne de cañón"; además, ha sido muy significativa esta opinión: "desde la provincia de San Marcos hasta Cajabamba y todo el contorno del rió aledaño, los subversivos han eliminado las rondas campesinas", vertida por el presidente de la Coordinadora de Rondas Campesinas y Urbanas de la Región Nor-Oriental del Marañón quien también pidió apoyo del gobierno para implantar "rondas auténticas". Algunos dirigentes dicen que están creciendo y derrotando la subversión, pero demandaron más ayuda, armas y medios de comunicación, radios para comunicarse; entre estos destacaron los dirigentes de las rondas de Valle del Rió Apurímac, de Ayacucho y del Valle de Tulumayo y del Alto Cunas, en el Mantaro.

En resumen, Fujimori entiende por control de la población y recursos, la formación de rondas campesinas armadas como parte de las fuerzas contrarrevolucionarias en el campo y rondas urbanas con los mismos objetivos, tras su falsa autodefensa, violando su Constitución y socavando más su ordenamiento demoburgués.

Otro de los "avances" de su "nueva estrategia" destacado en el mensaje del primer año de gobierno es la intervención en las universidades nacionales, que no es sino parte del control de la población y recursos y de acción cívica para aparentar que las Fuerzas Armadas sirven al desarrollo universitario. Intervención violatoria de los principios conquistados con sangre de estudiantes y pueblo en general como la autonomía universitaria que implica autonomía académica, económica y administrativa que requiere inviolabilidad del campus universitario y cogobierno para garantizar la libertad de pensamiento concretado en libertad de cátedra. etc.. según los principios y conquistas de la reforma universitaria; a los que el desarrollo mas profundo de la lucha popular ha agregado gratuidad de la enseñanza, ligazón con las masas y servir al pueblo en su emancipación. Fujimori, actuando como emperador, cargado en litera por las Fuerzas Armadas genocidas, empezó a borrar resplandecientes hoces y martillos, consignas y murales alusivos a la guerra popular, chocando directamente con los universitarios de San Marcos, La Cantuta, huyendo de inmediato asustado bajo la justa lluvia de piedras y agitaciones de combatientes estudiantes. Todos lo han visto, la agresión fujimorista fue repudiada y hoy la guerra de pintas en las universidades la estamos ganando a pesar de los gritos desesperados que nos imputa ser "delincuentes infiltrados que violan la autonomía universitaria" y "controlan por el terror". Pero dejo a sus esbirros genocidas apresando, infiltrando, violando, controlando dormitorios, revisando libros, cerrando residencias estudiantiles; y, bajo ocupación militar y toque de queda somete a las universidades nacionales al mando del ejército y la policía. Que se aplica? Otro recurso de la guerra de baja intensidad para ganarse la mente y los corazones", como rezan los reglamentos del ejército norteamericano, pero, en contrario, puso a la orden del día la "Defensa de la universidad!" y cosechó repudio y condena de la juventud.

Ligado a la necesidad que tiene de legitimarse se esfuerza por cambiar la imagen del Perú, así Fujimori declara a la prensa brasileña: "Cambiar la imagen del Perú en el escenario mundial es una de las principales metas"; y su Premier en Chile: "El terrorismo se ha exagerado" un poco...el presidente Fujimori tiene el control total del país"; también su vice-presidente marginado, el evangelista García, en La Paz, Bolivia repite "Sendero es meramente terrorista'" él en México:

"El marco en que se lucha en el Perú es inhumano y cruento. Ellos (los de Sendero Luminoso) no aceptan diálogo" precisamente cuando diferenciaban terrorismo de subversión para propiciar diálogo con el revisionismo armado del MRTA después de su propaganda armada en Rioja. A Radio Nacional de España, antes de su viaje turístico de "vendedor de imagen", por línea telefónica: "El Perú habrá logrado su pacificación en 1995, antes que termine mi mandato...afrontar de manera integral...Sendero Luminoso no es una guerrilla sino criminales sin ideología;...financiado por el narcotráfico...es el grupo sicario de los narcos". Y estando ya en Madrid discurseó: "...a pesar del proceso de desideologización que vive actualmente el mundo, en el Perú subsisten grupos que desconectados de las nuevas corrientes políticas mundiales y envilecidos por su alianza con el narcotráfico, como es el caso de Sendero, sueñan con realizar lo que Pol Pot no logró"; "es de advertir que estas acciones criminales son provocadoras de violaciones de derechos humanos, que rechazamos y estamos corrigiendo...pero es necesario que en Europa se sepa que las más atroces violaciones de DD.HH., son causadas por los terroristas de Sendero y el MRTA. Y lo que constituye silencio cómplice, es que las organizaciones que defienden los DD.HH. no lo hayan denunciado..." "También se han organizado aquí en Europa, se presentan como un movimiento revolucionario increíble! Cómo pueden ser revolucionarios quienes no tienen ningún respeto por la vida, quienes de tanto andar con la muerte se han enamorado de ella?". Así también uno de sus más fieles seguidores el senador Bernales a su retorno de Ginebra dijo "La comunidad europea recién se ha formado una idea tajante contra SL al que considera el más cruel, el más violento, el más sanguinario de todos aquellos que en el mundo practican métodos de terrorismo. Las ONGs han comenzado un mejor manejo de las Informaciones de la subversión". Por esto también, Fujimori nos califica de ser el obstáculo principal del desarrollo económico del país, exculpándose el mismo, a su gobierno, al Viejo Estado y a sus Fuerzas Armadas genocidas, y, con la misma tónica de cínico, taimado e impotente ante el avance arrollador de la III Campaña dice que se notan las primeras señales de un proceso involutivo... que habríamos retrocedido a etapas iniciales de crímenes, salvajismo, etc., etc., etc. Vanos sueños de la reacción peruana y parte de las campañas sicológicas destinadas a desprestigiarnos, y palabrería que por lo demás lo califican como genocida y vendepatria.

Ultimamente, en noviembre ha promulgado 126 decretos legislativos, amparándose en las facultades otorgadas por el Parlamento, al respecto dijo: "Existe una auténtica estrategia integral contra el terrorismo, que la hemos dado a conocer al país a través de los

últimos decretos legislativos, son integrantes de una concepción de lucha contra el terror, sin verticalismo alguno. Por el contrario el Plan de pacificación nacional que hemos trazado es el resultado de las diversas expresiones sociales de autodefensa y participación organizada de los pueblos del Perú"; y destacó "la unión entre la acción militar y la participación cívica, porque sólo así se lograra el sentido de la solidaridad nacional, germen para triunfo final sobre del terror"; agregando: "Mi gobierno no justifica una sola violación de los Derechos Humanos por parte del Estado, porque conozco muy bien las armas de la democracia". En diciembre en la Escuela Militar de Chorrillos dijo que para erradicar el terrorismo va a realizar acciones de desarrollo en las zonas atrasadas y superar así las disparidades sociales y económicas; desarrollar acciones de inteligencia para ubicar a los cabecillas e impedir acciones; resaltó que "las FF.AA. conjunto con el pueblo son la única garantía que así será" y que "las FF.AA. son base primordial de la pacificación nacional"; y criticando el aumento del presupuesto a la Cámara de diputados: "Hay que dejar bien en claro que el combate contra esta lacra social (la subversión) no se realiza en las cámaras legislativas sino en los más elevados campos de la serranía...". Y al "Washington Post" declaró que espera que su gobierno erradique la subversión antes del 95.

Sintetizando, amparando y prosiguiendo el genocidio, la "nueva estrategia" invocada por Fujimori y nunca explicada, se basa en alabar y dar más poder a las Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales genocidas y corruptas, basándose en ellas, principalmente en las primeras; desarrollar actividades de inteligencia y de acción cívica; armar ronderos y pretender organizarlos como fuerzas contrasubversivas complementarias a las fuerzas regulares buscar también controlar la población barrial y universitaria; apuntar a cambiar la imagen del Perú, imputándonos "genocidio y violación de derechos humanos" y calificarnos de narcoterroristas para recibir mendrugos del imperialismo principalmente yanqui. Todo lo cual implica que actúa dentro de la estrategia yanqui de la llamada guerra de baja intensidad, apuntando a una guerra contrasubversiva más desarrollada; criterios que, sin embargo, los aplica a medias; sobrevalora lo militar, menosprecia a los propios partidos reaccionarios y pretende someter a las organizaciones populares; no logra hasta hoy la concertación para la llamada pacificación que manifestó era fácil alcanzar. La "legitimación" la reduce a respetar, de palabra los pregonados derechos humanos y a mera campaña publicitaria que encubren mayor genocidio; preparar condiciones para una mayor intervención yanqui con el objetivo de aniquilar la guerra popular.

DEBATE SOBRE ESTRATEGIA Y DIRECCION DE LA GUERRA. El

Presidente Mao nos enseña:

"Sí. Los sistemas de gobierno de tiempos de guerra pueden dividirse generalmente en dos tipos: uno es el centralismo democrático, el otro, el centralismo absoluto, según lo determine la naturaleza de la guerra. Todas las guerras en la historia pueden dividirse, de acuerdo con su naturaleza, en dos categorías: guerras justas y guerras injustas. Por ejemplo, la Guerra Europea que estalló hace más de 20 años fue una guerra injusta, imperialista. Los gobiernos de los países imperialistas de entonces forzaron a los pueblos a combatir por los intereses del imperialismo, yendo así contra los intereses del pueblo; estas circunstancias requerían gobiernos como el de Lloyd George en Inglaterra. Lloyd George reprimió al pueblo inglés, prohibiéndole hablar contra la guerra imperialista y proscribiendo toda organización o reunión que expresara la opinión popular contra la guerra; aunque subsistía el Parlamento, éste era simplemente órgano de un grupo de imperialistas y no servía sino para votar dócilmente el presupuesto de guerra. La ausencia de unidad entre gobierno y pueblo en la guerra da origen a un gobierno de centralismo absoluto, que necesita sólo centralismo y no democracia. Pero, en la historia, también ha habido guerras revolucionarias, como la de Francia, la de Rusia, y, actualmente, la de España. En tales guerras, el gobierno no teme la desaprobación del pueblo, porque es éste el que más desea sostener esa clase de guerra; basándose en el apoyo voluntario del pueblo, el gobierno, lejos de temer a éste, se esfuerza por despertarlo y lo orienta a expresar sus puntos de vista, de modo que participe activamente en la guerra. La guerra de liberación nacional de China goza de la plena aprobación del pueblo y no puede triunfar sin su participación; por eso, el centralismo democrático se ha convertido en una necesidad. En China, la victoria de la Expedición al Norte de 1926 a 1927 se logró igualmente gracias al centralismo democrático. Se ve así que, cuando los objetivos de una guerra reflejan directamente los intereses del pueblo, cuanto más democrático es el gobierno, más eficazmente puede llevar adelante la guerra. Tal gobierno no tiene razón alguna para temer que el pueblo se oponga a la guerra y, en cambio, lo que debe inquietarle es que el pueblo vaya a permanecer inactivo o indiferente ante ella. La naturaleza de la guerra determina las relaciones entre el gobierno y el pueblo. Esta es una ley de la historia." (Entrevista con J. Bertram, T. II Obras escogidas).

En la Sesión Preparatoria del II Pleno del Comité Central, en las páginas 355 a 357, el Presidente Gonzalo comenta esta cita, tales comentarios son absolutamente válidos. Es dentro de este marco que en el Perú se desenvuelve el debate sobre estrategia y dirección de la guerra. Algunos sostienen que se puede dirigir una guerra

contrarrevolucionaria con democracia, pero se estrellan contra la realidad, como lo estamos viendo en el país, porque una guerra contrarrevolucionaria solamente se puede dirigir con centralización absoluta; e implica imposible unidad verdadera entre el pueblo y el gobierno reaccionario, y que todas las instituciones se tornan cada vez más formales hasta devenir en negación completa de la democracia demoburguesa. Precisamente, ésta es la tendencia que se expresa con el gobierno de Fujimori quien ha proseguido el camino de sus antecesores, mayor reaccionarización del Estado peruano y mayor centralización absoluta; y por más disfraces democráticos y demagogia que se derroche, el gobierno de Fujimori marcha a una centralización absoluta, expresada en un absolutismo presidencialista basado en más poder para las FF.AA. Este camino es el que imprimen hoy los imperialistas en los regímenes reaccionarios del Tercer Mundo para aplicar su "guerra de baja intensidad", promoviendo que se legisle en materia de guerra contrasubversiva para actuar dentro de marcos "legítimos", aunque esas leyes arrasen sus principios demoburgueses, pues, les basta la formalidad legal, la apariencia democrática.

Otros decían que no había estrategia, (hoy dicen que es incompleta). Como hemos visto, Fujimori habló de una nueva estrategia; lo concreto es que, en el fondo, se trataba de reformular la estrategia contrasubversiva que aplicaban, sacando lecciones de lo hecho y dar mayor participación al imperialismo yanqui que actúa en la guerra popular del Perú en forma creciente. En síntesis, su problema hoy es replantear la estrategia contrasubversiva dentro de los criterios de la llamada guerra de baja intensidad, pero ajustados a la situación de crisis general del capitalismo burocrático y en el marco de una guerra popular que ha entrado al equilibrio estratégico.

En febrero del 91, el Premier Torres y Torres Lara informó al parlamento que se crearía lo anunciado por el ex primer ministro Hurtado para el Ministerio de Defensa el Comando Unificado de Pacificación y el Comando Operativo de Lucha Antisubversiva y que estarían presididos por el presidente Fujimori, además del Consejo por la Paz a nivel de la presidencia del Consejo de Ministros y considerado "órgano asesor de apoyo". Esto significa que la llamada nueva estrategia emprendida requería de formas orgánicas que le permitieran aplicarse. Aparentemente era cuestión orgánica (organismos, dirección, etc.), pero en el fondo era cuestión de política estratégica para manejar la guerra contrasubversiva; Fujimori quería controlar él la estrategia para en los hechos darle ese control a la Fuerza Armada: a él no le interesaba ese organismo de pacificación y el aparato operativo era para darles más poder a los militares genocidas y ponerse por encima de los partidos políticos: su objetivo

era manejar directamente, llegar a acuerdo nacional pero dirigir él personalmente el proceso de "pacificación" amparándose en las Fuerzas Armadas. Así se generó un farragoso debate sobre estrategia y conducción de la guerra contrasubversiva; veamos algo de ese debate.

Entre los llamados senderólogos, el sociólogo y malabarista verbal, ignorante de la teoría de la guerra popular y de su especificación en el Perú. Raúl González, como defensor de Fujimori y lacayo de las Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales, repite su cantaleta de "derrota estratégica de Sendero" y saluda que aquél asuma personalmente el CUP (Comando Unificado de Pacificación). Un nuevo senderólogo, el plumífero tránsfuga Rospigliosi, discrepa de que exista nueva estrategia y plantea que se centra en lo militar, se soslaya los partidos políticos y organizaciones civiles, populares, regionales, municipios, etc. Entre los de la IU, Ames, el fariseo seguidor de Gustavo Gutiérrez, demanda una guerra contrasubversiva en todos los planos de ahí que sostenga: "falta precisar estrategia", "Sendero morirá por asfixia si se atiende las necesidades mínimas de la población de las zonas donde actúa"; se opone a que ingresen las Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales a las zonas donde SL ha ganado terreno, porque "significaría el arrasamiento de comunidades campesinas", dice "hay que mejorar las condiciones de vida del pueblo", "para resolver el problema de la violencia hacemos más autoritario y represivo al Estado o lo hacemos más democrático" habla de incorporar "dirigentes sociales de la población.,alcalde, gobernador, prefecto, subprefecto y los representantes de los gobiernos regionales". Mientras el seudoteórico arribista Degregori escribe: "desde 1589, se advierte una estrategia más fina de las fuerzas armadas...los golpes a Sendero son más selectivos; ya no se ve fosas comunes, por ejemplo, pero sí desaparecidos". En tanto que la IS, encargada de la propuesta de pacificación, a través del rastrero puestista Tapia propone una movilización política contra Sendero y "Comités distritales de pacificación y desarrollo", y llama a unirse todos a la cola de Fujimori para "combatir el fascismo de Sendero!". Quienes así claman están dentro de la guerra de baja intensidad del imperialismo yanqui y pretenden traficar con la movilización del pueblo para desenvolverla como aspecto político de la guerra contrasubversiva más desarrollada, todos son defensores del viejo orden, enemigos de la revolución, de la construcción de un nuevo orden; ellos están por aniquilar la guerra popular y su divergencia con Fujimori está en que oportunistas y revisionistas quieren controlar el proceso para seguir cabalgando sobre las masas y beneficiarse o vender más caros sus servicios; aparte de que algunos se oponen al peso político creciente de las FF.AA., su temor al golpe y a lo que llaman la "militarización" de la sociedad

peruana.

Entre los parlamentarios, el senador del Movimiento Libertad, hoy independiente, Ferrero Costa, se pronunció así: "Ojalá el CUP no se quede en palabras y que de una vez por todas el presidente asuma". Otro, García Belaúnde (Acción Popular) es del criterio de primero aniquilar la guerra popular para luego desarrollar; criterio de reducir a lo militar que aplicó Belaúnde del 80 al 85 principalmente.

Entre las ONGs: El Instituto de Defensa Legal (IDL), organismo no gubernamental que defiende los derechos humanos al servicio del imperialismo principalmente yanqui dijo: "por fin nace el CUP por encima de las Fuerzas Armadas"; también: "Terrorismo sigue creciendo...carencia de estrategia capaz de pacificación...siguen violaciones de derechos humanos...la contraofensiva (de FF.AA. y FF.PP.) le costó duras bajas a Sendero Luminoso así como detenidos" y "hasta qué punto son confiables las normas que pueda dictar el Ejecutivo al amparo de facultades legislativas"; como siempre sirviendo a las exigencias de sus amos imperialistas y actuando como la mano blanda de éstos, contra el marxismo y la guerra popular y deslindando y hasta criticando a los gobernantes reaccionarios cuando el imperialismo lo necesita. El coronel EP (r) José Bailetti, del Instituto de Investigación de Defensa Nacional (INIDEN), otra ONG, dice "no hay enlace sólido con la sociedad civil", "no hay conquista de la mente y los corazones del pueblo", posición claramente pro-estrategia yanqui de "guerra de baja intensidad". Según el "experto" E. Obando, (revista "Qué Hacer" No 72), habría un plan del Comando Conjunto de las Fuerzas Armadas que "parte del principio de que hay una guerra militar y una guerra política, y que esta última es la más importante"; que la guerra militar la llevarían adelante las Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales, mientras la guerra política la desenvolverían los poderes del Estado, gobiernos regionales, locales a las organizaciones sociales, comprendiendo seis aspectos: 1) ideológico; 2) inteligencia; 3) estrategias; 4) guerra sicológica; 5) guerra de organización antisubversiva; y, 6) guerra de masas que busque ganar a la población. Pero el articulista vaticina también el fracaso del plan por tres razones: no hay mando único; falta legislación de guerra; falta presupuesto.

Entre los militares retirados, el general Jarama pugna por una estrategia de guerra de baja intensidad manejando los cuatro aspectos y dándole prioridad al aspecto político. El general EP(r) Cisneros Vizquerra opinó "Me preocupa que Fujimori diga `brazo armado del narcotráfico'" y "a él no le compete mando del Comando Operativo". Sobre la pacificación considera que se debe brindar bienestar para la

sociedad, democracia justa y equilibrada (o sea para los de arriba): reforzar educación cívica (sus símbolos patrios de explotación); que hay que destruir los valores de la subversión; que a la fuerza armada hay que dotarla de los recursos necesarios y que se deben resaltar sus éxitos para generar confianza en la población (porque lógicamente no la tienen, ni la tendrán).

Entre los periódicos, Expreso y La República reclamaban "no hay conducción unificada", y realizaron una serie de mesas redondas sobre pacificación, estrategia y formas de conducir la guerra. Entre las revistas fue OIGA la que promovió la discusión apuntando a sistema orgánico para dirigir la guerra contrasubversiva en los cuatro planos, pedía un aparato dirigido por un civil que manejará la estrategia durante las 24 horas del día. El periodismo nacional encabezado por El Comercio elaboró su propuesta de pacificación y la elevó al gobierno; propuesta que tampoco fue escuchada porque Fujimori hace y deshace al margen de todas sus instituciones, salvo las FF.AA.

En el fondo de estos debates se expresa la tendencia indefectible hacia la centralización absoluta para dirigir la guerra contrasubversiva y la necesidad que tienen de desarrollarla en los cuatro planos contando con mando único, pues, siguen actuando con doble mando mientras la contradicción Partido Comunista del Perú-Fuerzas Armadas reaccionarias, se acentúa en perspectiva. Sin embargo, la tendencia a la centralización absoluta choca en el propio seno de la reacción con posiciones demoburguesas que están en contra de un manejo que sobrevalore lo militar y pugnan por mantener su orden demoburgués, considerándolo instrumento clave para contraponerlo al Nuevo Estado que la guerra popular desarrolla. Esto es parte de la lucha de facciones y grupos de la gran burguesía y de los terratenientes que, dentro de la tendencia a una mayor reaccionarización del Estado peruano, desarrolla la centralización absoluta que hoy se concreta en el absolutismo presidencialista de Fujimori. Así, el debate sobre estrategia y dirección prosigue dentro de la necesidad de desarrollar su guerra contrasubversiva en todos los planos y de contar con un mando único, agudizándose la contradicción entre "manejo militar o manejo político; siendo su tendencia la centralización absoluta y el manejo militarista de la contrasubversión.

"NARCOTERRORISMO" Y "AYUDA" INTERNACIONAL Otro criterio que ha difundido es el empeñarse en mostrarnos como aliados del narcotráfico para ajustarse a la necesidad de una cada vez más creciente participación del imperialismo principalmente yanqui, de ahí que difunda: "Con ayuda internacional se combatirá la subversión" o "señores, Sendero no tiene nada que ver ni con el Socialismo ni con

ninguna ideología, China Popular no tiene nada que ver con Sendero, es el brazo derecho del narcotráfico" (reunión con periodistas en Palacio, abril 91). Usa el término de "narcoterrorismo" de Reagan y lo liga a la "ayuda" internacional, necesidad que Bush tiene hoy para justificar su intervención, es el pretexto ante el pueblo norteamericano y los pueblos del mundo. Es por eso que a un semanario de Roma dice "los americanos se dan cuenta que la situación peruana es muy compleja ya que no se trata sólo de enfrentarse al narcotráfico sino además a grupos terroristas que se benefician del narcotráfico...ni yo ni los Estados Unidos queremos empeorar las cosas con algún tipo de intervención militar"; las últimas frases son solamente engañifa, porque se trata de adaptar la intervención yanqui a los replanteamientos de su estrategia de guerra de baja intensidad. Parte de esta política es la firma del Convenio Antidrogas que es un Tratado de intervención yanqui so capa de combatir el narcotráfico: acuerdo firmado a espaldas del Parlamento y la nación entera, duramente criticado por los beneficios que reportará a los Estados Unidos en contra del Perú; y que "desarrollen" las zonas cocaleras, es otro cuento como lo prueba la experiencia fracasada en Bolivia; además, la parte de la ayuda" para desarrollo alternativo, de sustitución de la coca, es mínimo, no más de 1900 dólares. Es, pues, el colmo del cinismo que Fujimori haya planteado en la OEA en su último viaje a Estados Unidos: "estamos convencidos que con apoyo de Estados Unidos derrotaremos al narcotráfico...Esta es una verdadera inversión de Estados Unidos en defensa de la juventud mundial pero también de la democracia porque hoy la mayor amenaza a ella, proviene del terrorismo". Con estas palabras abre campo a la intervención yanqui en el Perú, "para salvar la democracia"; a la que se sumó D'Ornellas pronunciándose, en su columna de Expreso, por una intervención indirecta al decir que si Sendero Luminoso conquista el Poder los países vecinos lo invadirían de inmediato. Parte de este plan es su viaje a Uchiza con Quainton y representantes de la ONU a la reunión de cocaleros, donde anunció decreto sobre acceso de fiscales a los cuarteles para ver si hay detenidos.

En lo referente a los derechos humanos, Fujimori se ha movido entre demostrar que los respetan tanto el como sus Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales y, vociferar que nosotros somos los principales violadores de sus derechos humanos; teniendo incluso que chocar con organismos Internacionales, abriéndose así un nuevo frente de lucha. Todo en función de recibir la ansiada "ayuda" del imperialismo yanqui.

En cuanto a que nosotros violemos los derechos humanos. Partimos de que no nos adscribimos a la Declaración Universal de los Derechos Humanos, tampoco a la de Costa Rica; pero sí utilizamos sus

dispositivos legales para desenmascarar y denunciar al Viejo Estado peruano, a sus instituciones y organismos, a sus autoridades, comenzando por quien lo encabeza, funcionarios y subordinados que los violan negando sus propios compromisos internacionales. Para nosotros, los derechos humanos son contradictorios con los derechos del pueblo porque nos basamos en el hombre como producto social, no en el hombre abstracto con derechos innatos. Los "derechos humanos" no son sino los derechos del hombre de la burguesía, posición que fue revolucionaria frente a la feudalidad; así, la libertad, la igualdad y la fraternidad fueron avanzados criterios burgueses en el pasado. Pero hoy día, desde la aparición del proletariado y más como clase organizada en Partido Comunista, con experiencias de revoluciones triunfantes, de construcción del socialismo, nueva democracia y dictadura del proletariado, se ha probado históricamente que los derechos humanos sirven a las clases opresoras y explotadoras que dirigen los Estados imperialistas y terrateniente-burocráticos. Estados burgueses en general. En tanto que, los derechos del pueblo son los derechos que el proletariado y las inmensas masas populares conquistan con su propia lucha y sangre, y que los estudian como principios rectores del Nuevo Estado en función de los intereses de las clases que conforman el pueblo: los derechos del pueblo son obligaciones y derechos de clase, superiores a los llamados derechos humanos, al servicio de las masas, pobres principalmente, del Nuevo Estado, del socialismo y del futuro comunismo; derechos del pueblo que sólo la República Popular del Perú, en nuestro caso, podrá garantizar, reconociendo y sobre todo protegiendo el derecho a la vida y la salud, el derecho a la educación, a la cultura y al propio desarrollo, el derecho a trabajar y al bienestar, los derechos sociales y políticos y, principalmente, el supremo derecho a conquistar el Poder y ejercerlo, a transformar el viejo orden existente, opresor y explotador, y a construir un Nuevo Estado y una Nueva Sociedad para el pueblo y el proletariado. Por otro lado, el incumplimiento de su Constitución, leyes y normas los deslegitima; por eso no les conviene que se les demuestre que su Estado violenta y no satisface necesidades elementales de los ciudadanos y, más aún, se propague que un Estado así sólo sirve para ser derrocado. Finalmente, reiteramos, solamente bajo un Nuevo Estado que represente los intereses de los obreros, campesinos, pequeña burguesía y burguesía media se podrá aplicar los derechos del pueblo, únicos derechos que realmente pueden beneficiar a las cuatro clases del pueblo. Estas son nuestras posiciones y nadie ha podido ni podrá refutarlas. Así, diferenciamos derechos humanos de derechos del pueblo. Además, luchamos porque el Viejo Estado cumpla con los derechos fundamentales arrancados por el pueblo y plasmados en su Constitución, leyes y normas. Finalmente, incitamos

que el imperialismo yanqui dentro de su guerra de "baja intensidad" apunta a "ayudar" a gobiernos "legitimados", de ahí los malabares que sobre los derechos humanos desenvuelve Fujimori y el papel de las ONGs que actúan en este campo al servicio del mismo amo.

Hoy cuando la política norteamericana es imputar las supuestas violaciones de los derechos humanos a los guerrilleros, las ONGs difunden que el Partido viola los derechos humanos; sus miembros bien financiados por el imperialismo sirven conscientemente a sus planes. La defensa de los derechos humanos de la burguesía es la moda que les imponen sus patrones; de ahí las múltiples publicaciones tras las que actúan como ideólogos contrarrevolucionarios. Estos organismos son parte del orden imperante aunque, pretenden aparecer por encima de la guerra; de ahí algunas posiciones ambiguas, basarse sólo en los "datos oficiales", acoger "denuncias" de las fuerzas represivas ocultando mas que ignorando la realidad e infamar a la guerra popular imputándole hasta genocidio. Por otro lado, sus denuncias y deslindes con algunas acciones del gobierno y las fuerzas armadas y policiales, enarbolando los derechos humanos. Los hacen en función de buscar la ansiada legitimación del gobierno y el desenvolvimiento de la guerra contrarrevolucionaria de baja intensidad, según las orientaciones del imperialismo y para la defensa de la subsistencia del orden demoburgués dominante. Por lo demás no hemos encontrado hasta hoy, entre las ONGs, un organismo que abierta y valientemente defienda los derechos de los mas pobres, menos aun posiciones revolucionarias avanzadas; a lo más se encuentran posiciones humanitaristas burguesas, pero la gran mayoría son lacayos conscientes o inconscientes del imperialismo.

Así, la cantaleta de Fujimori ha sido solo pretender certificado de buena conducta para lograr la "ayuda" económica derivada del "Convenio antidrogas". Esto aparte de que su llamada legitimación se reduce a declamar "respetar los derechos humanos" y "trabajar por el pueblo", de la manera más formal, cínica y demagógica de la tradicional politiquería peruana. En conclusión mientras "combatir al narcoterrorismo le proporciona causa justa" y "base moral" principalmente a la estrategia yanqui e imperialista en general; Fujimori, ajustándose cada vez más a ella, derrocha devoción por los derechos humanos clamando por la "ayuda" internacional.

LEGISLACION, JUSTICIA Y GUERRA CONTRASUBVERSIVA.

El tercer poder del Estado, el judicial, también tiene que ajustarse a las condiciones de guerra interna que vive el país, servir a la "nueva estrategia"; someterse a las demandas de una guerra contrasubversiva más desarrollada y dentro de los criterios de guerra de baja intensidad del imperialismo yanqui. Pero, como en los otros poderes, se expresan pugnas y facciones que contienden entre la defensa y evolución del orden demoburgués y la tendencia a una mayor reaccionarización del Estado; así, marchan a una mayor reaccionarización del sistema legal, dentro del fortalecimiento del Ejecutivo como absolutismo presidencialista en contienda con la definición de un fascismo ajustado a las nuevas acciones de la lucha de clases en el mundo y el país. En el plano de la justicia, se viene dando la disyuntiva entre poner de lado las leyes y los trámites judiciales, tomando medidas y soluciones expeditivas de tortura, desaparición y ejecución genocidas, de un lado, y, por otro, la dación de disposiciones legales que amparan la represión y el genocidio, como recientemente con la promulgación, de los últimos decretos leyes sobre la llamada pacificación basada en las FF.AA. El papel de la justicia será más aun complemento necesario a la acción militar principalmente, y parte de las acciones políticas, económicas y sicosociales de la guerra contrasubversiva; dentro de estos criterios se han dado el nuevo Código Penal y el de Procedimientos Penales.

En el Perú, los estados de excepción, como son los estados de emergencia, se han convertido en estado permanente, llegando a abarcar las 3/4 partes de país, incluida la capital. Con Fujimori se ha jugado a levantar el estado de emergencia, caso de Huamanga por ejemplo, para aparentar pacificación; pero, lo cierto es que esto no pasa de ser propaganda para las tribunas del imperialismo, en Ayacucho la acción genocida de las fuerzas armadas, policiales y de las rondas no cesa. También aplicó el suspenderlos por unos días y volverlos a imponer, como en Apurímac, Huánuco y San Martín, (del 24/VII/91 al 27/VIII/91). En su mensaje del 91 dijo que estudiaba el levantamiento de los estados de emergencia en los Frentes del Mantaro, Huallaga, Ucayali, Cuzco y Arequipa. Obviamente le preocupa mantener permanente estado de emergencia, pues quiere cumplir la demanda de sus amos imperialistas de humanizar la guerra, "observar las leyes", "neutralizar la organización insurrecta dentro del sistema legal del país, observándose escrupulosamente las disposiciones constitucionales relacionadas con derechos y

responsabilidades", como parte de campañas para dar credibilidad y legitimidad al gobierno. A lo que se suman disposiciones tan violatorias de su ordenamiento legal como el DS 011-91-JUS por el cual las Fuerzas Armadas asumen el control de los penales; declara en emergencia, en reestructuración y rehabilitación los penales de Trujillo, Chiclayo, tres de Lima, Ica, Iquitos, Huancayo, Cuzco y Arequipa; los asume el Ministerio de Defensa, el Comando Conjunto en coordinación con el Ministerio del Interior y en su caso con el INPE, asumiendo las Fuerzas Armadas el control externo e interno de los mismos. Objetivo político: "evitar que las cárceles sean escuelas de terror", pero en el fondo preparar un plan de aniquilamiento y genocidio de prisioneros de guerra como hizo su antecesor. Además, es también parte de las demandas de la "guerra de baja intensidad" que plantea "tener a los cautivos en buen estado, buen trato"; para Fujimori la cuestión es aparentar que lo aplica, y piensa que es un gran paso que las FF.AA. entren a los penales a pintar paredes, a refaccionar estructuras, a cumplir acción cívica porque así controlarían y ejecutarían el plan en marcha; no por gusto han asesinado a cuatro prisioneros de guerra cuando se opusieron al despintado de los murales, era parte del ensayo de su macabro genocidio en marcha.

Dentro de estos fines de ajustar el sistema legal a las demandas imperialistas de la "guerra de baja intensidad" observamos, especialmente, cómo desde julio hasta setiembre van a promulgarse una serie de dispositivos legales referentes al manejo de la guerra contrasubversiva, bagaje legal que formaría parte de los bártulos de Fujimori para viajar a Estados Unidos a entrevistarse, en visita no oficial, con su amo, el mayor genocida del mundo Bush, ante quien se comportó como su buen mercenario (tanto así que un senador yanqui destacó sus dotes de vendedor cuando rogaba no le suspenda la "ayuda" norteamericana y solicitaba su visto bueno al plan de "reinserción"). Así tenemos; el Consejo Nacional para la Paz, el 31/VII; los cursos de derecho humanitario para fiscales, el 14/VII, la creación de oficinas de derechos humanos en las prefecturas, el 5/VIII las comisiones técnicas para analizar el problema de las poblaciones desplazadas, el 8/VIII; la autorización del Ministerio Público para que los fiscales ingresen a comisarías y cuarteles, el 3/IX; y, la Directiva presidencial sobre derechos humanos publicada el 13/IX. Simultáneamente se; produjo la sintomática reducción de las denuncias por violación de derechos humanos precedida, sin embargo, como el pueblo peruano lo sabe y es testigo, por genocidio y "acción cívica" del Ejército. Todas estas disposiciones chocan con la realidad, por un lado, y recién veremos su aplicación; pero, por otro lado, son

parte de los ajustes para combatir la guerra popular "teniendo como gran marco el firme e irrestricto respeto a los derechos humanos", como dijo Fujimori en la OEA, "con la ley en la mano", igual que el demagogo y genocida García Pérez. En este contexto se deben ubicar los 126 Decretos leyes emitidos como parte de las facultades que le concediera el parlamento, principalmente los decretos de pacificación: en síntesis reflejan la tendencia de la centralización absoluta, expresada en el absolutismo presidencialista de Fujimori y en otorgarles más poder a las FF.AA.

En esta pugna de grupos y de facciones reaccionarias, hay quienes parten de que las leyes actuales son demasiado permisivas y no sirven para enfrentar a la subversión legalmente; incluso dicen que en todo país donde el sistema legal no permite enfrentar a la subversión, surge la guerra sucia. Otros, como el arzobispo Cipriani Thorne, difunden posiciones recalcitrantes, así plantea:

"moralizar el Poder Judicial, establecer un sistema de juicio que permita al juez actuar con libertad; limpiar la policía, bajas no son suficientes" y, lo principal: "se debe determinar un nuevo marco jurídico que defina con precisión la situación legal de los lugares que se encuentran en la llamada `Emergencia'...El Poder legislativo debe estudiar esta ausencia de legalidad...se debe estudiar e instaurar mecanismos de legalidad compatibles con las situaciones existentes, pero sin suspender las autoridades civiles..." "Solo he señalado algunos aspectos jurídicos que deben ser estudiados para superar el engaño de las zonas llamadas de `emergencia'..." "Cualquier apología...castigo ejemplar". "No estamos en diálogo con los terroristas, ni ante un Estado totalitario que oprime a su pueblo. Estamos...ante una banda de asesinos que destruye la libertad de los mas pobres y pretende desestabilizar al Estado a través de la ruptura de sus poderes..." He ahí como piensa un "siervo de Dios" y jerarca de la Iglesia Católica; por algo trabaja en Ayacucho, quien nos califica de generar "el mayor genocidio de nuestra historia" (Y el que hizo España cuando nos conquisto a sangre y fuego y nos exterminó dizque para que nos redimiéramos y adoptáramos su religión católica?) o "el mayor atropello de los derechos humanos en Latinoamérica en este siglo" (Y Pinochet el fascista pro yanqui catoliquísimo? Y Argentina? Y García Pérez? Y Belaúnde?).

El abogado penalista del ILD, José Carlos Ugaz, sostiene: para que la legislación sea eficiente, la subversión requiere de una estrategia antisubversiva democrática, aparte de considerar el estado de crisis del Poder Judicial; considera que la administración de justicia, en el caso de guerra interna, se ve obstaculizada por una legislación que no

se adecua a la realidad. Propone "Unidad de Investigación" que supone la unión de los servicios de inteligencia y cambiar las leyes para agilizar los procesos de terrorismo suprimiendo la tan invocada "falta de pruebas".

El Procurador Daniel Espichan es punta de lanza del imperialismo y la reacción peruana en el plano judicial. Sostiene posiciones recalcitrantes y antidemoliberales en el derecho; esta por recortar al máximo los derechos de los acusados por terrorismo, exige procedimientos más expeditivos y "que se juzgue y condene de una vez por todas", "prueba" tal necesidad dando cifras, dice: en once años sólo fueron sentenciados 497 con penas de dos a veinticinco años de penitenciaría, mientras 4,395 obtuvieron libertad sin ser condenados por "falta de pruebas" o "fallas en la redacción de los informes policiales"; solo 10% de condenados, 90% salió en libertad, por ello Espichán plantea que por falta de pruebas no deben soltar a los sospechosos de terrorismo; y tiene sistemática aversión contra los jueces que ajustándose a las leyes otorgan libertad a los acusados, incluso, después de haberlos alabado por su gestión. Es el peón más servil del Viejo Estado para lanzarse contra la libertad de los abogados democráticos y acusar a la Asociación de Abogados Democráticos como fachada del Partido, actúa como vulgar soplón y no prueba nunca sus calumnias; es, también, uno de los recalcitrantes puntales de la negación del derecho a la defensa y clama por una legislación draconiana para combatir la subversión: lo que no es sino mantener la legalidad en apariencia y en esencia hacer tabla rasa de la misma, arrasando todos los derechos y libertades fundamentales apuntando a reprimir y condenar a los inculpados basándose en pruebas indiciarias y aún en simples sospechas.

Contrariamente, hay quienes sostienen que cuando se enfrenta a una organización armada, el objetivo no debe ser castigar ni reprimir sino neutralizar al adversario; piensan que no se debe sobrevalorar el elemento de represión penal y que no se deben salir del marco de respeto a los derechos humanos; que "el Estado debe encarnar el orden y los valores sociales, la superioridad moral respecto a la ciudadanía y no puede responder al terror sin perder consistencia frente a los problemas que le son sometidos", como escribe el jurista Oscar Schiappa Pietra. Pero, estos criterios se estrellan con la realidad histórica mundial al pretender que es posible enfrentar la guerra popular sin fracturar la "legitimidad democrática", mas aun, si concluyen que todo el sistema legal y de administración de justicia debe ser modificado, pues como la Constitución del 79 están hechos para tiempos de paz, según afirman.

Además, también este gobierno viola sistemáticamente su orden constitucional, leyes y normas. Así, en cuestiones penales, el amedrentamiento del juez de Huanta, con allanamiento militar de su domicilio, por abrir instrucción contra un capitán y un comandante, responsables del asesinato del periodista Bustíos. La denegación por la Corte Suprema del habeas corpus interpuesto en el caso del estudiante Castillo Páez apresado por la PN y luego vilmente asesinado. La renuncia del fiscal general del Consejo Supremo de Justicia militar, Dr. Juan Carbonell, por presiones ante denuncia interpuesta contra jefes policiales responsables de fuga de un elemento del MRTA. La formación de nuevos grupos paramilitares como el denominado Grupo Antiterrorista Operativo (GATO) que actúa en el Centro del país; y otros conocidos hasta hoy sólo por sus siniestras acciones, como el genocidio de Barrios Altos en la propia capital de la república. La constante persecución a los abogados que valientemente ejercen la defensa de los inculpados de terrorismo; amenazados, hostigados y perseguidos directamente por Fujimori y las fuerzas represivas, así como OIGA, Expreso, etc., promoviendo su aniquilamiento. La oposición a que organismos internacionales, como la Cruz Roja Internacional, cumplen sus funciones con los prisioneros de guerra, en defensa de sus vidas. Campañas concertadas contra la Asociación de Abogados Democráticos, negándoles el derecho de defensa, la libertad de expresión y de organización, y acoso de sus dirigentes, buscan desaparecer la Asociación. La represión y persecución de los familiares de los prisioneros de guerra, entorpeciendo e impidiendo el apoyo que les brindan, principalmente la lucha por la defensa de sus vidas constantemente amenazadas. Finalmente, la siniestra política carcelaria contra los prisioneros de guerra sobre quienes pende un nuevo genocidio en marcha, aparte del trato cotidiano violatorio de los mas elementales derechos fundamentales; a lo cual se suma la negra campaña de diarios y revistas que clamando falsamente por supuesta falta de control policial en los penales, en esencia fomentan el genocidio en vil contubernio con el gobierno y el vendepatria Fujimori.

Otro problema, se ha vuelto a poner sobre el tapete la pena de muerte. Expreso tomó como pretexto las supuestas palabras del presidente de la Corte Suprema invocando que así piensa el país, siendo desmentido por tal autoridad; pero teniendo eco en algunos plumíferos como Rospigliosi, quien sostiene: en vez de matar fuera de la ley, debe hacerse dentro de la ley. En 1991 se ha resembrado opinión publica favorable a la pena de muerte.

Así, en año y medio de gobierno, Fujimori fustiga y desconoce el Poder Judicial; sus violaciones a la Carta Magna son más habituales

que nunca, invalidando mas aún la legitimidad del Viejo Estado; y en legislación, justicia y guerra contrasubversiva marcha al galope a una mayor reaccionarización del derecho burgués, se expresa también la centralización absoluta en el manejo legislativo; y se observan sus posiciones fascistas y de absolutismo presidencialista, ajustándose más a las demandas de la "guerra de baja intensidad".

ACUERDO DE PACIFICACIÓN. DECRETO LEGISLATIVO SOBRE CONSEJO POR LA PAZ. "Con parto de los montes comienzan a formalizar la colusión para la llamada `pacificación'; esta es parte de un plan y campaña mas amplios que viene impulsándose, principalmente desde abril (presentación del primer ministro en el Congreso y conservaciones con representantes de partidos); y de los cuales el MRTA es parte (sus actividades en San Martín hay que interpretarlas dentro de lo visto sobre su salida de Canto Grande; es parte de lo mismo, aunque su concreción es mayor como plan y colusión). Todo en función de la denominada `estrategia integral' contra la guerra popular; a la cual obviamente está ligado y decisoriamente el imperialismo yanqui, una de cuyas bases de acción es si `Convenio antidrogas'." Comentarios del Presidente Gonzalo, mayo 91.

Ya desde el gobierno belaundista hubo intentos de conformar organismos de paz pero es con el gobierno de García Pérez cuando se constituye una Comisión de paz presidida por el obispo Metzinger, quien renunció por la inviabilidad del proyecto; en junio del 90 la ley No 25237 crea el Consejo por la Paz, que nunca marchó. Por su parte, el revisionismo siempre ha sostenido el criterio de "paz con justicia social", el 83, Barrantes convocó a una marcha por la paz y entonces se agitó también la pacificación. Hasta que el gobierno actual el 31/ VII/91 promulgó el decreto legislativo 652 por el que se crea el Consejo por la Paz. Las ideas que los guían son aniquilar la guerra popular para aplicar "desarrollo" que conjure la "injusticia social"; en su concepción burguesa, no conciben que las clases explotadas se rebelen para oponerse a su sistema y pregonan sometimiento total, a lo más y para encubrir su falsa democracia permiten discrepancias dentro del mantenimiento del orden explotador. Esta posición de fondo es la que une a reaccionarios, revisionistas e imperialistas en general. Mas aún, en el plano Internacional, el imperialismo a través principalmente de las dos superpotencias y de estas la que pretende ser superpotencia hegemónica única, el imperialismo yanqui, en especial, busca sojuzgar pueblos y dominar el mundo pregonando "era de paz mundial", "desarme"; a la vez que incorpora leyes internacionales para justificar el arrasamiento de naciones y pueblos, violando su independencia y autodecisión con crueles matanzas como

la que hizo recientemente contra el pueblo árabe en Irak. Son los Imperialistas, las superpotencias y potencias las que enarbolan el dialogo, cantaleta para acabar procesos armados y conjurar la tendencia principal del mundo a la revolución. Es la Iglesia principalmente Católica, la que en aras de paz avala los planes del imperialismo y difunde sujeción a los explotadores en la tierra y el "cielo" después de la muerte.

Fujimori, desde su campaña electoral señalaba que en materia de pacificación seria simple concertar, pero desde su asunción del mando hasta julio 31, en contradicción con primer ministro, armaba su plan propio y daba largas al Consejo por la Paz, al punto que se reunió con las Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales para ver el CUP y el correspondiente Comando Operativo de Lucha Antisubversiva con el fin de presidir el y analizar la situación de todos los frentes de guerra, reunión a la que asistieron incluso los jefes político-militares de todos los frentes antisubversivos, por el mes de abril. Nuevamente vemos su criterio de soslayar las llamadas organizaciones políticas o sociales y apoyarse en las Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales genocidas. Y la jefatura del CUP, en qué quedo?. El Premier, así las cosas y bajo presión de los partidos políticos, la Iglesia etc. convocó "mesas por la paz" congregando primero 14 partidos políticos, que tomaron acuerdos bastante generales, ya que los debates entrampaban la marcha hacia su pacificación. El 16/IV/91 acordaron "la subversión terrorista tiene como objetivo principal la destrucción del régimen democrático", "la subversión existe no porque haya hambre sino porque hay grupos delicuenciales", "necesidad de estrategia integral cívico-militar, con un comando político para derrotar la subversión con el menor costo posible"; así, la contradicción fundamental es si la "estrategia integral" es en los hechos integral y si la van a manejar los partidos políticos o las Fuerzas Armadas.

En otra reunión, en mayo, los partidos firmaron un documento expresando su voluntad de celebrar acuerdo político para la pacificación nacional; de los 14 partidos no firmaron el PUM ni la IU, sólo 12, a saber: AP, ML, SODE, PPC, Frenatraca, IS, UCI, C.90, FIM, MAS, PC revisionista y PAP. El Premier salió a decir: "Hay coincidencias para perfeccionar y poner en acción el Consejo" y que en siguiente reunión analizarían propuesta que presentaría la IS (Tapia). Esto muestra cuán difícil les es concordar en materia de pacificación y cómo los partidos políticos exigen participación y dirección en tal tarea. Firmar acuerdo fue ridículo cumplimiento formal para presentar supuesto éxito. También en las primeras reuniones, a propuesta de Letts, se invitó a la Iglesia a participar del Consejo. La cuestión es que, entre tiras y aflojas, en julio el gobierno, basado en la atribución

conferida por el parlamento para legislar en materia de pacificación, promulgo la Ley del Consejo por la Paz; parto de los montes que nace en medio de agudas contradicciones internas. Los objetivos del Consejo son presentar al Poder Ejecutivo un Plan Nacional de Pacificación y contribuir a su ejecución; apoyar los esfuerzos nacionales y regionales para fortalecer la conciencia ciudadana sobre los derechos humanos; prestar apoyo al Ministerio Publico en la defensa de los derechos ciudadanos; y, realizar todo tipo de acciones destinadas a lograr la paz en el país. Esta integrado por un representante de todas las organizaciones públicas o privadas de empresarios, profesionales, estudiantes, trabajadores, asociaciones religiosas, etc. La junta directiva está integrada por el presidente del Consejo por la Paz y seis representantes de la Asamblea General elegidos por votación universal; durará 3 años. Según el decreto la instalación la convocan la Iglesia Católica o el presidente del Consejo de Ministros. No es ni organismo estatal ni Comisión de Paz y requiere de "todas las fuerzas vivas para que le den legitimidad", dicen algunos. Y su financiación no sale del presupuesto del Estado sino del apoyo de las entidades que lo conforman y de las "ayudas" extranjeras que gestionen.

Pero al comenzar a marchar qué se revela?, mas contiendas de grupos por hegemonizar; cada partido, institución u organización "popular" tiene intereses propios. La Iglesia Católica no quiere ser usada por nadie, menos por el gobierno para encabezar una cruzada como cobertura de genocidio; juega su propio plan "por encima de las clases", por eso el acuerdo episcopal fue enviar representante pero no encabezar el Consejo y lo convoco "por única y última vez". Sin embargo, en la primera reunión, 12/X/91, tampoco pudieron ponerse de acuerdo y quedo acéfalo, pues no eligieron presidente del Consejo; ante tal impase, la Iglesia Católica acepto convocar nuevamente, sin fijar fecha. Dammert Bellido, el presidente de la Conferencia Episcopal, opinó días antes que seria el último esfuerzo por la pacificación del país; en este jerarca se ven afanes de presidir el Consejo y hegemonizarlo, pero choca con acuerdos de su institución que insiste en no encabezar y marchar por sus propios rieles e intereses.

Otros, sobre el Consejo, dicen "mientras exista esa esquizofrenia antisubversiva por parte del gobierno mediante la cual se encarga la parte práctica del problema al Ministerio de Defensa y se alienta, simultáneamente pero incomunicadamente, iniciativas políticas como éstas...la subversión seguirá avanzando"; "no hay unificación de la lucha antisubversiva"; "todo parece indicar que el gobierno no quiere llegar a ningún resultado positivo"; "mucho temo no sirva para nada";

"quien va a poner de acuerdo 60 miembros de distintos niveles y tipos de instituciones como: colegios profesionales, organismos empresariales, sindicatos, organizaciones campesinas, -partidos políticos y todas las iglesias?"; "largas y estériles discusiones que no conducirán a ninguna parte"; "es maniobra del gobierno para usar las organizaciones populares a su cola".

El decreto ley manda que en l50 días, a partir de su instalación, el Consejo presente el Plan y los comités regionales en 120 días los suyos. Si la primera reunión generó acefalía, la de noviembre, paralelamente a la tracalada de decretos, fue un fracaso, la presidencia recayó en manos de Francisco Diez Canseco, cuestionado por todos y miembro de un partido fantasma. Y así, se constituyó el Consejo como un espantajo que maneja Fujimori a través del secretario de Cambio 90, Reggiardo; siendo sus componentes personajes sin ninguna representación popular.

En el discurso pronunciado por el obispo de Cajamarca y presidente de la Conferencia Episcopal Peruana, Dammert Bellido, al instalar el Consejo por la Paz, encontramos los criterios siguientes: 1 "Justicia y paz, paz eje de la conciliación de clases". Dice: "Á los antiguos y graves problemas económicos y sociales hoy día se ha sumado el flagelo de la violencia política"; plantea no combatir la violencia reaccionaria que ejerce el Viejo Estado como dictadura de clases explotadoras contra los explotadores, y apunta contra la violencia revolucionaria. Añade: "la ausencia de paz significa muerte y destrucción y nuestro pueblo demanda vida, respeto por los derechos humanos y desarrollo integral. Porque...creemos en la democracia y en la convivencia civilizada es que debemos comprometernos con la paz". Predica la paz de los muertos por hambre; en el mundo de hoy las 3/4 partes de la humanidad están sumidas en el hambre por el sistema imperialista: Asia, Africa y América Latina viven en el hambre y el atraso; y en el Perú, por el único sistema dominante mueren anualmente 60,000 niños menores de un año, según datos del 90, cifra que obviamente ha sido mayor por el azote del cólera. Compárese con las cifras de muertos, oficialmente informados, en la guerra entre revolución y contrarrevolución en el país, en 10 años de guerra popular el tercio de los niños menores de un año muertos por el sistema del Estado peruano en un año (esto al margen de que la inmensa mayoría de los muertos en diez años de guerra son producto de la política genocida del gobierno y sus fuerzas represivas). Quien asesina niños en la cuna? Fujimori y el Viejo Estado. Contra la paz de los muertos que predican la iglesia y Dammert, enarbolarnos la paz perdurable del comunismo, el que se construye con las armas de la guerra popular barriendo de la faz de la Tierra todo sistema de opresión y explotación.

Habla de "Destrucción". Quién destruye las fuerzas productivas de una nación en formación como la nuestra?. Quien prohibe al campesinado trabajar la tierra que fue suya por generaciones?, quién lo condena a labrar la tierra con instrumentos desechados por la historia hace cientos de años?. Quién exprime al proletariado hasta chuparle la sangre por un miserable salario?. Quién Impone que de cada 10 trabajadores sólo uno pueda hacerlo adecuadamente?. Quién genera desocupación, alza del costo de vida, pésimas condiciones de trabajo?. Quién engendra la crisis que muele al pueblo y barre la pequeña y mediana propiedad?. Quién dilapida nuestras riquezas por pagos irrisorios depredando el mar, hundiendo el campo, cerrando minas, esquilmando selvas, ahogando ciudades en la miseria?. Quien agobia a la nación con deudas descomunales, sojuzgándonos más? La semifeudalidad, el capitalismo burocrático y el imperialismo; ellos son los destructores, y el Estado peruano que los representa y a sangre y fuego los defiende con la bendición de la Iglesia. El Partido, la guerra popular, el proletariado y las masas son los auténticos constructores de un verdadero mundo nuevo, que en el futuro será un mundo sin propiedad privada sobre los medios de producción, sin clase, sin Estado. El reino de la libertad! Hoy nosotros, el Partido Comunista del Perú, las masas, la guerra popular construimos el Nuevo Poder donde los de abajo, el pueblo, ejerce el Poder y manda en defensa de sus intereses de clase, y bregamos indoblegablemente por la República Popular del Perú.

Que "el pueblo demanda vida" es artera verdad a medias. El pueblo demanda vida sin desigualdades; no quiere simplemente sobrevivir ni vivir como sea y prefiere morir combatiendo que morir por hambre. "Respeto por los derechos humanos"?, otra falsedad; él exige y conquista los derechos del pueblo con su lucha, con su sangre, porque como al proletariado nunca nada le ha sido dado ni le ha caído del cielo; todos sus derechos los conquista y defiende así. Más aun, sus derechos no son nunca iguales a los de sus explotadores capitalistas burocráticos, sino opuestos y distintos porque son dos clases antagónicas. Invoca el llamado "desarrollo integral", así encubre sistema de explotación y opresión. Y tras "convivencia civilizada" esconde conciliación de clases. Esta es, en esencia, la posición de clase del obispo Dammert: defensa del imperialismo, del capitalismo burocrático, de la semifeudalidad, de lo que hoy difunden el imperialismo yanqui y su lacayo Fujimori. Esta en contra del proletariado y el pueblo; quiere la pacificación para preservar el viejo orden, de ahí su consigna falaz de "Paz y Justicia".

2 "La Iglesia debe comandar pero sin ser usada por nadie". Dice: "la Iglesia no puede estar envuelta en la política cotidiana...pero

busca...dar luces...desde la misión que le es propia...anunciando los valores del evangelio que le lego Jesús Maestro de la Paz". Como siempre hipócrita y sinuosa, la Iglesia Católica dice no querer pero quiere comandar; pretende ser la gran luz por encima de todos y bajo el mando de nadie, para actuar mas libremente en función de sus intereses globales dentro de la rebatiña mundial del Poder imperialista.

3 "Aniquilar la guerra popular y servir a las otras dos tareas". Apunta directamente contra nosotros como blanco principal, dice: "imposición de la muerte, chantaje, secuestro, atentado, por parte de los grupos terroristas es uno de los principales obstáculos para lograr la paz. Estos grupos no sólo violan los derechos humanos y las leyes nacionales que los protegen, sino también transgreden el derecho internacional humanitario, las propias leyes internacionales de la guerra que prohiben atacar a la población civil"; "llamar a esos grupos a que depongan las armas, a que se atrevan a tener la valentía de ganar con la razón y por los cauces democráticos y no con la imposición y el terror". "Para lograr sumar a todos los peruanos a la tarea de la paz ellos deben sentir que éste es su Estado, deben sentirse protegidos -y no atacados-por ese Estado"; es todo lo que critica al Viejo Estado.

4 "Mis propuestas". Plantea su plan para imponer sus condiciones: 1) "Campaña de educación para la paz y contra la guerra", con los niños, los jóvenes, la familia; usar a maestros organizaciones sociales, Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales, medios de comunicación social asociaciones de empresarios, de trabajadores, de pobladores, de mujeres, de campesinos. 2) "Promover una política económica que supere la miseria y el hambre", es apoyar en la primera tarea de la reacción: reimpulsar el capitalismo burocrático. 3) Formas de acercar el Estado a la sociedad, es reestructurar el Viejo Estado, tercera tarea. 4) Abrir caminos para el diálogo nacional, escuchar y en especial organizar a la gente sencilla y promover la participación de las organizaciones populares, es parte del plan de movilizar a las masas para que marchen a la cola de la reacción, usarlas para las tres tareas: es traficar con el hambre y hacer que por un mendrugo de pan se vendan, vayan en contra de sus intereses de clase La más siniestra utilización del hambre del pueblo! 5) "El Consejo merece respeto y atención preferentes por todos los poderes del Estado". Y llama a todos los partidos políticos y organismos a que apoyen porque el Estado no tiene dinero para atender las funciones que le competen como tal; que el pueblo mismo aporte con su esfuerzo, con sus miserias, con su hambre y con su sangre a seguir siendo explotado y para que no sea tan notoria la explotación y opresión a que lo someten, para eso

promueven planes de subsistencia Viles deseos de los sostenedores del Viejo Estado!.

Finaliza poniendo el parche, antes de que fracase: "los peruanos ven con esperanza pero también con cierto y fundado escepticismo, pues, son ya varios los intentos frustrados de alcanzar la paz", "camino difícil y exigente". En realidad ve negra la perspectiva del Consejo por la Paz, engendro reaccionario para aniquilar la guerra popular en primer lugar y apartar las masas de su camino real de transformación y cambio, y lo expresa. Pero, posteriormente, la Iglesia ha reiterado su acuerdo, ha cambiado a su representante y reiterado su apoyo al Consejo. Esto no quita nada a sus planteamientos porque guiará su propio plan. (Los subtítulos, son nuestras interpretaciones de sus encabezados).

Sintetizando, no han logrado el contubernio que dijeron seria fácil alcanzar en materia de pacificación, el Consejo por la paz es otro fracasado engendro y Fujimori ha puesto un puntal para controlarlo desde dentro; la perspectiva es agudización de la pugna por quién maneja la pacificación y cada uno tiene su plan propio, especialmente la Iglesia católica, aparte del gobierno.

SITUACIÓN DE FUERZAS ARMADAS Y POLICIALES. LA "REORGANIZACION" DE LA POLICIA NACIONAL DEL PERU.

Para el marxismo esta claramente definido el carácter de clase de las Fuerzas Armadas y el papel que cumplen, son columna vertebral del Viejo Estado y por tanto, tienen el carácter de clase del Estado que sostienen; en la sociedad peruana, las Fuerzas Armadas son reaccionarias y columna vertebral del Viejo Estado terrateniente burocrático, amparan la semifeudalidad, el capitalismo burocrático y el sometimiento al imperialismo principalmente yanqui, pero además, estando en guerra popular cargan responsabilidad fundamental en la guerra contrarrevolucionaria; las Fuerzas Policiales son parte complementaria de la acción de las anteriores y están fuertemente militarizadas para combatirnos habiendo pasado va por dos reorganizaciones durante la guerra popular. El presidente de la República es el mando supremo de las FF.AA. y PP., por tanto responsable político de todas sus acciones.

Las Fuerzas Armadas, según reza la Constitución peruana, cumplen la función de garantizar la independencia, soberanía e integridad territorial de la República, asumen el control del orden interno cuando lo dispone el presidente y no son deliberantes. Las Fuerzas Policiales tienen por finalidad mantener el orden interno, preservar y conservar el orden público, garantizar el cumplimiento de las leyes, la seguridad de las personas y los patrimonios publico y privado, así como prevenir y combatir la delincuencia; y, participan con las Fuerzas Armadas en la Defensa Nacional. Pero, ambas fuerzas represivas se autonominan sobre todo la primera, "fuerzas tutelares" como si la ciudadanía fuese menor de edad o sea incapaz de decidir o actuar; también se autonominan "garantes de la Constitución" colocándose por encima de los poderes de un Estado llamado democrático; hay incluso políticos burgueses que les reconocen este papel. Ultimamente encubren que son Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales tras nombrarse "fuerzas de seguridad" o "fuerzas del orden", sobre todo cuando se refieren a sus acciones genocidas y delicuenciales.

Once años de guerra popular han desenmascarado cabalmente las entrañas reaccionarias y genocidas de las FF.AA. y PP.; y todo el desprestigio que ya antes tenían se ha acrecentado inmensamente en el pueblo, paralelamente a su desenfrenada prepotencia y, mas aún, la impunidad inaudita que gozan en su siniestra acción genocida, en una

muestra mas de esto, un Tribunal Correccional declaró presenta la causa contra el general EP(r) Clemente Noel y miembros de la PNP por la matanza de periodistas en Uchuraccay.

El genocidio, la corrupción y la represión brutal fueron siempre ocultadas por Belaúnde y García, generales bañados en sangre fueron protegidos y sus crímenes premiados por sus instituciones y aunque los eximió la justicia, fueron condenados por el pueblo Algún general ha salido prestigiado por su acción contrarrevolucionaria? Noel, Huamán, Mori, Arciniegas? Ningún Jefe de los frentes político-militares ni generales, ni almirantes, ni capitanes, ni mayores han podido cantar victoria. Y hoy Fujimori, siguiendo el camino de sus antecesores, se refugia mucho más en las botas; carente de Partido recurre a su columna vertebral y les otorga un creciente papel político llegando a llamarlas factor principal del desarrollo y vanguardia en la lucha por la justicia social. Es quien con más descaro las ampara, avala y dota de amplísima carta blanca, haciendo que la Impunidad sea la ley de sus genocidios y corrupciones. Así, dijo en su discurso del día de las Fuerzas Armadas, 23/IX/9l: "El Perú denunciará ante el mundo las atrocidades de los terroristas...las Fuerzas Armadas luchan por la justicia social y la paz"; "los terroristas, sus organismos de fachada o sus tontos útiles no se van a resignar y van a usar todos los recursos posibles para dañar la imagen del Perú aduciendo que las Fuerzas Armadas violan sistemáticamente los derechos humanos pero nosotros los vamos a desenmascarar, nosotros no vamos a caer en su juego. Vamos a pacificar el país de manera disciplinada y respetando los derechos humanos...(el terrorismo) no tendrá una fuerza armada como la que imagina en sus sueños de conquista del poder: manchada con la sangre del pueblo, ciegamente represiva. Esos sueños de la subversión van a quedar en sueños. No les vamos a hacer el juego...; dijo también que con la nueva estrategia están llamadas a ser "la vanguardia de la lucha por el desarrollo y la Justicia social..." En Puquio: "los soldados no solamente entrarán con cuchillos y ametralladoras, sino que ahora lo harán con lampas, carretillas y maquinarias, para construir carreteras al lado de los comuneros, con el fin de traer progreso a los pueblos". En el día de la Marina dijo que las Fuerzas Armadas junto con el pueblo actuarán "en acciones de desarrollo".

Tratemos enseguida algunas opiniones. Del Sector de Defensa. El ministro de Defensa general EP (r) Jorge Torres Aciego, en abril afirmó "el país vive en estado de guerra por culpa del terrorismo", razón por la cual estamos solicitando facultades legislativas al Congreso para adecuar los dispositivos legales en este campo y poder enfrentar con mayor energía la subversión..." Sobre acciones recientes,

"son actos de desesperación", "tratan de intimidarlos con un mayor petardeo" y comparó últimos actos subversivos con "el propósito que buscan los jóvenes al reventar cohetecillos. En mayo: "Hemos detectado la pista de varios cabecillas...en los próximos días vamos a tener buenas noticias". "Ellos, se han dado cuenta que no tienen el respaldo de la población y por eso quieren mantener su presencia en este tipo de atentados terroristas. En junio: "...armas de gran ayuda para la autodefensa...a esas comunidades se las arma y se les deja un nexo de comunicación para que alerten de ataques a algún destacamento cercano del Ejército que pueda acudir inmediatamente en su apoyo. Mientras las fuerzas regulares llegan, las rondas pueden defenderse" . "Entre 10 y 20 escopetas fabricadas por la Marina y el Ejército se darán a comunidades de las zonas de emergencia...escopetas MGP-10 calibre 12 fabricadas por la Marina y Winchester 1,300 Ranger, fabricadas por el Ejército, del mismo calibre". También dijo: "Se están llevando a los niños!... Para evitar estos abusos estos organizando los comités de autodefensa y los estamos adiestrando en el uso de armas para que puedan hacer frente a la subversión"

Sobre Convenio: "No vamos a tomar acción directa en la aplicación del Convenio pero si continuaremos eliminando a los subversivos que se encuentran muchas veces aliados a los narcotraficantes". "Esa misión es estrictamente policial, las fuerzas armadas van a tener una participación muy general y simple: crear las condiciones para que las fuerzas policiales erradiquen al narcotráfico, pero nosotros directamente no vamos a cumplir ninguna acción contra ese delito". "A veces el terrorista se confunde con el narcotraficante y entonces surge lo que llamamos el narcoterrorista...a ese delincuente sí tenemos que eliminarlo".

El 15/VII, comunicado oficial por el cual el gobierno peruano otorga prioritaria importancia a la defensa y promoción de los derechos humanos y brinda apoyo a organismos internacionales de control y a las ONGs inherentes a la dignidad humana como Amnistía Internacional, dice que es inaceptable no denuncien violaciones de los terroristas; y "en el Perú no existen presos de conciencia, "absoluta libertad de expresión". El presidente del CCFFA. general Velarde Ramírez, y jefe de la Fuerza Aérea Peruana en reunión con Amnistía Internacional, anuncia pronta creación de un departamento de derechos humanos en el Comando Conjunto, Y tiempo después en reunión con la coordinadora de derechos humanos, Pilar Coll, recibió la demanda de que se nominara al Alto Comisionado de DD.HH. El mismo general dijo: "Mes muy duro, pero lo es también para los delincuentes terroristas..., no cejaremos hasta aplastarlos...con una

estrategia basada en Inteligencia". "Actos de terrorismo es traición a la patria". Y el 18/VII publican: "la fuerza armada estudia el abecé de los derechos humanos". A los pocos días, en comunicado del Comando Conjunto: "Se pretende imputar a las Fuerzas Armadas como que estarían avalando una supuesta guerra sucia en el país...; (la FF.AA.) seguirá actuando contra los delincuentes terroristas con respeto a las normas legales y constitucionales en defensa del sistema democrático hasta lograr la pacificación del país".

En agosto, el Ministro de Defensa rechaza el Equilibrio Estratégico: "paso propagandístico"..."los hechos muestran que las Fuerzas Armadas tienen el control de la situación": afirmó también, los terroristas no han logrado apropiarse de espacio geográfico y cuando hay combates, el saldo favorece con holgura a las fuerzas del orden, con la excepción obvia de las emboscadas". Días después: "estamos sancionando con todo rigor a los militares que cometen delitos y faltas, sobre todo a los que incurren en excesos...; hemos tenido batallas triunfales a pesar que las fuerzas del orden han sufrido bajas también,...nunca hacemos alarde de las victorias que obtenemos...; resultados no quiere decir que delincuencia subversiva se haya replegado o reducido...tendrán que transcurrir muchos años de persistente lucha..."; "las fuerzas del orden aplican al pie de la letra la nueva estrategia que consiste en una intensa inteligencia y luego actuar con precisión" Dónde están y quienes son los sancionados?; no dice, no sabe.

En octubre, en Santiago de Chile: "el Perú no tiene el propósito de desatar una carrera armamentista en la región", "seria una locura" desviar recursos ahora "en momentos de una crisis económica que sufrimos"; "el terrorismo está en retirada. En este momento el gobierno peruano está tomando severas medidas contra la subversión", "SL prácticamente ha perdido el control que tenía sobre la población".

Recientemente, en diciembre, el comandante general del Ejército dijo: "Compromiso de desterrar para siempre el terrorismo cobarde y traidor y conquistar la tan ansiada paz a que tiene derecho el pueblo peruano...tenemos por norma el respeto irrestricto a los derechos humanos...esto hace la diferencia entre soldados y asesinos...; devolver al pueblo peruano la paz, tranquilidad y justicia...; todos los peruanos con o sin uniforme debemos estar siempre unidos bajo una sola bandera la roja y blanca..." Y yendo contra las normas de la institución castrense de no opinar en política, saludo al presidente por legislación sobre pacificación "ya que ella recoge en toda su amplitud nuestras experiencias vividas en la lucha diaria contra los enemigos de la patria, como el terrorismo homicida y el narcotráfico que están destruyendo las bases mismas de nuestra sociedad" y "permitirá

mantener la tarea de pacificación tan anhelada por todos los peruanos y concretarnos así dentro de un clima de paz y tranquilidad a trabajar por el desarrollo y la grandeza de nuestro querido Perú...de esta manera podremos contribuir a la construcción y rehabilitación de carreteras y puentes que faciliten el desarrollo del país, la construcción de escuelas que lleven educación y cultura".

Opiniones del Sector interior. En primer lugar el Ministerio del Interior está siendo asumido por un general del Ejército, hasta abril fue el general EP Alvarado, después fue el general EP Malca y ahora el general EP, Briónes, lo que es fuente de contradicciones con las Fuerzas Policiales: Policía General, Policía Técnica y Policía de Seguridad. En febrero, las Fuerzas policiales hacen escapar a una dirigente del MRTA y el ministro del Interior dice "no hay motivo para que un ministro renuncie". En marzo, comentaron algunos "Al nuevo ministro del Interior le toca...contribuir al diseño y puesta en marcha de una nueva estrategia antisubversiva en la cual debe incluirse la formación de un Comando Unificado encargado de la pacificación nacional". En mayo, el ministro del Interior dijo: "Estamos ganando la guerra al terrorismo, los peruanos trabajando juntos, con las Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales lograremos vencer al enemigo que ataca sin piedad..."; sobre el paro armado en Lima: "las Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales han estado, están y estarán siempre preparadas para toda acción contrasubversiva"; agregó los subversivos pueden están "infiltrados entre ustedes o nosotros mismos" al salir de la entrega de distintivos a miembros de la Policía General; y, "es muy difícil acabarlos pronto" (entonces era Malca). En junio, muestra a tres presuntos altos mandos dirigentes, califica de "gran éxito de la labor" y oculta la matanza en San Gabriel (zona sur de la capital) . En julio, publican: "el ministro del Interior viajo a España para coordinar ayuda logística y asesoría para lucha antiterrorista y narcotráfico". En agosto, el ministro dijo acerca de los policías ebrios que derribaron y aniquilaron pasajeros de un avión en Bellavista, selva de San Martín: "Un ministro no va a renunciar porque ocurran estas cosas...estamos presentes en el lugar para proceder a las investigaciones". En setiembre. Se empieza a exigir reorganización policial pero el ministro del Interior permanece mudo. Los policías pasan exámenes sicológicos para comprobar su estado síquico, con médicos de su propia institución. A fines, reorganización policial a cargo de una comisión del Senado.

Pasemos a ver ahora las demandas de personal y presupuesto de las Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales. En marzo el ministro de Defensa opinó que se comenzó con un déficit presupuestal mayor del 30% y que de permanecer así el año seria complicado también que préstamo de

quinientos millones de dólares para las FA no se concretó por falta de crédito del Estado.

F. Soberón, director del APRODEH, opino que un tema central para la nueva estrategia era el de las condiciones de operatividad de las fuerzas de seguridad. El contingente militar esta replegado y su equipamiento muy por debajo del mínimo recomendable; que el 80% del equipo del Ejército que podría usarse en la guerra contrasubversiva estaba parado. Dijo que el Ejército Peruano tenía 30,000 hombres destinados a la guerra contrasubversiva (en total son 80 mil hombres en el Ejército, 23 mil en la Marina y 15 mil en la FAP, total 118 mil). Sin embargo otras fuentes dijeron que buena parte de esos treinta mil estaban estacionados en los cuarteles de las zonas de emergencia en distintas labores. Revela, pues, que el Ejército teme salir a combatirnos. Algunos dicen que efectivos en lucha contrasubversiva serían 15 mil hombres entre Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales comprometidos activamente. Si fuese así, constatamos que sus FA y PP serían insuficientes ya que la relación entre ellos y nosotros, que ya no somos bisoños, es bajísima; algunos teóricos militares consideran que se necesitaría una proporción de 20 a 1. Soberón concluye: "los perdidos años 80 obligan a ganar la paz en esta nueva década"

G. Romero del PPC afirma que no existe ningún presupuesto para la pacificación del país y que se necesitaría buscar ayuda internacional, pero no para acciones militares sino para educación, salud, trabajo, porque la paz, según sus ideas, no se va a conseguir disparando. Esto significa que les falta dinero y las "ayudas" las quieren invertir en acciones "no militares". H de Soto dijo que en la zona cocalera habían 17 mil hombres de las Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales y "posiblemente tanta gente de EE.UU. como la que hay en Bolivia... en ese caso la militarización en el Perú es un hecho..."

E. Obando de la Universidad Católica opina que ninguna guerra en la historia ha sido liberal, que toda guerra es keynesiana; que no se financia por la oferta y la demanda sino por movilización y requiere la intervención del Estado en la economía para obtener los fondos necesarios para librarla, se refería al debate que se produjo y generó entredichos entre el ministro de Economía Y el General Torres Aciego, ex-ministro de Defensa.

El presidente de la Comisión de Defensa Nacional, diputado de Cambio 90, también opinó que faltaban recursos para echar andar la estrategia antisubversiva y expresó que estaban viendo el aumento remunerativo de las FA y FF.PP., pero que "su moral se mantenía

inalterable"; el mismo cinismo de su jefe.

Según el diputado Ghilardi del PAP, un general de las FA ganaba 120 dólares mensuales; un capitán con 10 años de servicios l/m 69 mil, suponiendo que el dólar estuviera en 8 mil intis millón serían más o menos 80 dólares. Dijo que la capacidad de fuego de la fuerza armada era de 30% este año 91, mientras en el 80 fue de 80%, de 18 helicópteros para la lucha contrasubversiva solamente tres funcionan; que el presupuesto de las FA en general antes implicaba más del 30% del presupuesto nacional, pero el 91 bajó a 11% y de este presupuesto, el de la lucha contrasubversiva era de 235 billones de intis millón, pero fue recortado en 75% y que en abril y mayo no hubo presupuesto para esos gastos.

En julio 91, el propio ministro de Defensa, general EP (r) J. Torres Aciego, dijo: "los 75 millones de dólares otorgados al sector para la lucha antisubversiva son insuficientes" y no descartó la posibilidad de que aparte del dinero proveniente del fondo de emergencia y del presupuesto, se recurra al endeudamiento con el fin de acabar con los delincuentes subversivos". En setiembre, la presión para aumentar el presupuesto de las FA y FF.PP. aumentó, las contradicciones con el ministro de Economía crecieron y se difundió en las revistas locales un cuadro comparativo de lo que ganaban éstas, los parlamentarios y los miembros de Justicia. "OIGA", por ejemplo publico: "FA. General de División, Vice-Almirante y Teniente General S/. 165.75. Teniente General, Capitán de Fragata y Comandante S?. 104.42. Sub-Teniente, Alférez de Fragata y Alférez S/. 48.06: y Sub-Oficiales de tercera S/ RG 46.

Verdaderos o falsos, todos los datos demuestran coincidencia en cuanto a la falta de hombres y recursos, requieren aumentar presupuesto, especificar un presupuesto de guerra interna y sobre todo aumentar sueldos y beneficios a los implicados directamente en la lucha sobrevivientes, heridos, viudas, etc.. Recordemos también que las demandas de aumento de sueldos de los policías llevaron a movilizaciones agresivas de sus esposas y de los retirados; llegando a vocearse un nuevo paro policial. Hemos planteado que, como parte de la política de desintegración de las FF.AA. y PP debemos apuntar a diferenciar los golpes, no apuntar a subalternos; pero también debemos impulsar el trabajo de infiltración para desarrollar la organización de los policías. Organizarse es un derecho de los soldados y policías para luchar por sus reivindicaciones, así como por derechos sociales y políticos.

Un ejemplo del descontento creciente existente entre las fuerzas

represivas se vio cuando Fujimori viajo a la base de Santa Lucia en el Huallaga; el jefe policial le presentó sus quejas, falta de éxitos, rancho, vestimentas, pertrechos, hombres, y denunció los abusos y prepotencia del personal yanqui de la DEA; remarcando que las propinas del gobierno norteamericano no les alcanzaba ni para una buena comida.

Hasta aquí hemos querido demostrar la falta de hombres y de recursos para combatirnos; ésa es una ley dentro de la cual se van a mover porque su guerra es injusta, es contrarrevolucionaria y solamente podrán acudir a formar carne de cañón y yanahumas, teniendo que recurrir necesariamente a la participación más directa del imperialismo yanqui o de sus aliados.

Pero, si es mala su situación económica, las condiciones políticas de su acción son ultrarreaccionarias; pese a la palabrería demagógica de Fujimori, las Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales del Estado Peruano, no sólo mantienen su política genocida sino que la han desarrollado dentro de la concepción yanqui de la guerra de baja intensidad. Los abyectos genocidios de Barrios Altos, San Gabriel, y La Perla son prueba irrefutable, en la propia capital de la República, que millones de atónitos testigos han visto y nadie olvidará jamas; no se necesita mas demostración, sólo preguntarse Cómo será en el campo?! Que esta política guía, oficialmente, a las Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales, lo sabemos por propia declaración del general Guillermo Monzón Arrunátegui ante la Comisión Investigadora del Congreso sobre los sucesos de los penales (genocidio de las Luminosas Trincheras de Combate) del 3 de setiembre de 1987 entonces Comandante general del Ejército Política genocida desarrollada por el gobierno de Fujimori conforme aparece en el documento del Comando Conjunto de las Fuerzas Armadas que el periodista C. Hildebrandt denunciara en la televisión peruana. Política contrasubversiva genocida que empapa en sangre todo el país y que el gobierno y las Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales pretenden vanamente ocultar y minimizar hasta su desaparición, tras admitir a regañadientes la existencia de "algunos excesos" que nunca castigan, menos hoy con el gobierno del genocida vendepatria Fujimori. Y esto a mas de la política económica y social a la que sirven y defienden las Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales contrarrevolucionarias.

En cuanto a las condiciones morales hoy son peores que ayer, las deserciones se multiplican entre los soldados, mientras las peticiones de baja de los oficiales crecieron tanto que tuvieron que suspenderlas. Y en tanto la corrupción campea, la tropa soporta necesidades y sufre prepotencia y humillaciones cotidianas, obligados incluso a saquear la pobreza de las masas para alimentarse. Todo lo que corroe cada día

más la moral de las fuerzas represivas, llámese armadas o policiales; así los actos de cobardía se acrecientan y la indisciplina se difunde: los soldados desobedecen a sus oficiales, los amenazan de muerte o simplemente se asesinan entre ellos aparentando supuestos combates con el EGP. Los militares están fuertemente comprometidos con el narcotráfico y son ellos quienes facilitan las operaciones dentro y fuera del país, recibiendo ingentes sumas de las más grandes "firmas" de la mafia; son quienes proveen de seguridad al despegue y aterrizaje de las avionetas colombianas del narcotráfico.

Pero su problema principal es que la moral de las Fuerzas armadas y Policiales se sustenta en una ideología reaccionaria, la ideología burguesa de base feudal del Estado peruano que sirve al imperialismo, al capitalismo burocrático y a la semifeudalidad; ésa es la raíz misma e insuperable de su crisis moral. Y frente a la cual oponemos victoriosamente nuestra moral de clase , la moral popular guiada por el marxismo-leninismo-maoísmo, pensamiento gonzalo, solida e incorruptible base que forja legiones de hierro del proletariado.

Así, todo demuestra que las FA y PP marchan a su descomposición por su carácter de clase y las condiciones de la guerra contrarrevolucionaria, injusta que libran. Las campañas por desintegrar las tropas enemigas contribuyen a generalizar su descomposición y coadyuvan a su aniquilamiento total. Las consignas "Soldado por qué matas a tu pueblo?!", "Deserta con tu fusil y únete a la guerrilla!", "Aniquila a los oficiales genocidas!" y "Policía: no seas carne de cañón de los cachacos!" siguen siendo validas.

Pasemos revista a algunos hechos genocidas, de represión y corrupción impunes de las FA y PP durante el gobierno del reptante Fujimori. Ya desde marzo 91 se denunció que "excesos" de las FA y PP podían devenir sistemáticos; se estaba reflejando la continuación de la política genocida de Fujimori y la impunidad promovida por este.

a) Fosas comunes. Aparición de 3 fosas comunes en Ayacucho: agosto 90 Iquicha, 30 campesinos; setiembre 90 Chilcahuaycco, 20 campesinos; y octubre 90 Challwapampa, 30 campesinos, entre ellos dos embarazadas, (Iquicha en Huanta, Chilcahuaysco y Challwapampa, en Huamanga). De estas difundieron que se trataba de un cementerio senderista, también los diarios dijeron que eran cadáveres pre-incas. Genocidio fujimorista perpetrado por el jefe del Comando político-militar del Frente No 5 de Huamanga, general Fernández Dávila Carnero; dirige todas las bases contrasubversivas de esta zona, entre ellas la base militar de Castropampa de donde enviaron a cometer estas atrocidades; en tres meses sucesivos 80

asesinados en tres fosas.

b) Violaciones, saqueos, incendios En el cuartel de Castropampa, ya desde abril y mayo 90, preparando las elecciones, el genocida comandante EP Hurtado Robles apresaba campesinas, torturándolas y violándolas con fierros para obligarlas a delatar a los Comisarios, presionándolas para que formaran "rondas"; asimismo ponía bayonetas al cuello de sus niños, amenazando con degollarlos si no delataban. En el departamento de Apurímac: en Mamaru, Totora, Anco, Turpay y Huaruchaca, provincia de Grau, saquearon y violaron, además quemaron casas en Anco, mientras en Mamaru, violaron a todas las niñas del colegio y campesinas jóvenes, muriendo diez colegialas a consecuencia de la violación. En Chalhuanca el EP, a raíz del enfrentamiento con el EGP en agosto, incursionó en la Base de Apoyo y al no encontrar a nadie arrasaron 30 vacas, 12 alpacas, más de 80 aves y cargaron con las pertenencias de las masas en 30 burros. Pero además de las violaciones e incendios, en Antabamba el Ejército obligo a los campesinos, bajo pena de fusilamiento y a la capital provincial para formar rondas. El Ejército en Ocobamba y Andahuaylas política de garrote y zanahoria: matanza y acción cívica "ayudando" con donaciones de alimentos. Los policías de Huancaray y Tanquihua obligaron con sus armas a que las masas concurrieran los domingos al izamiento de la bandera y gritaran: "Queremos paz!" "Estamos contra la violencia, queremos trabajar y vivir tranquilos!". El Ejército de Chaviña autorizó a supuestos civiles campesinos a moralizar a las masas dándoles latigazos por "mal comportamiento" y sellarles en los brazos "Despierta pueblo!", en quechua, en toda la ruta desde Sancos. provincia de Lucanas, departamento de Ayacucho hasta Jaque.

c) Torturas. Entre junio y noviembre del 90, arrojaron 11 cadáveres torturados por la Marina de Guerra desde helicópteros en pantano, a 30 Kms. de Pucallpa. Continuos bombardeos y ametrallamientos desde helicópteros artillados pertenecientes a la FAP contra la población, p. e. en Vista Alegre, rió Inuya, afluente del rió Urubamba, en noviembre 90. La saña de la Marina es conocida en la región por sus capturas, torturas, violaciones y desapariciones; se ceba en la juventud, el campesinado y los profesionales; incursiona en los pueblos jóvenes y entierra cientos de cadáveres torturados para no dejar huella. En la comisaría de Santo Tomas, Chumbivilcas, Cuzco, entierran presos torturados; fácilmente se puede cavar y encontrar sus cadáveres, el 26/IX/90 se encontró los cadáveres de 2 detenidos días antes en esa comisaría con huellas de torturas. En agosto y setiembre del 90, en Mamaru, Totora, Anco, Turpay y Huaruchaca, provincia de Grau del departamento de Apurímac, el Ejército torturó bárbaramente a las

masas por haber formado Comités Populares: cortaron la lengua a los comisarios, les sacaron los ojos y los ahogaron hundiéndolos en el agua, mientras les gritaban "Habla, dónde están las armas, granadas, afiches!"

ch) Desapariciones. En Lima, capital del Perú, en Villa Salvador, del Cono Sur en la cajuela de un carro patrullero introdujeron al estudiante universitario Castillo Páez y desapareció, en octubre del 90, el caso ha sido entrampado por Fujimori a través de la Corte Suprema de Justicia; y motivó el atentado al Dr. Zuñiga, representante legal de los padres del desaparecido. En el departamento de Ayacucho, en marzo 91, por no querer integrar las llamadas "rondas" o "Comités de Defensa Civil" han sido detenidas y desaparecidas tres autoridades: alcalde, secretario del Consejo y teniente gobernador y, también, un comerciante de Chuschi, Víctor Fajardo; y en la misma provincia en abril 91 una patrulla del EP detiene y desaparece a 7 candidatos de la IU; y en la provincia de Puquio, en la base militar desaparecieron 6 apresados después de torturarlos, sólo 1 escapo vivo, agosto 91, Y en el distrito de Cahuaco y anexos, de la provincia de Caravelí del departamento de Arequipa, el Ejército, como respuesta a incursión y acciones respondió, desapareciendo 15 campesinos pobres. En setiembre 91, en el fundo Bocanegra de la capital, desaparecen a 2 miembros de las masas. En el departamento de Junín cientos de estos casos llegaron a ocupar los primeros lugares en desapariciones; así la desaparición del dirigente de AP de Iscos, más 2 estudiantes de la Universidad Nacional del Centro, cuyos cadáveres aparecieron "muertos por asfixia" y con huellas de tortura; los casos denunciados por la fiscalía fueron mas de 500. En los departamentos de San Martín, Huánuco y Huacayali (en este hasta octubre 91 se denunciaron 300 desaparecidos), especialmente las ciudades de Pucallpa y Tarapoto, localidades de Chiclayo y Picota, los distritos de Morales, Soritor y Naranjillo son cotidianamente estremecidos por las desapariciones. Pero el departamento que sigue ocupando el primer lugar en estas acciones genocidas es Ayacucho, donde hasta la simple denuncia es motivo de sospecha, amenaza, desaparición y muerte; ocurre, además, que por los miles de campesinos pobres torturados y desaparecidos no se sientan denuncias porque no tienen documentos ni medios para hacerlo y, por lo general se les impide denunciar, manteniéndose estos hechos en el anonimato pero hirviendo de odio de clase en las heroicas masas que combaten por un Nuevo Estado: la República Popular del Perú. Sin embargo, todo este rubro del genocidio se reduce, pese a lo que públicamente se ha denunciado en el Perú, a solo 179 desaparecidos y 58 ejecuciones extrajudiciales, desde el comienzo del gobierno de Fujimori, según Amnistía Internacional

oficialmente denunciados, y solamente cuatro casos pendientes de investigación: fosas de Chillcahuaycco, Ayacucho; estudiante Castillo Páez; jóvenes de La Perla y campesinos de Santa Bárbara, Huancavelica.

d) Correrías. En abril del 90 durante diez días los militares disfrazados de civiles y haciéndose pasar por compañeros llegan a Qochapata, pequeña estancia del distrito de Totora Oropesa, provincia de Antabamba, departamento de Apurímac, apresaron a 2 hombres a sus esposas y sus 2 hijos; a 20 Kms. de allí en Huachullo apresaron a 7 evangelistas. De ahí fueron a Puchungo en Chumbivilcas, Cusco y apresaron a la familia Apfata Binga, 3 hermanos, la esposa de uno y el hijo de ambos, mas la compañera de otro, total 6 campesinos, los desnudaron y los sometieron a torturas. Apresaron 2 mas y a los días aparecieron sus cadáveres con huellas de torturas uno y el otro molido a golpes También en las inmediaciones de la comunidad de Collama, distrito de Quiñota. Rumbo a Chuchumke los soldados apresaron a 5 hermanos en una celebración, 2 ancianos, los amarraron de pies y manos, los patearon y a culatazos los ahogaban sin matarlos en el rió, los encerraron desnudos en un cuarto y violaron a las mujeres. Igualmente hicieron con 7 campesinos de Ccasahui. A un anciano de los prisioneros lo envenenaron y murió, a 16 presos los llevaron al cerro Ccapallullo y los volaron con dinamita.

e) Asesinatos. En la zona de emergencia No 5, las FF.AA. y PP cometieron genocidio presionando a las masas para formar mesnadas con el nombre de "rondas", por orden del miserable general Fernández Dávila y su lugarteniente el comandante Ocampo. En Yahuarmachay, Ayahuanco, Ayacucho, asesinaron 35 campesinos entre ellos 15 niños y 6 ancianos, el 16-V-90; en Chaynabamba. Huancavelica, mataron a 12 personas, también en mayo-90; en Ramadilla, Llochegua, Ayacucho, asesinaron a 10 campesinos, en agosto-90; en Somabeni, río Ene, Junín mataron a 9, también en agosto 90. Por la misma fecha se perpetraron asesinatos masivos que demuestran genocidio electorero de masas y combatientes en el departamento de Ayacucho Acocro, Quinua, de la provincia de Huamanga y otros de Huanta; en el departamento de Huancavelica en Chincho, Huanchuy, Uralla, Michca, Villoc. En Tocache, matanza de 9 miembros de familia Tuanama Tapuyina, denunciada por el diputado AP Geno Ruiz; el Ejército pretendió imputar al PCP. En Santa Barbara, Huancavelica, matanza de 14 campesinos, cuyos cadáveres con huellas de tortura y violación ocultaron; primero se imputa el hecho oficialmente al PCP, como es la norma incluso con pronunciamiento de los jefes militares, para después, ante la venida al Perú de la Comisión de DD.HH. de la OEA, publicar los "excesos" de un oficial y cinco soldados del Ejército

y pasar el juicio al fuero militar. En Chillutira, Puno, brutal crimen de 3 campesinos incorporados al EGP cometido por el Ejército, habiéndose, también tratado de imputar el hecho al PCP, en este caso como responsable por "haberlos reclutado a la fuerza". En el penal Castro Castro, Canto Grande, Lima, asesinato de 4 prisioneros de guerra en operativo de FF.AA. y PP para despintar consignas políticas, desenmascarando una vez más su "acción cívica". En Lima matanza de 10 jóvenes, 7 de ellos en San Gabriel zona Sur de Lima, asentamiento humano donde las masas homenajeaban a los héroes caídos en el genocidio del 19/VI/86, con puño en alto, banderolas rojas y entonando himnos; fueron baleados y luego rematados en operativo conjunto del Ejercito y la Policía, usando carros y helicópteros. Existe entonces libertad de expresión, si el simple hecho de recordar a parientes o amigos revolucionarios es motivo de matanza? Estos asesinatos empero, fueron exaltados por la prensa reaccionaria calificando los justos homenajes de "parafernalia senderista" y la acción genocida de "gran triunfo" o "7 caen en batalla", justificando la vil matanza de humildes jóvenes desarmados; como siempre, la Iglesia Católica guardó silencio protegiendo el crimen de sus socios explotadores. Pero este cacareado supuesto éxito les reventó en la cara cuando 3 días después del 19 de junio, al continuarse la celebración del V Aniversario del Día de la Heroicidad, en La Perla, Callao, la Policía asesinó a dos menores de 15 y 17 años y a otro joven de 27 quienes simplemente transitaban por las calles donde ni siquiera hubo acción armada alguna creyéndolos sospechosos de terrorismo, como suelen hacer todos los días apresarlos en plena luz del día se los llevaron en dos patrulleros, en el trayecto recibieron la orden de matarlos y expeditivamente lo hicieron. Y de inmediato fabricaron su "éxito en la lucha contra el terrorismo", montaron su sangrienta y cotidiana farsa: les pusieron un arma, folleteria del Partido y el periódico El Diario y pretendieron pregonar que eran subversivos; pero a los pocos días presionado por las evidencias y la condena popular, el gobierno tuvo que sindicar a los autores, de ellos el sargento Francisco Antezano, el sub-oficial José Infantes, el sargento Guillermo Cornejo Zapata y el sub-oficial Angel Vasquez Chumo están detenidos, pero Infantes amenazado de muerte por haber denunciado a los jefes que ordenaron; éstos están solamente con orden de comparecencia, internados en el Hospital de Policía: el capitán Bazán Llapa, el mayor Quiroz Chávez y el capitán Odar Inchaustegui Jiménez. Una muestra más de la impunidad que Fujimori propicia para sus Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales. En invasión de terreno de Ate-Vitarte en Lima, destaquemos otro tipo de asesinato muy común: policías ebrios asesinaron a 4 pobladores por invadir terrenos, el 1o de enero del 91.

Parte de esta política genocida que Fujimori prosigue y desarrolla es la aparición de nuevos grupos paramilitares que perpetra salvajes asesinatos individuales como el del periodista Ortega Morales en Ayacucho; o el de la periodista Melissa Alfaro del semanario Cambio, volada por "sobrebomba", en Lima. O los crímenes masivos como el de la familia García en Ayacucho, el 24/IX en el asentamiento humano Villa Santa Rosa, asesinaron al albañil García Marsilla y a su esposa, cuyos cadáveres "fueron hallados detrás de la puerta de calamina, en la que se aprecia 13 impactos de bala calibre 9 mm., se supone que se acercaron a la puerta al oír el ruido de los que intentaban ingresar a su domicilio"; en los dormitorios fueron asesinados sus hijos Gladys de 17, Gregorio de 8 y Beatriz de sólo 2 y medio, también el primo del dueño de casa M. García C. y 2 visitantes de apellido Huamani (17) y Rodríguez H. (18) . Y la horrenda matanza de Barrios Altos, 16 personas, 1 niño de 9 años entre ellos, todos ellos trabajadores, principalmente heladeros ambulantes provincianos, cocidos por decenas de balazos en una vieja casona y en medio mismo de varias instituciones policiales; genocidio sobre la cual las fuerzas represivas, apoyadas por la prensa reaccionaria, han tejido una siniestra desinformación, pretendiendo incluso, cuándo no?, imputar al Partido, para encubrir como hasta hoy lo hacen a quien ordenó y a quienes lo ejecutaron, en la propia Lima y en medio de la fanfarria del "respeto a los derechos humanos"!

Pero, el crimen impune de genocidio se sigue cometiendo en las campañas de cerco y aniquilamiento; desde el inicio de la guerra popular lo vienen aplicando, así en los años 83 y 84, principalmente en Ayacucho; o en el 90 y 91 en la región del Centro, en especial donde asesinaron a más de 1,000 personas; o en los operativos del año 90, en las elecciones generales, golpeando a las masas con su acostumbrada política genocida de robar todo, quemar todo y matar a todos, o en la aplicación de sus planes organizar rondas campesinas desatando el terror blanco para aherrojar a las masas a sangre y fuego.

Campañas de contrapropaganda negra y estratagemas asesinas son aplicadas por las Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales en diversas partes del país y tienen la misma "marca de fábrica" reaccionaria apuntando a desprestigiar el Partido y alejar a las masas, montan siniestros planes que presentan propagandizándolos como maquiavelismo o monstruosidad terrorista. Así, el 91, en abril, en el barrio de San Sebastián, Cusco, 2 niños mueren por explosión de granadas de guerra; en mayo, en alrededores del cuartel San Martín, Lima, las Fuerzas Armadas "no limpiaron bien" los restos de coche-bomba del MRTA y una explosión mata al día siguiente a un futbolista publicando "nuevo blanco del terror"; en julio el Fiscal Méndez Jurado

en coro con el ministro del Defensa dijo: "Terroristas han secuestrado 260 niños entre 15 y 19 años por la fuerza"; en agosto, "granada de guerra explosiona en mercado de Ayacucho cuando paro armado y muere una mujer quedando 33 heridos". En setiembre, Expreso vincula cuerpos descuartizados aparecidos en la capital al PCP. Esta monstruosa campaña difamatoria, en octubre, fabrico una estratagema asesina contra el niño Jorge Mayta Sucso, de nueve años, lo sacrifico para montar la infamia de que el Partido lo había utilizado, en Lima, para probar si torre de alta tensión estaba minada; precisamente cuando estaba por llegar la Comisión completa de Derechos Humanos de la OEA para investigar los genocidios de Fujimori, y con inaudito cinismo lo declaran mártir de la subversión. Previamente armaron un fétido melodrama sobre supuesta salvación por un oficial de la policía, después de haber inducido a la criatura a entrar a la torre minada por ellos, a pocos metros de una escuela de primaria; y en el colmo de la barbarie para impedir que el niño hablara dejaron que muriera por desangramiento. Estos son los métodos yanquis que aplican en el Perú de Fujimori al más puro estilo imperialista. Patrañas sangrientas a las que se suman alegremente El Peruano del gobierno y el Expreso de Ulloa, entre otros formadores de la llamada opinión publica.

Si a todos estos hechos, parte de la estrategia de la guerra contrasubversiva, le sumamos la multitud de actos delictivos que cometen militares y policías como resultado de la impunidad y carta blanca que les otorgan no se terminaría nunca de describirlos; baste agregar la corrupción de los militares en las zonas cocaleras en colusión con los grandes narcotraficantes; o el asesinato de la niña de 12 años en La Molina, distrito urbano de Lima; o el del comerciante de Monzón, o el del ganadero extorsionado y torturado en la PIP de Trujillo; o los asaltos en las carreteras Panamericana Norte y Sur, para no redundar con los cotidianos en la Sierra; sin olvidar el inconcebible baleamiento y derribo del avión de pasajeros de la provincia de Bellavista, departamento de San Martín, causando la muerte de todos sus ocupantes; y el fraude descubierto en el ingreso a la Escuela de Comando y Asesoramiento Policial, sin que por ello haya ni siquiera renunciado ninguna autoridad.

Ante tanta impunidad y corrupción y la presión imperialista de retener la "ayuda", las Fuerzas Policiales tuvieron que pasar "exámenes sicológicos" y, junto con las Fuerzas Armadas, se pusieron a estudiar los derechos humanos, como si esa fuera la solución. Hasta que las Fuerzas Policiales entraron en reorganización.

Esta reorganización policial es la tercera en once años de guerra popular. Pero que oculta la medida? los actos delictivos han rebasado

el limite; las presiones del imperialismo yanqui para aplicar su guerra de baja intensidad crecen y, utilizan el consabido método de golpear al punto más débil para eximir a los principales genocidas que son las Fuerzas Armadas. El evidente malestar de la Policía lo ha hecho publico, su director, el general Adolfo Cuba y Escobedo, dijo: "más no se puede pedir salvo, caramba que surja una nueva ley donde a la gente se le degrade. Y si hay otra más, que los fusilen", después de cuestionar que se haya dado de baja públicamente a oficiales y subalternos.

Finalmente, la situación de las FF.AA. y PP es otra fuente mas de contradicciones en el seno de la reacción. Pero, el malestar no queda ahí, se extiende a las facciones de la gran burguesía que no están de acuerdo con el mayor poder que Fujimori da a las Fuerzas Armadas y exigen una estrategia integral de la guerra contrasubversiva. Demandan que Fujimori coordine con los partidos, discrepan de que los militares asuman lo militar y no militar y de que planifique y decidan por su cuenta; insisten en Comando Unificado dirigido por un civil o un militar retirado dedicado al problema a tiempo completo; están, pues, en contra de que se constituya un comando único sólo militar que a la larga acabaría asumiendo los aspectos político, económico y social, y chocaría más cada vez con sus sistema democrático, Lo real es que con este nuevo gobierno la tendencia a la centralización absoluta para manejar la guerra contrasubversiva con un creciente criterio militarista es cada día mayor. La declaración demagógica sobre respeto a los derechos humanos y la carta blanca a la impunidad serán mayores, aunque más barnizado sea el genocidio y la represión generalizada, socavando así más aún el orden demoburgués y desarrollando la galopante reaccionarización del Estado peruano. La llamada "humanizacíon" de la guerra contrasubversiva les volverá a reventar en la cara bañándolos en sangre de la cabeza a los pies, a Fujimori y sus autoridades militares, policiales y civiles.

Resumiendo, para ver la situación de las FA y PP hemos partido primero de su carácter de clase contrarrevolucionario cuya esencia es el genocidio y la corrupción, y como el gobierno de Fujimori es el que con mas descaro las avala y dota de mayor poder político. Segundo, algunas opiniones de los ministros de Defensa y del Interior y del presidente del CCFFAA para demostrar su incapacidad política y militar. Tercero, las condiciones políticas económicas y militares en que nos combaten, las que revelan su inferioridad, falta de hombres y medios. Cuarto, algunos actos genocidas y campañas negras. Quinto, la reorganización policial. Y, sexto, cómo la situación de las FA y PP y la estrategia de la guerra contra subversiva es otra fuente de

contradicciones en el seno de la reacción.

Todo lleva a concluir que las Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales son contrarrevolucionarias, genocidas, corruptas y negadoras de los propios héroes por ellos invocados; el Ejercito reaccionario es deshonra de Bolognesi, la negra y siniestra Marina de Guerra es deshonra de su patrono Grau y la Aviación es deshonra de Quiñones. El pueblo es testigo de esta realidad y jamas se podrá borrar la sangre de los miles de héroes que caen con feroz resistencia en esta gloriosa y creciente guerra popular; como el más contundente ejemplo esta el genocidio perpetrado el 18/VI/86 cuando en un sólo día asesinaron con barbarie desenfrenada a 250 prisioneros de guerra, quienes siguen arrancando victorias mas allá de la muerte como en el V Aniversario del DÍA DE LA HEROICIDAD. Los negros sueños de hiena embravecida de las Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales genocidas no han podido ni siquiera sofrenar la guerra popular, y día a día son derrotadas por el victorioso Ejército Guerrillero Popular, ejército de nuevo tipo que ha surgido de lo hondo y profundo de las masas campesinas principalmente pobres del país, EGP que, dirigido por el Partido Comunista del Perú y armado con su invencible ideología arranca armas a los genocidas, incorporan nuevos valerosos combatientes y construyen el nuevo Poder; en fieros combates de aniquilamiento contra las Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales genocidas arranca victorias que marcan hitos históricos en la lucha popular. Nunca antes hubo un Ejercito así en la historia peruana; ni las huestes campesinas de Túpac Amaru, ni las guerrillas campesinas que dieron gloria a Cáceres tuvieron la calidad y la heroicidad del Ejercito Guerrillero Popular, porque éste es un ejército de nuevo tipo, de clase, dirigido por el Partido Comunista. Desde hace once años dos ejércitos se enfrentan en el Perú, el Viejo Ejército y el Nuevo el Ejército Guerrillero Popular que está derrotando a aquel, el Viejo Ejercito que no ha podido; ni podrá aplacar y menos aun aniquilar la guerra popular y que hoy, mas que ayer, recurre a usar masas campesinas como carne de cañón, como ejército complementario mientras clama desesperado la "ayuda" de sus amos del ejército imperialista yanqui. Qué mejor prueba de la superioridad de clase, ideológica, política y militar?

b) CAMPAÑAS, PLANES Y ACCIONES.

CAMPAÑAS, OPERATIVOS Y ACCIONES. HUALLAGA, CENTRO, AYACUCHO. V ANIVERSARIO. REQUISAS. Una simple enumeración nos puede dar una idea de las tácticas que han estado empleando durante esta campaña y que se desprenden de la llamada "nueva

estrategia".

En febrero. El 23, ataque a base de ronderos de Ccano; 26 muertos y 17 heridos en enfrentamiento; de ahí salió un destacamento de ronderos a comunicar a la base contrasubversiva militar de Tambo, a 40 kilómetros y con efectivos militares armaron una patrulla mixta de persecución, a la vez que se comunicaba al Comando político-militar de Huamanga. Salieron tres patrullas: una de Huanta, otra de Tambo y la tercera de Machente hacia Razuhuinca en operación rastrillo; aniquilaron 5 guerrilleros pero éstos les emboscaron y causaron 6 bajas: un teniente, un sargento y cuatro soldados del EP. Los militares habían declarado que creían pacificada la zona y que por eso retiraron su base militar de Ccano. Los campesinos remarcan que el Partido sigue actuando en Pulpería, Sello de Oro, Jepeccra, Iquicha y Uchuraccay. Dan cuenta de un reciente ataque a Ccarhuaurán causando bajas de 17 ronderos. Como epílogo de estas acciones dice el Ejercito que los guerrilleros están subiendo del Ene a reforzar las columnas desarticuladas de Ayacucho para incrementar sus ataques.

Después de un paro de 7 días en el mes de enero, convocado por el "Frente de Defensa del pueblo de Ayacucho", el mes de febrero se torna tanto o más activo en Ayacucho. Las revistas en Lima divulgaban "La receta de Petronio": el general EP Petronio Fernández Dávila aplico la suspensión del toque de queda en Ayacucho desde enero 90 y en julio, levantó el estado de emergencia de la ciudad de Huamanga. Diseño la estrategia a aplicarse basada en inteligencia acción cívica y operaciones sicológicas así como el combate directo. Como primera acción sicológica hizo sentir ambiente de normalidad, lo combinó con acción cívica: llevó un tractor del ministerio de Transportes y lo regalo al barrio rojo 'El Carmen', propuso a las juntas de vecinos, organizarse y cumplieron algunas obras. Después, reclutó 400 hijos de ronderos y los llevó al cuartel 'Los cabitos' para entrenarlos e invito a los padres ronderos a que pasen 8 días confirmando el aprendizaje; les enseñaban el concepto de Patria, solidaridad humana, futuro del Perú, como acciones de civismo y sobre todo adiestramiento militar ofensivo; los devolvieron a sus zonas de origen y se organizaron rondas en cada una de sus comunidades, a cada ronda la dotaron de mando local, ya no de toda la región y también fabricaron armas de retrocarga para armarse. En la UNSCH, coordinó con los jefes de programas universitarios para debatir sobre la situación de la subversión en la universidad acordando que siendo Sendero una minoría no había que dejarse dominar y debían expulsarlos. Con la ONA pacto para proporcionar alimentos. Planteaba el general que con este programa ganaría a la población y SL se encontraría entre dos fuegos, que se provocarían deserciones y que las

capturas serían más fáciles; capturaron algunos, los hicieron delatar bajo presión de 48 horas y en base a eso montaron operativos de aniquilamiento. Objetivo: giro total del campesinado. Entretanto, mientras se propagaba este plan en la propia ciudad de Huanta se encontraron dos cadáveres de subversivos muertos por un grupo paramilitar y el Partido dirigía un ataque a una base de ronderos y emboscaba a 10 policías de una patrulla.

En marzo. En Ayacucho, La Mar, Tambo, enfrentamiento deja 16 muertos, de ellos 6 militares y 10 subversivos "que se llevaron al huir". En el mismo mes: Requisa en el penal de Canto Grande el Lima, 400 PS y apoyo de 8 carros portatropas del Ejército; duró 5 horas, encontraron representaciones gráficas de acciones ya cumplidas y las presentan como planos de asaltos o ataques; lanzaron el pretexto de "rumores de fugas". Anuncian que han minado el 80% de las torres del servicio del Mantaro. Y a fines, con bombos y platillos difunden que los ashaninkas "se unen a fuerzas del orden", "que han decidido luchar a muerte contra la subversión", que actúan con patrullas mixtas de policías y soldados, que recorren Satipo, Mazamari y Puerto Ocopa; que cumplen como vigías y actúan con el cuerpo antisubversivo de la 48 comandancia de la Policía General, Los Sinchis. En Huánuco fabrican la farsa de que prisioneros políticos se aniquilan por contiendas internas y asesinan a 5 cuando dormían y con verdugillo. Publican que abaten a tres subversivos "que asaltaban carros de transporte de Oyón a Lima, por efectivos de la PG" pero esta noticia la van a desmentir y descubren que los asaltantes abatidos eran policías.

En abril. Mueren dos subversivos en ataque a patrullero en Lima; 2 fugaron y 2 heridos "fallecieron al llegar al hospital". Se acentúan las criticas por repliegue de puestos policiales desde 1982 a 1991. El 28/ IV a raíz de gran apagón en Lima, 2,500 detenidos tras 75 atentados en Lima, los 4 últimos días. El CCFFAA después de las visitas de los comandantes generales a los Frentes crea un "Comando operativo antisubversivo" de carácter permanente y nacional y constituye un grupo de intervención rápida (GIR) combinando fuerzas armadas y policiales.

En mayo. FA reciben presupuesto para acciones contrasubversivas. Ejercito detiene 30 pobladores del cono Norte de Lima, reunidos en asamblea para tratar su derecho a terrenos en los Olivos; los llevaron al Fuerte Rimac y al día siguiente los entregaron a DIRCOTE. Operativos coordinados previamente entre Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales se realizan en Lima, principalmente en barriadas; a raíz de acción de sabotaje a Bancos y apagón; ambos organismos trabajan las 24 horas a nivel nacional y están determinando áreas criticas para

acciones conjuntas. Aniquilan 8 subversivos en Chuquibamba, Arequipa, en cruento enfrentamiento con la Policía que buscaba grupo que "el 24/IV atacó el mismo lugar". Callao, Policía General hizo operativo "saturación" y bloqueo; fueron intervenidas 611 personas y 617 vehículos; apresaron 6 y retuvieron 20 vehículos; fue "en horas de la noche". Operativo en San Isidro, Lima "con el objetivo de capturar drogadictos y paqueteros". Jefe PNP anuncia máximas medidas de seguridad contra paro armado en Lima, para el 29. Redada y caen 50 requisitoriados en Lima, en una noche.

"Ejercito aniquila 30 subversivos en Acos-Vinchos Ayacucho". "El 26/IV Sendero Luminoso incursionó en el fundo Ccanobamba, asesinaron 16...quemaron 59 viviendas...los campesinos avisaron a la base contrasubversiva de Accocro y de aquí avisaron a 'Los cabitos', Huamanga, estos contactaron con la Fuerza Aérea cuya sede es el aeropuerto. El comandante envió un helicóptero TWIN-BELL 212 artillado con 2 ametralladoras MAG calibre 7.62 mm. y varias cintas de 200 cartuchos; "Ya antes, Senderistas, el 9/IV/91 lo pusieron en riesgo"; coordino con otro helicóptero del Ejercito MI-17 con 40 hombres y aplicaron: 'sombrilla'...fueron respondidos por los senderistas con FAL y la nave quedó a la deriva y regresó a Huamanga, allí arregló su avería y se reforzó con 12 cohetes C-S regresando al campo de operaciones y aniquiló 30 subversivos'. Comunicado oficial: "ante grave violación de los derechos humanos por Sendero Luminoso contra comunidades indefensas...". Comunicado del Comando político-militar (CPM) de Huamanga dice "Sendero Luminoso ha convocado a paro armado para el 18/V... se invoca al pueblo ayacuchano a reiterar una vez mas el profundo amor por su tierra y el futuro de sus hijos concurriendo masivamente a sus centros laborales"; y dice que se les dará garantías.

El 12 de mayo, el Ejercito inicia un operativo dirigido por el general Pérez, del Frente Mantaro, desde la base de Ollanta, Satipo y el cuartel policial de los Sinchis, en Mazamari; allí días antes, entre fines de abril y comienzos de mayo cambiaron el contingente que estaba desmoralizado y agotado; el general, para elevarles la moral a los nuevos soldados los "anima" con "mística" y usa cartas astrológicas computarizadas "guías para los momentos difíciles". También formó, poco antes de la fecha de inicio, un "Ejército Ashaninka del Gran Pajonal" y en la ciudad de Satipo dispuso que voluntaria o a la fuerza se organizaría toda la población en rondas urbanas antisubversivas. Actuaron 900 soldados en 15 grupos de 60 cada uno, más 45 nativos con Winchester, patrullas de la Marina y 5 helicópteros. En Ayacucho el general Martínez Aloja quien dirige el Frente Huamanga ingresó en forma simultánea a ocupar el valle del Apurímac; aquí, las rondas del

Apurímac cumplieron papel "decisivo" (vienen actuando desde julio 90); incursionaron en la base de Quimpiri, paralela al Apurímac y que llega hasta Cutivireni, en el rió Ene. Paralelamente, los ronderos de la parte baja del Valle del Apurímac; convocaron a la Defensa Civil Antisubversiva de Huayhuaco, y en operativos conjuntos actuaron con el Ejército del Frente Huamanga y entraron al Valle del Ene. El numero de soldados fue similar pero el de ronderos fue mayor. (Dicen que entre los departamentos de Ayacucho y Huancavelica hay 836 organismos de Defensa Civil). El operativo duro hasta el 17 de julio y se desenvolvió a lo largo del Valle del Ene, del Valle del Apurímac y rió Tambo.

El día 3/V/91 periódicos publicaron: "Ataque a puesto policial de Huánuco en el pueblo El Afilador, en carretera Huánuco-Tingo María, muertos 2 policías y una señora que vendía fruta, 15 civiles de la localidad resultaron heridos".

En junio. Comunicado oficial del CPM del Frente Huamanga señala ataque terrorista a miembros del Comité de Defensa de Chúpac; 7 comuneros muertos mas 3 ronderos también muertos en "choque confuso".

Efectivos del EP matan a 6 en plaza de armas de Pacayhua, Huánuco, "cuando los terroristas se aprestaban a victimar dirigentes autoridades", el 3/VI publican: "Efectivos militares dieron muerte a 30 senderistas" en Huánuco, senderistas se aprestaban a emboscar 25 efectivos militares que retornaban de Aucayacu a su base de Tingo María" "Antes habían atacado puesto policial El Alfiler, el 28 de mayo" dice El Comercio; en entrevista de Ku King, a Ríos Araico jefe del ACPM del Huallaga, en OIGA, éste le dice al general: "En las ultimas semanas ha sufrido bajas entre sus tropas a causa del recrudecimiento de la violencia subversiva y porque los guerrilleros parecen tener la iniciativa en el momento menos esperado, tal como ocurrió hace 5 días en la zona del Afiladero donde murieron 2 policías y 2 civiles. Hoy también se informó que una patrulla militar fue emboscada por guerrilleros maoístas de Sendero Luminoso...". Ríos Araico general de brigada, jefe político-militar del Huallaga: "Aquí no esta autorizada la tortura, las desapariciones ni mucho menos las ejecuciones extrajudiciales...yo colaboro con la justicia, con la defensa de los DD.HH. y no permitiré que se manche el honor de las Fuerzas Armadas"; "La estrategia contrasubversiva debe basarse en desarrollo con seguridad y con desarrollo"; reconoció "limitaciones en la lucha contrasubversiva"; "Es una guerra de delincuentes que esta destrozando el Perú, pero al mismo tiempo me pregunto están ganando o están perdiendo esta guerra? Los vamos a derrotar" sobre el

Convenio dijo estar de acuerdo, se dirigió a los campesinos "no se preocupen, no vendrán 'boinas verdes' a matar campesinos". Por estrategia retiran aviones FAP de base Santa Lucia, "no pueden permanecer inactivos en lugar que pueden ser atacados" dijo vocero FAP para explicar que los Tucano habían sido retirados de la selva. "Tras enfrentamiento efectivos EP incautaron armamento a senderistas, una significativa parte del armamento de guerra con que actúa Sendero Luminoso en el Alto Huallaga fue recuperada por el Ejército, luego de enfrentamiento el pasado sábado en Aucayacu, en el que habían muerto 30 terroristas"; "2 granadas instalaza antitanque, 1 granada antipersonal, 8 fusiles FAL, 3 AKM, 10 escopetas de retrocarga y no menos de 6 armas de puño (revólver y pistola). Después de 4 horas de enfrentamiento, al rayar el alba y peinar el lugar, los soldados encontraron abandonadas las armas referidas así como manchas de sangre y huellas de personas llevadas a rastras, presumiéndose que por lo menos 30 terroristas resultaron muertos" "Fuentes castrenses informaron que existe la presunción que dicha columna senderista tenía el objetivo de realizar ataques en las localidades de Tingo María o Aucayacu, para ganar publicidad, puesto que en la primera ciudad habían periodistas nacionales y extranjeros en seminario: Derecho a la información en zonas de emergencia" El Comercio. (COMPARAR CON NOTlCIA DEL 3/VI/91 SOBRE 'EL ALFILER').

"En operativo frustran actos subversivos" capturan a merodeador del Colegio Alipio Ponce, neutralizan volanteo en Mercado Central y siguen operativos en horas punta, 529 intervenidos y 428 vehículos. Según las FF.AA., en acción conjunta con la PNP en Huallaga, durante 5 primeros meses del año abatieron a casi 60 subversivos y capturaron 52. Grupo Antiterrorista en Ayacucho amenaza a periodistas. Grupo Antiterrorista Armado Operativo: GATO aparece en Huancayo; el 8/VI actuó en Yanacancha y Yanamarca, distrito de Acoya, Jauja, Junín. 16/VI sorpresiva requisa en Canto Grande, Lima, otra vez por supuesta fuga de Osmán Morote, que "el presidente Gonzalo habría planificado"; 1,500 soldados y FF.PP., 4 horas; visitas protestan.

A raíz del inicio de las celebraciones por el V Aniversario del Día de la Heroicidad. En Lima, ordenaron movilización total de la policía en todo el departamento, apoyo de la II Región Militar y la Marina. El 19/VI, matanza en San Gabriel, zona Sur de barriadas de Lima "Ejemplar escarmiento a terroristas dieron fuerzas de la policía y el ejército. Abatieron a 7 y capturaron 50 entre hombres y mujeres". "Matan 6 terroristas en combate"; en titulares de primera plana. Y en páginas interiores: "Usando helicópteros combaten a terroristas" "Policía y Ejercito dieron duro golpe a la subversión" "Mueren 7 y 51

detenidos en diferentes zonas de Lima" "Policía libera familia en poder de subversivos" "Policía asesta duros golpes a senderistas" "Abaten a 6". Sobre sucesos de San Gabriel el general Pedro Villanueva informó minuciosamente a Fujimori; también sobre acciones de todo el país y recibió su cara de felicitación. (Comentar articulo de La República sobre acción y represión en San Gabriel, Lima 19/VI). Gigantesca redada; VII Región de la Policía General informó que los días 18 y 19 con fuerzas combinadas PNP y EP intervinieron 11,114 personas en diferentes puntos de la capital; luego de evaluaciones quedan 400 sospechosos, de ellos 174 (30 mujeres) pasaron a DIRCOTE. El 22/VI, tercer día de acciones celebratorias del V Aniversario del DH, publicaron: "Explosión de coche-bomba mató a conductor de ómnibus de la Marina. "En La Perla (Callao) efectivos PN abatieron a terrorista" "Frustrado asalto a oficinas de ENCI dejó saldo de dos muertos y tres heridos" "La policía abatió delincuente en Vía Expresa" "Artefacto explosivo en el Ministerio de Trabajo". "Prosiguen redadas diarias en Lima". Expreso el mismo día en forma similar oculta emboscada exitosa contra la Marina tras supuesta derrota; "Frustran asalto del MRTA a camión de caudales" "Mueren vigilante de ENCI y un terrorista en Camino Real" "Atacan Ministerio de Trabajo y Ministerio de Agricultura" "Comandante salva de emboscada terrorista" "Por rápida y eficaz reacción". La República, el mismo día "Asalto a camión de caudales termina en baño de sangre" muere un vigilante y 4 subversivos del MRTA; "Atacan ómnibus de la Marina, cochebomba..." (tratan de encubrir la acción pero es el que mejor describe la emboscada; comentario). Rastrillo casa por casa en San Juan de Miraflores; Pamplona Alta; Rinconada; 20 detenidos desde 1 a.m. hasta 5 a.m.; la semana anterior igual operación en Asentamientos Humanos José Carlos Mariátegui, Cruz de Motupe y Huanta, en San Juan de Lurigancho, 48 detenidos. Desmienten que Castillo Páez estuvo en San Juan.

El domingo 25/VI, Hildebrant denuncia la matanza de 3 jóvenes en La Perla, ocultada por farsa montada también en TV, sobre todo por el canal 2 de Lima. Sus "triunfos", mentiras y "derrotas" nuestras les reventó en la cara y en la propia capital. Todo cuanto hicieron para acallar el exitoso inicio del V Aniversario del Día de la Heroicidad terminó con la demostración fehaciente de que el Partido actuó con las masas pobres de las barriadas de Lima y el enemigo furioso respondió como bestia con genocidio, más, las imágenes difundidas en los medios televisivos están estampadas en las mentes de millones, el mal trato a los prisioneros maniatados, con la cara ocultada y las botas asesinas pisoteando los cuerpos, los folletos "partidarios", la "encomienda" de Ayacucho y las "armas" en las mochilas de los dos

niños se sumaron a las imágenes del combativo e histórico barrio de San Gabriel donde jóvenes indefensos sin más armas que sus banderolas fueron atacados por el ejército y la policía desde tierra y desde helicópteros persiguiéndolos por los cerros y asesinando a cuantos quisieron, apresando y transportándolos como ganado en sus camiones negros de hienas. Un día más de combate heroico fue arrancado por la sangre de los héroes del 19 de junio del 86 y su sangre se calienta con la nueva sangre vertida.

El mismo día sobre acciones fuera de Lima, también las presentan como derrotas: "En 7 días han muerto por lo menos 40 terroristas en choques con soldados" "Patrullas militares sostuvieron ayer y hoy enfrentamientos por separado con grupos terroristas en diversas zonas de las provincias Mariscal Cáceres (San Martín) y Leoncio Prado, en informe oficial" "En el lado subversivo, se habrían producido numerosas bajas que sumadas a las registradas en otros choques, hace una semana (los 30 muertos que según el propio Comercio hubo en Aucayacu, y que luego dijo "habrían muerto") elevarían por lo menos a 40 el número de sediciosos abatidos por el Ejército". Patrulla mata 5 sediciosos, 3 en "intento de emboscada a soldados de una patrulla" en Malape, Progreso, Tocache; 2 en "enfrentamiento en La Morada". FAP ahora usa caza-bombardero A-37 en Selva; así varía su estrategia y patrullaje será permanente ya no eventual; informó vocero FAP. "Desaparece patrulla policial en Huánuco", 16 que custodiaban torre microondas del cerro San Cristóbal, "tras el avistamiento de bandera roja con hoz y martillo en la misma torre que se encontraba a su cargo. "Unos 55 terroristas fueron muertos en 2 enfrentamientos en la Selva" En 5ta. Ana, provincia Padre Abad, 35, comunicado del CPM del Frente Ucayali, a cargo de la Marina: "señalaron que las fuerzas del orden se encontraban realizando operaciones militares cuando fueron atacados por los sediciosos" El mismo día (18/VI) la DOES de la PNP se enfrentó a la subversión y resultaron "muertos 20 subversivos" en Altopendencia, Tambillo, Huánuco; prosigue que "En los últimos 8 días (desde el 13/VI) fuerzas del orden dieron muerte por lo menos a otros 45 terroristas en distintos puntos de San Martín y Huánuco" El Comercio, 20/VI; (En informe #65, del 19 El Comercio dijo en 7 días por lo menos 40 terroristas muertos en los mismos departamentos) (Así, del 12 al 19, en 7 días hay por lo menos 40 muertos, y del 13 al 20, en 8 días, son 45 los muertos que sumados a los 35 + 20 darían a 40 + 35 + 20 = 95, o 45 + 35 + 20 = 100, en 7 u 8 días; comparando con las bajas de las Fuerzas Armadas y Policiales que son solo 3 muertos la proporción ya es en si cuestionable); Expreso: "Otros 30 terroristas abatidos" "durante cruentos enfrentamientos en Ucayali y Loreto"; La República: "Ejercito aniquila otros 60 terroristas en fieros

combates" "Ejército abatió a 30 delincuentes terroristas en el distrito de Padre Abade y "destruyó columna principal de Sendero Luminoso en Santa Ana, provincia de Ucayali, departamento de Loreto: acciones en las que murieron 30 sediciosos" Además, en primera plana: "Ejército en plena ofensiva en Ucayali, mata a otros 60 terroristas" En informe transcrito, doblan el numero, y, Santa Ana es el distrito, Padre Abad la provincia y Ucayali el departamento, Loreto no tiene nada que ver. "Sobre-bomba mató ex-regidor" "En accidente muere custodio de diputado" (Cateriano, de Libertad) "Frustran fuga masiva de terroristas" en Quenqoro, Cusco; "Comando Conjunto reitera su ayuda en el Frente Ucayali" "El presidente del CCFFAA Fernando Velarde Ramírez reiteró a las autoridades políticas del Frente Ucayali, su ayuda: "Comisión de Defensa del Senado: Ejecutivo debe tener proyectos acabados en lucha antisubversiva": "Prosigue Estado de Emergencia en 8 departamentos y 1 provincia y 2 distritos Ayacucho excepto Huallaga, Apurímac, Huancavelica, San Martín, Junín Pasco, Huánuco y Ucayali"; (Todo extraído de El Comercio). Ejercito emboscа y aniquila 9 subversivos en Shapajillo, Tingo María, un sargento del EP muerto y otro del EP herido. También "Documento confirma alianza entre narcotraficantes y terroristas" a raíz de retorno a Lima del Comandante Gral. FAP jefe del CCFFAA Velarde Ramírez: "operativo zarpazo gran éxito" "10/VI en Padre Abad, 30 terroristas abatidos". "moral combativa de nuestras tropas muy alta" "estamos progresivamente pacificando estas zonas". "Soldados abaten 65 terroristas en enfrentamientos en zona de Ayacucho" según jefe del CPM de Huánuco, coronel EP Augusto Salaverry. (Durante estos días atacan a la policía por la violación de DD.HH., piden reorganizarla. Atacan también, pero menos, al Ejército). Comando de Huamanga desmiente informaciones falsas de La República sobre supuesta emboscada a 6 soldados en San Pablo, San Francisco, La Mar. Incautan granadas a Sendero Luminoso, 80 instalazas. Sobre acción en Aucayacu El Comercio y canal 4 TV Lima la atribuyen al MRTA, y El Comercio dice: "Mas de 60 terroristas muertos en choque entre militares y subversivos en Aucayacu", Junto a este titular la descripción dice 60 entre terroristas y civiles "vecinos" "habrían" y que fue "incursión subversiva" "llegaron por 3 vías, San Martín, Tingo María y rió Huallaga" "numeroso grupo" "fuertemente armados"; Expreso: Sendero Luminoso atacó, número no precisado de muertos, sus cuerpos fueron retirados por sus compañeros, incautaron 2 FAL; La República: "Más de 80 terroristas murieron en Aucayacu" violenta incursión de Sendero Luminoso, 350 hombres, debido a dispersión sufrida en mayo concentraron de las serranías por eso "hablaban quechua", destruyeron local es públicos y local policial, "inusual, sorprendente desplazamiento de fuerzas del orden, DOES controlaba

vías a Aucayacu, Pucallpa, Huánuco" "actuaron valerosamente en defensa del poblado".

En julio. Comunicado del Frente Huamanga "Viene intensificando sus operaciones...con la valiosa colaboración de los Comités de Autodefensa y de elementos desertores"; "6 delincuentes terroristas muertos y otro número no determinado de muertos llevados en la fuga de los sediciosos" "2 FAL, 1 ametralladora universal, 1 fusil AKM y 22 revólveres incautados". Gigantesca redada en Lima; arrestaron a mas de 4,000 personas, conos norte y sur, La Victoria, Rimac, San Luis y avenidas céntricas de Lima. Cae helicóptero en Huánuco; provincia Huamalíes, realizaba operación antisubversiva; era un MI-17 del EP. "Frustran fuga de Cachiche, Ica y comprueban torturas" Cerco a Lima por flanco sur de la capital domina comunidades campesinas de Chincha Alta; despliegan operativos contrasubversivos por tierra y aire Tensión en Canto Grande; reclamos del 4-B, suspenden visitas; otra vez supuestas fugas. Refuerzan seguridad por fiestas patrias en todo el país.

En defensa del Ene, rondas ashaninkas. "En dos de meses de lucha causaron 400 bajas de SL" junto con los frentes militares de Huamanga y Mantaro; al inicio del operativo, SL ordeno la retirada y el ejército no encontró a nadie, al cabo de un mes de asedio, los nativos debilitados por el hambre y las enfermedades "retornaron con bandera blanca" a sus pueblos ocupados por 585 soldados, el Ejercito los ayudó y juntos emprendieron cruzada para liberar la zona "Base de Apoyo"; usaron helicópteros; ocuparon ambas márgenes del Ene, 265 km. de longitud por 20-40 Km. de ancho, divididos en 15 patrullas. SL destruyo la misión de Cutivireni luego de hostigarla, "a muchos nativos los trajo el Ejercito" hoy son solo 347 nativos; "nunca como ahora se necesita la presencia del Estado, al cual pertenecían sin saberlo los nativos", uno dijo: "le pedimos al gobierno ese que SL dice Viejo Estado nos apoye con medicamentos... . tampoco tenemos comida...herramientas... municiones... profesores... médicos... autoridades...". "Si el Ejercito se retira...y el Estado ausente, SL volverá a dominar". Oficial responde a nativos, "Sólo tengo estos hombres y sus armas".

En agosto. Ofensiva antiterrorista intensifican en Pasco; ante rumores de paro armado de 3 días a partir del 15.

"Son 67 los muertos en Huánuco" tras cuatro días de violentos enfrentamientos armados, patrullas del EP dieron muerte a 67 subversivos habiendo solamente tres efectivos militares perecido, según informes policiales, dice que inicialmente informaron de 32

pero que la cifra asciende a la mencionada debido al encarnizamiento de la lucha; en la zona comprendida entre Cantamayo, Chavín de Pariarca y jarcas Grande; las acciones comenzaron el 1o de este mes y concluyeron ayer (7). Aparte de algunas armas el informe señaló: "se incauto medicinas y 4 camionetas que habían sido robadas a turistas italianos, ataques al alcalde de Huacaybamba, Gustavo Reyes de la IU, a una dependencia del ministerio de agricultura y a un civil", luego el mismo Expreso dice "Matan alcalde en su huida por diversos lugares de esta zona, un grupo de delincuentes terroristas asesino al alcalde de Quivilca Mateo Matos (PAP) en circunstancias aún no precisadas" Expreso, Huánuco, 6/VII. Esto no es sino un operativo militar de respuesta contra acción en Quivilla informada por El Peruano el 2/VIII acción que sigue el mismo patrón de operativos de repuesta al ataque al puesto policial en el pueblo El Afilador de Huánuco informada el 31/V; ambas bajo el mismo comando. Esta es otra acción de represalia que se ceba con las masas. "Abaten 12 en enfrentamiento con Ejercito en Huallaga". Otro de sus éxito' fabricados.

Chiclayo: apresan 17 en San Marcos, Cajamarca. Represión en Canto Grande; canal 4 TV 4 muertos. 10 heridos inculpados de terrorismo en operación borrado de pintas periódicos sólo dicen heridos. Mueren 20 terroristas en Cerro de Pasco en choques con EP y PN en Paucartambo un centenar de sediciosos asaltaron el puesto policial donde se encontraban 14 efectivos, dinamitaron Banco de la Nación, Cooperativa Regional del Centro V Municipalidad; Andina, El Peruano. Apresan 10 subversivos en Catahuasi, La Unión, Arequipa.

"Nuevo esquema" general Arciniegas estará al mando de un nuevo Frente: "Gran frente del Huallaga", en menos de 20 días...política que aplicó sirvió de base a Convenio antidrogas.. Ríos Araico seria segundo dentro del plan de lucha contra subversiva y pacificación contará con colaboración de ministerios, especialmente Transportes, Economía, Agricultura y Defensa para obras de desarrollo. El general Petronio Fernández Dávila, jefaturara las oficinas de DD.HH. en todas las dependencias del Ejercito. Expresa contradicciones en el Ejercito.

En setiembre Ronderos liberan 2,000 nativos en poder de Sendero Luminoso en selva Ene y Apurímac. Cerca de 2,500 nativos de tribu Ashaninka y 4 profesores de un total de 62 fueron rescatados por una "incursión pacifica" del Ejército en el departamento de Junín; los 4 profesores "arrepentidos" fueron conducidos ante el comando de la 31o División de Infantería del Ejército, que ingresó a esa zona, así reveló jefe de la división general de Brigada EP Luis Pérez; los nativos han formado rondas de vigilancia; "en su incursión a 15 zonas ocupadas por SL el ejército encontró desde trapos rojos, cuadernos con

hoz y martillo, fotos de Abimael Guzmán, dibujos de los niños, maestros que enseñaban, fosas y trampas estilo Vietnam del Norte. Hoy el Ejército (desde el 10/V dicen) brinda apoyo logístico...especialmente con alimentos, medicina, atención facultativa para controlar el paludismo y la fiebre amarilla. Mientras se ha instalado bases militares en misión, Puerto Ocopa y Valle Esmeralda, siendo posible la instalación de nuevo contingente a lo largo de 120 Km. entre Puerto Ocopa y Boca Mantaro. Helicópteros artillados combaten en Ica, general PN Raúl Chávez González: "combates más efectivos porque ahora se combate de arriba hacia abajo; fueron 5 puestos policiales atacados; reabren 5 puestos policiales" (pero en realidad se refiere a que han reabierto 1 Independencia, Pisco; y a que Laramate es custodiado por el Ejército y Querco había sido reforzado), también: "refuerzo de 6 helicópteros artillados, 2 en Ica, 2 Nazca y 2 Chincha; "hay otra moral". Pedro Palomino, Coronel FAP dice: "acción cívica e inteligencia, principalmente esta última, tenemos plan que deriva de II Región Militar. Es jefe del CPM sub-zona de seguridad del Centro No 6, abarca departamento de Ica, Centro de operaciones Base Aérea No 9 Pisco "Sólo tuve 1 asalto al puesto policial de Ingenio, Palpa". Apresan 38 senderistas en Cajamarca. FA asumen control de penales por DS 011-91-JUS. Reimponen estado de emergencia en Apurímac; DS 045-Ministerio de Defensa, a solicitud del CCFFAA por 60 días a partir del 18/IX. Acción y operativo combinado en La Libertad, apoyados por helicópteros artillados buscan a senderistas que atacaron mina Consuzo en Sánchez Carrión. Operativo casa por casa por Marina de Guerra en Ventanilla Alta; 300 policías allanaron 2,000 casas; 10 horas. "35 bajas de Sendero Luminoso en Leoncio Prado", más de 3 horas en enfrentamientos, de ellos, ni 1 baja, ni heridos ni muertos.

En octubre. "20 senderistas se entregan ante ronderos ayacuchanos" "Mostraban signos de desnutrición y algunos de ellos fueron atendidos en hospital de San Francisco..." a los centros poblados de San José y Pampacora, de la provincia de La Mar". "Alrededor de 80 ronderos de Canayre realizaron su acostumbrado operativo antiterrorista cuando dos de ellos pisaron un cazabobo que un día antes los senderistas habían camuflado entre la maleza"... "Los ronderos rastrillaban por el sector del río Ene en el límite de los departamentos del Cusco, Ayacucho y Junín".

"Prosiguiendo el 'Programa de autodefensa de las comunidades' y apoyo a todos los ronderos del país, en la lucha conjunta que libran con la Fuerzas Armadas para derrotar a la subversión que atenta contra indefensos pobladores del interior...Fujimori viaja a Satipo a entregar armas, medicinas y alimentos..." Expreso en sus titulares:

"Sendero en su día más negro" "100 muertos en combate con el ejército en Huanta", y en la noticia página 7: "mueren 100 terroristas en Huanta; frustran siniestro plan de aniquilamiento; Huanta alrededor de 70 terroristas fueron abatidos en un enfrentamiento con las fuerzas combinadas del EP y la PN...choque tuvo lugar ayer miércoles 17 a las 17:00 hrs. en el cerro Razhuillca...impidieron el acceso de la columna subversiva que tenía por objetivo principal tomar Huanta...hasta el momento de enviar este despacho, los cadáveres de los terroristas estaban tendidos sobre el escenario del enfrentamiento, y los heridos fueron llevados por los subversivos" "...se teme contraofensiva, Ejército en alerta permanente...a pesar del hermetismo del Ejército acantonado en la ciudad; campesinos...aseguraron que columnas senderistas avanzan hacia Huanta,...los propios campesinos fueron los que dijeron 'los sobrevivientes recogieron a sus muertos y se los llevaron...' Versiones recogidas en las calles, en los bares y entre los humildes comuneros dicen: "el enfrentamiento habría ocurrido de la siguiente manera: entre los días domingo y lunes último, senderistas fuertemente armados que se desplazaban desde las zonas de Acosvinchos, Pacayeasa y Huamanguilla, fueron descubiertos por los ronderos de Macachacra, quienes habrían avisado a las fuerzas militares. Los miembros de Defensa Civil los persiguieron durante 3 días, produciéndose enfrentamientos en los que habrían perecido varios ronderos...al llegar al cerro Razhuillca, los senderistas intentaron preparar una emboscada, la que fue rechazada por los bravos ronderos y las fuerzas combinadas del orden que participaron con sus helicópteros artillados". Ni El Comercio, ni El Peruano publicaron nada de esto ni el 18 ni el 19/X. Pérez ante la comisión de la OEA: informó que las rondas campesinas nacieron por voluntad de las comunidades, y que en su jurisdicción hay 300 rondas con un total de 26.000 integrantes; también se reunieron con Humberto Orozco García, presidente del Comité Central de las Rondas Campesinas de Satipo este informó reciente ataque de 500 senderistas a la comunidad de Poyeni, a 150 Km. al Este de Satipo, dejando 25 comuneros muertos y varios heridos; asimismo que el 17/X en la zona de El Milagro a 25 kms. de Satipo, en enfrentamiento con senderistas murieron 3 ronderos y 3 terroristas. "Los subversivos se llevaron a 13 comuneros" (los subrayados son nuestros).

"Ejercito rescata a los nativos en operativos entre el 20 y el 23 de octubre, en los que murieron 38 subversivos, 29 en Misión Cutivireni, ahí se rescató 35 nativos; la otra en el Valle Esmeralda donde murieron 9 y se rescató 18" Informo el Comando Político-Militar del Frente Mantaro.

Sobre subversivos muertos en Ucayali, extraoficialmente se supo de 50 muertos enfrentamiento con efectivos militares, el 23 del Pte., en un paraje de Aguaytía. departamento de Ucayali.

"Ejército alista requisa en penal de Canto Grande"..."la intervención se producirá en cualquier momento"..."Sendero quiere provocar genocidio en Canto Grande antes o durante visita de Comisión de Derechos de la OEA"..."Senderistas se atrincheran en Canto Grande" "...al menos 500 están senderistas están atrincherados desde hace varios días en el pabellón 4-B"..."Rechazaron la presencia de los fiscales provinciales..." "Las fuentes policiales dijeron haber detectado que los senderistas han acumulado en sus celdas armas y municiones con el propósito de utilizarlas en un eventual motín..." "Inminente motín senderista..." "Si las autoridades del sector no toman inmediatamente cartas en el asunto, el penal de Canto Grande puede convertirse en el escenario de un nuevo genocidio. Los detenidos de SL estarían preparándose para ofrecer un nuevo 'baño de sangre'...para mellar la Imagen Internacional del gobierno de Fujimori.." "...es conveniente advertirle al gobierno la inconveniencia de dejarse llevar por la desesperación...no hay que caer en su juego. Y si las circunstancias toman imposible evitar un motín hay mil y una formas...antes de emplear la violencia cruenta con las armas..." "La calma reina en Canto Grande"..."Descubren plan de fuga en Canto Grande ..."Ejército vigila el penal"..."Operativo se extiende a los barrios de Canto Grande".

En noviembre. "Rescatan a más de 4 mil personas secuestradas por subversivos, entre colonos y nativos de la zona del Ene, informó el mayor EP Wilson Alvarez, jefe de Relaciones públicas de la XXXI División de Infantería, del Frente Mantaro, 'al término del intento de recuperar a 85 profesores que han sido dados por desaparecidos y que se presume se encuentren retenidos por los subversivos". "Un comando senderista de aniquilamiento opera a plena luz del día en la ciudad ante la perplejidad de las fuerzas armadas. Hasta hace poco una patrulla militar ingresaba semanalmente a un barrio marginal rojo para arriar una bandera roja con hoz y martillo. En las zonas rurales los senderistas incursionan en 3 comunidades organizadas con Comités de Autodefensa Civil. El Frente Militar de Huamanga, abarca 11 provincias ayacuchanas y 7 de Huancavelica...alrededor de 3,500 miembros del ejército están al mando del general Hugo Martínez Aloja comandante general de la Segunda División de Infantería del Frente Militar de Huamanga. El frente reconoce que de 50 enfrentamientos sostenidos, 38 se dieron cuando las fuerzas militares efectuaban patrullajes de carácter regular, también reconoce "zonas criticas", "sobretodo en limites fronterizos, aquellas que no han logrado su

organización en Comités de Defensa Civil...también reconoce pueblos que sirven como bases a SL para sus reclutamientos". Al norte, entre Huanta y Huancavelica se encuentra por ejemplo San José de Secce. Entre Huamanga y Huancavelica, Ticllas. Al noreste, la provincia de La Mar. Al sur Parinacochas, limítrofe con provincia arequipeña de Caravelí "donde desarrollan (los SL) una gran ofensiva a comienzos del año, nadie quiere organizarse aquí" dijo "un oficial de alto rango", señala el oficial que las acciones en la ciudad se incrementaron desde que se levanto el estado de emergencia, primero en todo Huamanga (nov. 90) y luego en toda la jurisdicción del Frente (ago. 91). Reconoce al Ejercito Guerrillero Popular con 40 combatientes por unidad operativa básica. APRODEH señala que de 115 a 75 acciones son en la capital de la provincia de Huamanga, le siguen Manta y La Mar. Lo que es difícil de explicar es cómo SL puede seguir actuando con tanta continuidad en las provincias mas controladas por el Ejército donde existe la mayor cantidad de comunidades organizadas en Comités de Defensa Civil, Quinua ha sido objeto de 6 incursiones, la más fuerte el 13 de junio con 150 hombres aniquilando 6 ronderos, y el 4 de agosto al ex-presidente rondero. En Cangallo hay Comités Populares Abiertos. "La lucha debe ser política orientada a legitimar la presencia del Estado en los puntos más olvidados del país" "Rondas descentralizadas que cumplen labor productiva mas que buenas intenciones rebasan esquemas teóricos, las rondas se están descomponiendo. Se calcula 2,000 en el margen izquierdo del Valle del Apurímac".

INTELIGENCIA. CAPTURAS REALES Y FALSAS; IMPUTACIONES E INVENCIONES. 6 capturados en Ayacucho, "altos mandos". Detienen "tesorera de Sendero luminoso cuando regresaba de Alemania. Capturan 6 en Tarapoto. Capturan 9 subversivos de célula de aniquilamiento en El Tambo, Huancayo. Capturan terrorista de Ayacucho en La Molina, Lima "Alto dirigente de aniquilamientos". Capturan 21 "Senderistas' en Chimbote. Otro dirigente es capturado en Lima que viajaba del Huallaga, "dirigente político de la región" "Apresan a dirigente senderista miembro de la Confederación Agraria del Cusco"; capturan 3 dirigentes e identifican cabecilla de Sendero Luminoso de Alto Huallaga. El 26/VI, el Ministro del Interior presento "tres altos dirigentes de Sendero Luminoso, miembros de la cúpula senderista". "Abimael estaría operando en Ayacucho y Huancavelica, por eso intensifican operativos en helicópteros artillados y se trasladaron nuevas tropas de combate". Capturan otro alto jefe de aniquilamiento de Ayacucho. Cae asesor parlamentario de la IU, "era senderista" también empleada de Empresas Eléctricas, "parte del comando de voladura de torres". "15 terroristas capturados en Cerro

de Pasco" "Apresan 10 subversivos en Cotahuasi, La Unión". Apresan "alto dirigente de Puno, miembro de la cúpula". "Abimael habría estado operando en Pabellón de la Universidad Nacional de La Cantuta".

OPERACIONES SICOLOGICAS ACCION Y GUERRA SICOLOGICA. CAMPAÑAS Arsenal subversivo "fue descubierto por el Ejercito" en alturas de Cajacay, Bolognesi, Ancash. Policía "descubrió campo de entrenamiento de tiro subversivo", vía Canta, Lima. Descubren "arsenal senderista en Huaraz". Prefecto de la Región Chavín dijo que 300 MRTA eran perseguidos por el Ejercito de Huánuco, por la ruta de Monzón, para ingresar por Llamellin, capital de la provincia de Raymondi. "Feliz coincidencia" y celebración de 10 años de policía ferroviaria: "desactivó 310 kilos de dinamita cerca a La Oroya. Mueren 3 subversivos por detonación de explosivos "que manipulaban", 2 en Cerro de Pasco y 1 en Jauja". "Atacaron con machetes a pobladores de Laura Caller, distrito Los Olivos, Lima; encabezados por traficantes de terrenos". Distribuyen volantes con helicópteros en todos los regionales incluido Lima (Asentamientos Humanos), contenido de guerra psicológica contra el PG, la GP y el PCP, volantes que en el campo son de papel periódico usado y manuscritos con puño y letra de los soldados porque no tienen plata apuntando a generar deserción y sembrar la farsa de que están ganando ellos la guerra. Diputado Guerrero de AP dijo que no sufrió atentado alguno como informara El Comercio cuando al parecer 2 subversivos murieron en atentado a su casa en Tarma, Junín. Atacan las escuelas populares de SL, porque ganan la mente de los niños y la juventud, son "escuelas de terror". "Arman a ronderos de Huanta y Huamanga, mas de 3,500 ronderos de las provincias de Huanta y Huamanga recibieron ayer 13 de octubre 150 escopetas marca Winchester de manos del jefe político-militar de la zona de emergencia, general Martínez Aloja, como parte de la estrategia armada contra la subversión; además repartieron 1. 1/2 toneladas de alimentos y entregaron dos camiones, uno para Quinua y otro para Acosvinchos." "Reparten cuadernos, alimentos y medicinas en la "Campaña por Apurímac". "Ejército y PAD llevan víveres a Los Olivos". "La ayuda contó con el apoyo del ejército tanto en la seguridad como en el transporte...reparto se inicio el 29 de setiembre ...el PAD ha repartido hasta el momento 518 toneladas de alimentos y se espera que se beneficien hasta fin de año unas 50 mil familias, en la capital". "Ejercito entrega armas en el Frente Mantaro...donde ha difundido hasta el momento 2,200 escopetas para, 26,000 campesinos en la Región Cáceres, agrupados en 279 organizaciones...la última entrega estuvo destinada a 9 mil ronderos de la provincia de Concepción, Jauja, Junín, establecidos en Andamarca, que cuenta con

41 anexos, y en Santo Domingo de Acobamba, con 33. En estas localidades el Comando Político-Militar del Frente Mantaro distribuyo el pasado martes 12. 200 escopetas de retrocarga Winchestert. "Ejército reparte alimentos en Huaycán...el general Cesar Ramal Pesantos, jefe de la primera división de las Fuerzas Especiales, dijo: 'El balance de nuestras acciones es positivo...creemos que estos 9 meses de integración con el pueblo son importantes. Hemos avanzado en pacificar Huaycán, Raucana y Villa El Salvador, lugares que son considerados zonas rojas. El trabajo no ha concluido, aún quedan muchos pueblos por visitar...cuando iniciamos este programa un 8 de marzo, en Huaycán nos recibieron de manera agria, sin embargo ahora hasta coordinamos con los propios dirigentes de las organizaciones populares. En Raucana logramos que la población entienda que la violencia no es el camino correcto e inclusive nos han ayudado a capturar terroristas". "A Huaycán llegó el Ejército con el PAD con más de 95 toneladas de alimentos, 2 mil cuadernos, mil manuales de Educación Patriótica, mil libros de Educación Inicial 'Amiguito', 2 mil polos de algodón con emblemas del Ejército y 300 plantones para la reforestación de la zona. "Campaña de los empresarios contra el trabajo en la clase obrera y mineros. Campañas de rendición en Ayacucho, Apurímac y Huancavelica; también en el Cusco. Divulgan las mentiras así: "Desertan 2,500...ejército en incursión pacífica en selva oriental de Junín, en la campaña de mayo logró rendición y rescate". Otra campaña: SL esta contra las organizaciones populares por eso destruye los comedores populares y los centros de Vaso de leche de los barrios pobres de Lima, por eso aniquila dirigentes populares" (en el fondo expresan su pánico por el avance de nuestro trabajo en las barriadas de Lima y, de los ejecutados por la justicia popular nadie puede decir que sean representantes populares porque lo que define no es la procedencia sino la posición de clase y la actitud hacia la revolución; todos han sido desenmascarados por traidores y hasta saqueadores de los productos magros que las organizaciones ya casi estaban dejando de dar, que por lo demás sirven a formar el colchón de lacayos y votantes ayayeros. Campaña por "racistas" cuando se aniquilo bajo juicio popular a los técnicos del imperialismo japonés en Huaral o al dueño de tierras y despojador de invasiones por techos para vivir que haya sido un experto en artes marciales no era nuestro problema; además los racistas resultaron ser Fujimori y su recua de niseis que lo acompañan en su gobierno. Otra campaña "Sendero pone la mira en la Iglesia". Campaña malabarista verbal de que no existe el equilibrio estratégico, cuando éste se confirma hasta por sus amos los imperialistas, principalmente yanquis. "Petróleo del oleoducto saboteado inunda ríos, dijo Expreso, pero a los pocos días los técnicos

desmintieron tales consecuencias de la acción." Campaña contra el trabajo que desarrollamos en el extranjero, contraproducente porque más bien nos propagandiza. Campaña fantasmal, ridícula y antidemocrática en su sistema demoburgués reaccionario "La fuerza de la Ley" por la cual se busca dirigentes y militantes que incluso ellos los han desaparecido o matado o hasta apresado antes de buscarlos; más las recompensas son tan ínfimas que ni siquiera entusiasman a los delincuentes delatores. Campaña favorita de Expreso: "Aprender de Huayhuaco" un delincuente formado por las FF.AA. para organizar y dirigir rondas; además de ser drogadicto, hoy preso por delitos comunes. Campañas de Caretas contra los prisioneros de guerra preparando condiciones para gran genocidio. Campañas de Oiga contra los Abogados democráticos. Campaña contra el arrollador avance del camino del campo a la ciudad. Entre estas campañas El Comercio encabezó la propuesta periodística para que se defina una nueva estrategia contrasubversiva, a nombre de todos los periodistas reaccionarios. De los canales de televisión que funcionan en Lima el canal 2 se ha convertido en el canal directamente al servicio del ejército, etc. etc.

ACCION CIVICA. EN CAMPO Y CIUDAD; BARRIADAS. RAUCANA. Las acciones cívicas no son tampoco nada nuevo, además de ser parte inherente a las funciones de todo ejército, desde que ingreso la fuerza armada a combatir la guerra popular han sido desenvueltas por el Ejercito y la Marina, particularmente después de un genocidio y como parte de su política de dos manos. Y siendo elemento constitutivo de la "guerra de baja intensidad" con el gobierno fujimorista se vienen impulsando estas acciones concebidas como campañas, en el campo, y comienzan a desenvolverlas en las barriadas de la capital de la República, principalmente, y decimos así porque también las realizan en las universidades, entre otros frentes. Su objetivo es preparar las condiciones para la represión y el genocidio; y se reducen a apoyar el reparto de donaciones de alimentos de organismos internacionales, coordinaciones con el PAD (Programa de Asistencia Directa) y otros organismos de subsistencia. Otra especificación es que estas acciones no las desenvuelve la Policía como lo estipula la estrategia en mención sino la fuerza armada para aparentar la imagen de ser respetuosos de los derechos humanos y recibir la colaboración económica yanqui al programa de las tres tareas; pretenden ganarse las mentes y los corazones de la población; les llaman "programas de acción cívica y de acercamiento a la comunidad" y han formado "batallones de desarrollo" para llevarlas a cabo en las zonas de emergencia; las desenvuelven con un gran aparato propagandístico, transportan las donaciones y llegan al lugar donde se limitan a hacer colas a las masas

y a proteger el reparto de los organismos; son contados con los dedos de una mano los casos en que emplean recursos propios, por ejemplo la Marina sí lo hace como parte de su acción neutralizadora de las masas barriales que habían en los alrededores de sus instituciones y para comprar infiltrados.

Acción cívica que la han hecho por ejemplo en el campo al ocupar parte del valle del Apurímac y parte del Ene y boca del Mantaro donde después de sangrientas campañas de cerco y aniquilamiento y contracampañas de cerco y aniquilamiento actúan de repartidores de lo que no tienen, encabezados por el genocida y vendepatria Fujimori que entrega a los Comités de defensa civil unas cuantas escopetas, un par de camiones y un puñado de alimentos y medicinas que su general Pérez le exige para aquietar a las masas "recuperadas"; que mueren de hambre y enfermedades; les promete programas de reconstrucción y desarrollo: hidroeléctricas, carreteras, colegios, computadoras, discado directo telefónico y demás maravillas del cuento de la lechera. Acciones a las que contribuye alegremente la Iglesia Católica a través de sus misioneros como el cura Mariano Cagnon, de la misión de Cutivireni, en donde, como lo prueban documentos escritos por él mismo, solicitó el ingreso del ejército para combatirnos, quien impotente ante el desarrollo del Partido en la zona se asusto y huyó hasta los EE.UU. abandonando "su grey"; hoy día con el cuartel militar allí instalado visita de vez en cuando, regala caramelos envenenando a los niños y sigue traficando con el alto grado de atraso de esas masas.

En el periódico oficialista propagan "Ejército reparte 51 TM de víveres en el Cono Sur". "Como parte del programa de acción cívica en coordinación con el PAD". "Alrededor de 31 pueblos jóvenes de Pachacámac, Lurín y Pucusana recibieron leche en polvo, aceite, arroz y trigo." Dicen repartirlas a unas diez mil familias en total y "a cada una 10 K. de arroz, 10 de trigo, 2 de leche en polvo y un litro de aceite para un lapso de 20 días" y que al término de los mismos repetirían la acción "benéfica"; incluso llegan a concebirlo como complemento de la precaria alimentación diaria. En primer lugar a ninguna zona han vuelto al cabo del lapso por ellos establecido; en segundo lugar, si uno suma los 10 K. más 10 de trigo más 2 de leche en polvo y 1 (equivalente a un litro de aceite) saldrían 23 kilos por 10 mil familias dan un total de 230 mil kilos o sean 230 toneladas las que necesitarían para cubrir esa cantidades, ese número de familias y el período de días, dicho; entonces, si propala la noticia que son solamente 51 toneladas, no están cubriendo ni las cantidades, ni las familias, ni el período que dicen; en conclusión, el PAD lleva menos cantidad, abarca menos familias y cubre menos tiempo. Además, si uno calcula 10 mil familias en 31 pueblos jóvenes abarcarían

solamente 323 familias aproximadamente en cada uno de los 31 asentamientos los que comparando con las 2 mil familias de promedio, que habitan en cada pueblo joven, arrojan 30 % del total de familias; pero, en cada familia hay entre 6 y 7 personas. El llamado "beneficio" por tanto es una farsa de 'ayuda' y sirve a compensar mínimamente la falta de salario que genera este sistema y empeora este gobierno; actúa como contenedor de la explosividad y consiente a las masas la sumisión a un orden de explotación a estos planes de subsistencia concurre la presencia del Ejército peruano y encuentra allí una forma de penetrar en las barriadas y en las zonas campesinas para aniquilar la guerra popular. Es por todas estas razones que nosotros no estamos de acuerdo con esos planes de subsistencia y menos con la llamada acción cívica de las fuerzas armadas.

Parte de ese tipo de acción es el izamiento de banderas dominicales a los que obligan a las masas campesinas y de las barriadas a concurrir bajo pena de arresto por complicidad con la subversión. O las ridículas clases de "civismo" que se han hecho por ejemplo en Raucana donde los miembros de las fuerzas Especiales allí asentadas "dictan esas clases" a niños sentados en el suelo o en ladrillos que Estado le muestra a esos niños que lo escuchan? el viejo y explotador que subsiste y que es incapaz de darles sus títulos de propiedad a sus padres, incapaz de ponerles una escuelita para educarse o de pagar un equipo de profesores titulados; las medicinas no van a alcanzar ni para fin de año y los sanitarios son peores que los de las antiguas Asistencias Públicas. Los izamientos de banderas, obligatorios ya los han visto las masas en el campo y saben que con esa bandera de opresión no se resuelve nada ni siquiera la enarbolan los propios militares para defender sus fronteras hoy agredidas e invadidas por el Ecuador. Esa supuesta acción cívica que han impulsado está fallida desde su base por el carácter de clase que tiene y por las condiciones de crisis económica que vive el país. A lo mas lograrán hacer centruchos como el de Accomarca, con García Pérez el que penetramos, infiltramos y volamos, haciéndolo fracasar estruendosamente. Nuestra política, entonces es penetrarlos, desenmascararlos, socavarlos y hacerlos volar con acciones desde dentro y desde afuera; el trabajo clandestino; y, la sexta forma y primera forma germinal en ciudad ya surgida ligada a la preparación de la insurrección debemos impulsarla aplicar desenmascaramiento de esa acción cívica empleando nuestra doble política, no basta destruirlas desde afuera; educar a las masas en su contenidos; ideológico: usar a las masas para que apoyen ideologías trasnochadas, la religión católica por ejemplo: traficando con la religiosidad del pueblo; contenido político que no son dádivas sino el subproducto de

la revolución, que sin la GP no les hubieran dado ni eso y que es parte de la guerra de baja intensidad para contener la explosividad de las masas; hacer que las propias masas se agarren esas cosas, que ellos las repartan dando mas a los más pobres, que exijan más, mucho mas de lo que reciben porque el contenido económico es que con esos caramelos envenenados, con esas miserables cantidades temporales les quitan una buena rebaja a sus salarios porque esa es la política del capitalismo: acabar con que las masas deben satisfacer solas su hambre y necesidades por que el neoliberalismo lo que quiere es más plusvalía y la saca despellejando al pueblo; educarlas en que la obligación de este viejo Estado es darle alimentación, educación, vivienda, trabajo, agua, luz, techo, hasta unas condiciones ecológicas dignas, fronteras respetadas, sino para qué diablos existe un Estado que no cumple con las necesidades mínimas de las masas? simplemente para derrocarlo. Estas acciones cívicas son parte de encarcelamientos, desapariciones, de formación de soplonajes, de redes de infiltración de estructuración de rondas o comités de autodefensa, de la conformación de ese ejército contrarrevolucionario que están formando en el campo para que actúen como carne de cañón. Desenmascarar, arrancar todo velo rosado con que se cubren y volar la acción cívica siniestra.

En Raucana lo que han aplicado es ocupar la barriada a las 11 a.m. aprovechando que a esa hora los cabezas de familia están fuera trabajando y después de haber infiltrado gente; entraron, apresaron, censaron y se han instalado de la misma forma que ocupan las bases de apoyo; metieron un contingente militar de Fuerzas Especiales del Ejercito, al ingresar lo hicieron con mil hombres y dejaron 600; tremenda cantidad de hombres para dos mil habitantes evidencia su incapacidad y estupidez política porque en la propia capital de la República instalar un cuartel revela que ni ahí rige el viejo Estado y para imponerse tiene que emplear su fuerza armada. Ocupación militar que es parte de "control de la población y recursos" que están desarrollando en todos los lugares donde nuestro avance les es imposible controlar. De la supuesta acción cívica que aquí montan ya nos hemos referido antes. Peor aún, los resultados obtenidos son nulos, en tantos meses no han podido montar sus redes; las masas en general los repudian y piden a gritos que el ejército se retire. En resumen, su gran plan de Raucana ha fracasado estruendosamente.

CONTROL DE LA POBLACIÓN. RONDAS RURALES Y URBANAS. El control de la población es parte de la guerra de baja intensidad y esta implica también el control de los recursos de una comunidad; su objetivo es conformar un contingente de personas de todos los sectores para que cumplan un papel activo en la guerra contrasubversiva; el

imperialismo yanqui concibe que para lograrlo deben basarse en las minorías, grupos de diferente raza, étnica social o religión como punta de lanza en los planes de control de la población y recursos. Acá en el Perú lo que han logrado es formar rondas campesinas o Comités de Defensa Civil y con el gobierno actual se están impulsando las rondas campesinas armadas como un ejército complementario; basándose en una parte de los ashaninkas han formado un "Ejército Ashaninka del Gran Pajonal". Parte de esto son los "Comités distritales por la paz y el desarrollo" del oportunista Tapia, muy aplaudido por el Expreso; las convocatorias a "Frentes regionales comunes contra la violencia" que coordinen civiles, militares e Iglesia, como han hecho en San Martín y Puno; o los Frentes ediles contra la violencia. También en estos planes de control y recursos se ve la acción enmascarada de la Iglesia Católica que con su plan propio mueve a su gente para acciones contrarrevolucionarias como las marchas barriales.

Como anteriormente decíamos las rondas en el campo las han formado usando las dos manos mano blanda y a sangre y fuego principalmente. En las ciudades apuntaran en forma similar a organizar rondas urbanas y a basarse en los lacayos, en las Regiones, en los municipios y en las organizaciones del revisionismo. En las universidades apuntarán también a conformar grupos de lacayos, delatores y aparatos fascistas o tipo Reade como el de la UNI (Responsables Estudiantiles de Areas de Desarrollo Estratégico) para que cumplan la función de romper luchas. Entre los obreros y trabajadores harán igual apuntando a romper huelgas y delatores. Como la crisis esta golpeando cada día más no tienen recursos para implementar acciones, así que usaran fuertemente el trabajo gratuito y forzoso; nuestra política es condenar esas formas feudales de explotación, exigir pago, exigir jornada, exigir condiciones de trabajo; hacer ver a las masas que es un medio que las fuerzas armadas están usando para desarrollar su guerra de baja intensidad, desenmascarar al viejo Estado y demostrar que es un Estado caduco que incumple sus obligaciones mínimas; debemos montar contracampañas especificas a esos planes. Al respecto el presidente Gonzalo comento: "Las universidades están en la mira de la reacción, principalmente de la lucha contrasubversiva; detrás de las acciones de los llamados 'READE' hay plan policial y más aun militar de guerra contrarrevolucionaria, aunque esto sólo sea 'globo de ensayo' o pasos iniciales. La formación de mesnadas se comenzó en el campo y luego paso a ciudad; en las ciudades se inició en barriadas y esta pasando a las universidades, pasará a sindicatos y a otros frentes citadinos. Es necesario volver a analizar las mesnadas pues el reimpulso que desde el año pasado se ve en el campo, se extiende como impulso en las ciudades; esta es otra

expresión del equilibrio estratégico, tener muy presente cómo éste se concreta aquí: 'El enemigo recuperar posiciones para mantener su sistema; nosotros, preparar ofensiva estratégica a través de construir la conquista del Poder. Por ello a la reacción se le plantea la necesidad de aniquilar la guerra popular y al Partido y el pueblo construir la conquista del Poder'." (mayo 91). Es certero y válido para enrumbarnos.

En las ciudades el Ejército ha montado un plan para las barriadas de la capital de la República, se comenzó a aplicar aproximadamente hace dos años y últimamente se ha intensificado; al igual que en el campo, han tenido que aplicar plan especial con fuerzas especiales para ejercer control y restituir la presencia del Estado. como ellos mismos dicen, los montan en las zonas donde el Partido ha avanzado y como respuesta al equilibrio estratégico, sino a qué vienen frases como "para ganarles terreno" o "quitarle piso a la subversión". Primero entraron a Huaycán luego a Horacio Zevallos, posteriormente a Raucana y a la universidad de Educación de La Cantuta; hicieron acción cívica, la que coordinaron con los ministerios de Transporte, agricultura, energía y minas, salud, educación y también con organismos como el PAD y tienen un convenio firmado con la Organización Nacional de Apoyo Alimentario (ONA). También coordinan con las autoridades locales, alcaldes, regidores, representantes barriales, responsables de las cocinas populares de los organismos del "vaso de leche". etc. Han ocupado algunas barriadas ingresando con la apariencia de "respetuosos de los derechos humanos" pero como siempre apresando y usando a sus soplones y lacayos, reprimiendo y alterando completamente la vida cotidiana de las masas; pero además, esta ocupación implica dispersión de fuerzas y acantonamiento de buen número de hombres fácilmente golpeables. Otro problema que encuentran es el rechazo generalizado de las masas a quienes no las pueden ni podrán comprar por unos cuantos alimentos a pesar del hambre que sufren porque las masas con su sabiduría saben diferenciar claramente los intereses de las distintas clases

En el cono Sur, San Juan de Miraflores, Villa María del Triunfo y Villa el Salvador no son las Fuerzas Especiales tipo Raucana sino las fuerzas regulares, las que aplican otro plan que no es de ocupación ni bases contrasubversivas citadinas sino que apunta a controlar moviendo el hambre del pueblo, por esa razón es que dinamitaron el Centro de Acopio de Villa El Salvador y el del Agustino divulgando estos sabotajes como si fuesen del Partido a fin de desprestigiarnos ante las masas y contraponerlas con nosotros. Usan oportunistas, revisionistas y sobre todo agentes pagados por el imperialismo e incondicionales de las fuerzas armadas, como es el caso de la promovida "madre del año"

quien tiene antecedentes de autobeneficiarse con los alimentos de las masas. Por lo demás esos organismos están casi abandonados por la reacción y mal manejados; por sus administradores.

En síntesis; su plan de control de población y recursos es una acción militar de ocupación e instalación de bases contrasubversivas en las barriadas de Lima para restablecer el viejo Estado y "pacificar". Y si van a retener fuerzas en la capital cómo van a actuar en las ciudades menores?, y van a poder controlar todas las barriadas de Lima que tienen 3 millones de pobladores? Así; pues estos planes encierran graves errores militares aparte que marginan a los partidos políticos, a las llamadas organizaciones civiles y el ejército es el que impone la autoridad del Estado hasta en la propia capital poniendo de manifiesto el estar centrando en lo militar y no en lo político.

Pero qué resultado han tenido estos planes de control de la población y recursos? Por la debilidad del viejo Estado, del gobierno de Fujimori y de las fuerzas armadas y policiales; por la fortaleza del Partido y la guerra popular, por el avance del equilibrio estratégico, y por el rechazo de las masas estos planes se encuentran entrampados y no logran pactar el contubernio que necesitan. Nosotros debemos persistir en desenmascararlos, en educar a las masas en su esencia y volarlos desde dentro y desde afuera, aplicar el dar vueltas para golpearlos como si se tratara de una especie de ocupación de bases de apoyo en el campo.

2. EL IMPERIALISMO

CONVENIO ANTIDROGAS Y ANEXOS. Partamos definiendo el carácter de clase del Convenio, es un Tratado de intervención yanqui en la guerra contrasubversiva del Perú, es reaccionario, pro-imperialista y anti popular, y su esencia esta en que apunta contra la guerra popular y busca aniquilarla. Ha sido concebido e implementado por Hernando de Soto, agente directo del imperialismo yanqui y uno de sus más conspicuos burócratas, creador de la ya desenmascarada "doctrina Fujimori", asesor principal del presidente y jefe del ILD, organismo yanqui con sede en Lima, Tras la tapadera de que no era Tratado sino Convenio, Fujimori hizo caso omiso a las criticas, cuestionamientos y oposiciones, una vez mas se burló del primer Poder del Estado demoburgués y lo suscribió, como siempre, a espaldas del pueblo, el 14 de mayo del 91. Consumado el hecho "cumplió" al día siguiente con informar al Parlamento sin permitir debate alguno, presentándose personalmente a discurso; y como respuesta cínica a las agudas

acusaciones de autoritarismo y para dar apariencia de democracia. En consecuencia, por la forma de la suscripción el Tratado, es otra violación mas de Fujimori a la Constitución que está obligado a respetar. En el Congreso se cubrió de mentiras: "la lucha antidrogas es una auténtica cruzada nacional", "por encima de un enfoque represivo que nos conduciría a una vietnamización, nos orientamos hacia la implementación de esquemas desarrollo alternativo con igualdad de oportunidades", "la fallida estrategia represiva sólo nos ha ocasionado la pauperización del campesinado peruano, una violenta depreciación del ecosistema y una escalada violentista a nivel nacional", "Convenio supone la aceptación de asumir firmes compromisos y nuevas estrategias que deberán reflejarse en realidades concretas los próximos seis meses"; "ambas partes han reconocido, por primera vez que los campesinos cocaleros son sujetos distintos de los narcotraficantes y por tanto no son criminales sino actores de un proyecto que busca la paz", "manejo eminentemente político e integral...clara subordinación al poder civil de las fuerzas militares y policiales...escrupuloso respeto a los derechos humanos...para que se otorgue la máxima legitimidad". Estas son parte de las palabras con que enaltece la participación yanqui en la lucha contra la guerra popular en el Perú bajo la cobertura de lucha contra las drogas al suscribir el Tratado cuyos resultados, hoy día los estamos viviendo, plasman todo lo contrario de lo que dijo en su propio parlamento y se encuentra a fojas cero.

El contenido del Convenio refleja el carácter y la esencia del mismo, de comienzo a fin y el taparrabos de lucha contra las drogas "gran cruzada nacional contra el narcotráfico" es mas transparente que un tul de grandes huecos. Veamos algunas cuestiones. Primero parten del fracaso de todos los planes de erradicación del cultivo de la hoja de coca, reconocen que el área de esos cultivos se ha incrementado y concluyen que "existe evidencia de que elementos organizados del extranjero y bandas armadas peruanas han comenzado a participar en la comercialización y expansión del cultivo dentro del país". Destaquemos, "bandas armadas peruanas" no es sino una forma de encubrir la existencia de la guerra popular; y los fracasos que cosecharon ayer también los están cosechando hoy porque para nadie es un secreto que estamos a noviembre y no hay ningún desarrollo alternativo, ni cultivos sustitutorios, más la represión se agudiza, el genocidio continúa, los terrenos de cultivo de coca se están expandiendo a casi todo el departamento de San Martín, al departamento de Madre de Dios y hasta el trapecio amazónico, llegan a contabilizar más de 220 mil hectáreas de cultivos ilegales de coca; y han entrado a un nuevo rubro: cultivo de la amapola, los campesinos nuevamente han sentido los engaños de quienes manejan este viejo

Estado y se levantan con más ardor para destruirlo, incrementando las filas de la guerra popular; nuestra palabra desenmascaradora se ha comprobado en la realidad una vez más, el imperialismo y la reacción peruanas no pueden seguir maniobrando más a las masas.

En segundo lugar, dice el documento que "crearán una asociación bilateral para desarrollar una estrategia e implementarla proveyendo los instrumentos necesarios para lograr en el más breve plazo una reducción sustancial o la total eliminación del cultivo y la comercialización" y habla de representantes al más alto nivel. En el caso peruano, quien debe designarlo es el presidente del Perú, pero lo cierto es que hasta hoy no ha nombrado a nadie y en Washington era De Soto quien aparecía como representante del Perú; y de la parte norteamericana tampoco hay representante al mas alto nivel, así que es otra frase demagógica para las tribunas, es que está en juego la reelección de Bush y la lucha contra las drogas es parte de sus banderas electorales; para el presidente peruano es parte de sus tres tareas, sobre todo de la principal: aniquilar la guerra popular.

Luego, ambos intereses, imperialistas y reaccionarios los cubren con palabrejas de supuesta consideración humanitaria cuando son, con diferencias de magnitud, atroces genocidas y desconocedores de los derechos de los oprimidos y explotados; dice: "de vital importancia para alcanzar los objetivos globales de la humanidad contra la droga pues involucra simultáneamente al mayor consumidor de los derivados de la hoja de coca y al mayor productor de la hoja de coca" aquí se demuestra claramente como buscan "causa justa" que justifique la intervención imperialista yanqui en la guerra popular del Perú. También podemos ver cómo les preocupa guardar las apariencias de "legitimación" en sus tratos por eso se refieren al "consenso de ambos pueblos plasmado en la `iniciativa Fujimori' y la 'Autoridad Autónoma de Desarrollo Alternativo' dependiente del presidente peruano, que le otorga a este convenio una legitimidad que lo convertirá en un eficaz instrumento". Nosotros sabemos que tal doctrina esta viciada desde que no corresponde a los intereses del campesinado cocalero sino a los del imperialismo yanqui y de la gran burguesía y los terratenientes peruanos, vía ILD; la AADA fue tan duramente criticada por anticonstitucional que hoy día la han cambiado por la IDEA, organismo del mismo carácter antidemoburgués reaccionario de la anterior, pero amparada por un dispositivo legal.

Tercero, plantea que es una "nueva forma de cooperación" , lo cual es falso porque el mismo gran gendarme imperialista y genocida mundial Bush parte de colocar en primer lugar la represión antes que el desarrollo alternativo de la zona. Además es parte de la política

yanqui que los ejércitos de sus países aliados intervengan en la lucha contra las drogas como lo hacen en Bolivia y lo que pasa es que buscan el aval del gobierno peruano para imponer sus condiciones teniendo en cuenta que las FF.AA. peruanas se resistían a entrar a combatir el narcotráfico, por lo menos el que fuera ministro de Defensa hasta hace poco, el general EP Torres Aciego. Estipula el acuerdo que sea el gobierno peruano el que incluya políticas para la coordinación entre la PN, el Ejército, la Armada y la FAP e impone la condición de "resultados rápidos en todo lo relacionado a seguridad, los controles, las intercepciones y las capturas requeridas": eso de igualdad de condiciones, es cuento para niños porque quien esta imponiendo condiciones es el imperialismo yanqui y se evidencia que buscan resultados rápidos.

Sobre que los cocaleros son campesinos que siembran la hoja de coca y no el primer eslabón del narcotráfico, bien lo sabían desde hace mucho tiempo; la cuestión es que su estrategia de erradicación ha fracasado por el rotundo rechazo de los cocaleros, su resistencia y la guerra popular; por eso quieren aplicar la sustitución de cultivos planteando el engaño del talismán de la propiedad de la tierra; pero así como ayer la erradicación abono a mayor incorporación campesina a la guerra popular, hoy por mas que busquen apartar al campesinado, y en particular al cocalero, de la guerrilla, el someterlo a gran despojo para facilitar la agroindustria del imperialismo y la gran burguesía peruana y sus compinches los terratenientes, motivaran nuevamente mayor incorporación campesina a la guerra popular, principalmente de los mas pobres que serán lógicamente los más marginados de esos beneficios y explotados. Que "todo esto se cumpla con instrumentos democráticos que permitan involucrar a los ciudadanos directamente en el proceso de toma de decisiones...acceso universal y rápido de los campesinos a la propiedad formal a su usufructo y utilización para garantizar la obtención de créditos y el acceso a la empresa, al comercio exterior y a la participación en la formación de precios" o el que se les considere interlocutores de `dialogo'"; como dicen, no es sino parte del control de la población y recursos de la guerra de baja intensidad que pretende movilizar a las masas para sus planes de pacificación. Sin embargo, con esto buscaran el apoyo de los campesinos ricos y de algunos lacayos como Walter Cocas, falso campesino pobre y carente de representatividad entre las masas; o el gerente de la Cooperativa Agraria del Alto Huallaga cuya institución financia el `Frente de Defensa de la Erradicación de la Coca", cuyas opiniones son favorables al plan imperialista y plantea; "el problema de los cultivos de coca no es político ni militar sino agroindustrial; se necesita que se garantice la industrialización de los productos como la

palma aceitera... :tememos que el Convenio se detenga por eso le pedimos a Fujimori garantía de la ONU". Otros como los del valle del Apurímac pidieron "sustitución pero con desarrollo". Por su parte, el presidente del FEDISAM, Lucas Cachay, pide simplemente que los campesinos cocaleros participen y sean consultados, en ningún momento condena el Convenio y más bien ha sostenido conversaciones con H. de Soto. Son estos los cocaleros que aceptaron convertirse en los Interlocutores validos. Que están revelando? una condenable esperanza en el Imperialismo principalmente yanqui y el aval de sus instituciones como la imperialista y contrarrevolucionaria ONU.

Quinto, imponen como condición principal, que el Perú se someta a los planes yanquis de desarrollar la economía de mercado, su neoliberalismo tan en boga hoy en día, y le impone que el Perú haga un programa de "ajuste estructural" sólido y de "reformas estructurales" "dentro de esos criterios, lo cual constituye una abierta violación de la Soberanía peruana. El documento dice: "Los firmantes reconocen la necesidad de que intervengan por ambas partes personas o entidades que hagan posible activar los grandes Instrumentos políticos para alcanzar los objetivos referidos a este convenio. Algunos ejemplos son la Iniciativa para las Américas del presidente Bush, el Plan Brady del Secretario del Tesoro de los EE.UU., la Declaración de Cartagena. Dos otros ejemplos son la iniciativa del presidente Fujimori y el proyecto HOPE del presidente Bush que coinciden en enmarcar la lucha contra las drogas dentro de una perspectiva cuyo propósito es hacer llegar los beneficios de la propiedad privada, la reforma estructural, las oportunidades alternativas y la economía de mercado a los sectores más pobres del país". Más descarada no puede ser la injerencia yanqui en la política económica peruana, además qué tiene que ver un supuesto convenio antidrogas con el tipo de economía que deba aplicar un país independiente, y por qué se tiene que exigir un programa de ajuste estructural?; ningún Tratado, menos como ellos lo llaman un Convenio, tiene que determinar las políticas económicas de otro país. Por otro lado, con la drástica disminución de los créditos del Banco Agrario se está promoviendo arrastrar a los campesinos de cultivos legales al cultivo de coca, por lo tanto el resultado es totalmente contrario a lo que allí pregonan. Significaría también que en el caso hipotético de que el gobierno peruano suspendiera la economía de mercado, el Convenio se rescindiría. Ahí está el total sometimiento del Perú al imperialismo yanqui.

Pero los asuntos económicos no son los únicos en los que interviene el imperialismo yanqui, imponen condiciones en "sistemas judiciales y administrativos eficientes". Así vemos la participación directa del

imperialismo en la dación de las leyes peruanas entonces quién determina la política económica peruana? la estrategia contrasubversiva? el sistema legislativo? Por eso decimos que el gobierno de Fujimori es genocida y vendepatria y el más obsecuente proimperialista yanqui de la historia del Perú.

Sexto, una segunda cuestión importante como la mencionada sobre política económica es el aspecto de la seguridad en la cual enmarcan el acuerdo, aquí el taparrabos de lucha contra las drogas se cae vergonzosamente, dice: "Para alcanzar los objetivos de este Convenio será necesario establecer un marco de justicia, respeto a los derechos humanos, orden, seguridad y paz en todas las zonas vinculadas al narcotráfico y actividades conexas..." no dice en zonas donde prolifere el narcotráfico si no vinculadas y, además, cuáles son las actividades conexas?. Antes, en otro rubro, insisten en el respeto a los derechos humanos como condición primordial para su "ayuda", así como respeto a la declaración de las Naciones Unidas, los acuerdos de Ginebra y el acceso irrestricto de la Cruz Roja Internacional a esas zonas, cuáles? de acción subversiva o de narcotráfico?. Dice "Para establecer este marco será preciso dar seguridad a las áreas donde se lleve a cabo el proceso de sustitución y proteger las actividades de interdicción, todo ello con el objeto de garantizar el desarrollo alternativo y las medidas de ajuste estructural..." En síntesis, represión si no hay "ayuda" económica; pero reprimir respetando los derechos humanos.

Prosigue "estrategia que considere la necesidad de alimentar, equipar, entrenar, uniformar y apoyar adecuadamente a las fuerzas armadas y policiales que van a luchar contra el narcotráfico y quienes lo apoyan y alientan; "que los recursos militares puedan dedicarse también a apoyar acciones de índole social, económica y cívica que beneficien a las personas afectadas por el narcotráfico y la violencia"; "conveniencia de que el equipamiento de las fuerzas armadas y policiales se realice en la medida de lo posible, utilizando los mismos suministros, la mano de obra y las materias primas producidas localmente". Acción cívica otra vez y encima quieren que el propio país cargue con el mayor gasto posible en las actividades represivas.

Todos estos párrafos ilustran el carácter y la esencia del Convenio; y si los comparamos con los textos estudiados en la Sesión Preparatoria del II Pleno del Comité central sobre la guerra de baja intensidad, se prueba que están desenvolviéndose dentro de ello. El Manual de Campo del Departamento de Defensa Norteamérica en la parte de guerra de baja intensidad, Washington DC, 1981, sintetiza los elementos de esta guerra en: papel primordial del ejército aliado en la

acción contrasubversiva; carácter político del esfuerzo y su combinación con reformas económicas y sociales; necesidad de combinar las operaciones militares con las de inteligencia, sicológicas, asuntos civiles y control de la población y recursos; y la legitimación del régimen aliado a través de la disminución de la violación de los derechos humanos. Plantea, además, que "la participación Norteamérica se considera defensa interna en el exterior a través de una serie de programas de desarrollo, ayuda humanitaria y asistencia de seguridad, esta doctrina de DDI (Defensa y Desarrollo Interno) es la estrategia para la prevención o destrucción de la subversión y está integrada por tres componentes desarrollo balanceado, movilización (organizar al pueblo en actividades de apoyo al gobierno), y neutralización del grupo armado como cuestión decisiva. Apuntando a una futura intervención directa como último recurso empezando con asesorar y apoyar con entrenamiento militar". Más similares no pueden ser los criterios vertidos en el Convenio y es también dentro de esto que se han suscrito los dos anexos, uno militar y otro económico, aunque hay quienes dicen se tratan de cuatro.

Ambos anexos los enmarcan dentro de la llamada cooperación en políticas de desarrollo alternativo y de seguridad para el funcionamiento de la economía de mercado en las zonas cocaleras. En el anexo militar, contrariamente a lo acordado en el Convenio avanzan en definir que las FF.AA. participen en las actividades antinarcóticos: "Las actividades antinarcóticos se ven amenazadas por grupos subversivos y están íntimamente entrelazadas lo que hace que en tales circunstancias las acciones antiterroristas sean un componente justificable de las acciones antidrogas"; y dice que toca al presidente decidir la manera y el momento de su participación. Especifica que deben actuar en acción cívica: mejoramiento de carreteras, perforación de pozos, irrigaciones, construcción y reparación de instalaciones civiles, asistencia humanitaria, médica, y dental y campañas antidrogas, que esto rige para la policía y para las fuerzas armadas. Vuelve a exigir respeto a los derechos humanos, prohibición de ejecuciones extrajudiciales, desapariciones, tortura, arresto y detención arbitrarios así como atención apropiada a enfermos y heridos. Sin embargo, cómo tratan a los prisioneros de guerra en los cuarteles y cárcel en del Perú? si no los asesinan antes, los hacinan y aplican su plan de aniquilamiento sistemático hasta llegar a genocidio.

Y tras la supuesta capacitación empieza la intervención yanqui: "El Perú se compromete a ampliar la capacidad de las FF.AA. y a que estas brinden protección a las fuerzas policiales en las actividades antidrogas en las que se ven enfrentadas a los terroristas". "El gobierno de los EE.UU. se compromete a brindar capacitación y equipamiento

con el fin de ampliar la capacidad y efectividad terrestre, aérea y fluvial de las unidades policiales y militares peruanas". "Teniendo el Valle del Alto Huallaga como la zona principal"; no dice exclusiva, por lo tanto pueden actuar en cualquier parte. El monto para este efecto es "hasta $ 34.9 millones para financiar la compra de implementos y servicios de origen estadounidense...fondos que serán evaluados anualmente y que requerirá una reducción de la producción y tráfico de drogas, conducción sostenida de políticas económicas y respeto a los DD.HH.". Es la mayor venta del Perú al imperialismo yanqui por un mendrugo para comprarle logística. Concluye que las partes pueden ponerse de acuerdo con las "acciones legales que sean necesarias para lograr las metas propuestas"; otra vez EE.UU. puede imponer las leyes que les de la gana para justificar su intervención.

El anexo económico no es más que la estipulación de los montos para la descarada intervención yanqui en la política económica del gobierno peruano: 1) En apoyo al programa de estabilización económica y reforma estructural del gobierno peruano, el gobierno norteamericano proporcionará a la balanza de pagos bajo el programa de asistencia económica contra narcóticos, 52.7 millones de dólares. 2) Actividades de promoción de inversiones y exportaciones que asistan al sector privado en la generación de ahorro de divisas y la creación de oportunidades de empleo, 4.5 millones de dólares. 3) Para promover alternativas económicamente viables tales como la producción agrícola, actividades de procesamiento y comercialización para cultivos específicos empresas no agrícolas, empleo temporal, mantenimiento de carreteras secundarias, rehabilitación de carreteras ("merece especial y pronta atención", esto es para acciones contrasubversivas) estimular a las organizaciones legítimas y democráticas campesinas a que participen y reciban apoyo en mecanismos de registros de propiedad; en total para todo esto 1.9 millones de dólares, en el marco del proyecto "Desarrollo regional del Alto Huallaga". 4) El gobierno de EE.UU. también cooperará para mejorar la eficiencia del sistema judicial del Perú con 0.9 millones de dólares ésta es una descarada venta de la justicia peruana a sus amos imperialistas yanquis. Total 94.900 millones de dólares en el año fiscal 91-92. Fondos, además, sujetos a evaluaciones constantes de avances en todos los rubros contemplados a más de la disponibilidad de los mismos en el Congreso norteamericano.

La posición acordada en el II Pleno, después de haber desenmascarado la llamada doctrina Fujimori, nos llevó con gran previsión a concebir la III Campaña contra el gobierno más descaradamente proimperialista yanqui hasta hoy y contra la agresión imperialista, principalmente yanqui. Por tanto, estuvimos prevenidos contra el Convenio y la

creciente intervención yanqui en la guerra contrasubversiva en el Perú bajo el aval del vendepatria Fujimori, y fuimos consecuentes aplicadores de sembrar antiimperialismo en las masas.

En el campo de la reacción y el revisionismo se han visto posiciones divergentes frente al Convenio. Lo han calificado de entreguista; de ser un error, una ilusión de EE.UU. de erradicar la coca, de no ser un programa sino un simple saludo a la bandera; en tanto Expreso festejaba "coherente y esboza una estrategia integral y democrática". Pero como siempre todos los reaccionarios y revisionistas convirgiendo en su defensa del viejo orden fueron incapaces de condenar la nueva intervención yanqui en política peruana; en Bolivia no hubo tan descarada aceptación. Y si recordamos que en el gobierno del demagogo y genocida García Pérez, el general (FAP) Enrico Praelli se opuso a la intervención yanqui lo que le costó su sanción; hoy los incondicionales jefes militares y policiales fujimoristas aceptan esta traición a la patria que dicen defender. Algunos miembros del Movimiento Libertad, como E. Ghersi, fundamentaron abiertas oposiciones; pero de las palabras no pasaron. Los oportunistas burgueses, como Diez Canseco del PUM, recién se dieron cuenta que era una intervención imperialista yanqui contra el Perú, pero como están en contra de la guerra popular tampoco pasaron de las declamaciones. El revisionismo del encallecido Del Prado siguió mudo, y los revisionistas de "Patria Roja" están tan embebidos en su adorado parlamentarismo y habiendo abandonado hasta el antiimperialismo, consideran que si "desarrolla" entonces el Convenio es bueno: posición similar es la de sus primos hermanos, los revisionistas armados del MRTA. El reflotado Belaúnde Terry habló de "ridículas cantidades" y de "condiciones desfavorables para el Perú", como siempre quiere "igualdad de condiciones" y "más inversiones yanquis". El jurista García Sayán lo defendió a capa y espada y estuvo plenamente de acuerdo con la supuesta garantización de la ONU. Ulloa y su pasquín archirreaccionario, fujimorista hoy día, lo enalteció hasta el espacio sideral. Y los "intelectuales" peruanos, temerosos de perder sus prebendas o ser tildados de "terroristas", con su silencio cómplice se pronunciaron por la intervención yanqui en la guerra popular del Perú. Resumiendo, en este problema la polarización se está expresando nítidamente: por un lado, el Partido Comunista dirigiendo al pueblo repudia, condena y combate contra el Convenio y la agresión Imperialista y, por el otro lado, los defensores del Viejo Estado terrateniente burocrático, los proimperialistas los apoyan.

En síntesis, el Convenio tiene un carácter contrarrevolucionario, en esencia pretende aniquilar la guerra popular; para el imperialismo, principalmente yanqui, la "lucha contra el narcotráfico" es el pretexto

que le da "causa justa" para intervenir en la guerra contrarrevolucionaria del Perú y contribuir en las tres tareas; el vendepatria Fujimori ha promovido la mayor participación imperialista yanqui con la suscripción del Convenio de Intervención yanqui y sus anexos. Nuestra posición es desenmascararlo, condenarlo y aplastarlo desarrollando más la guerra popular, cualquiera sean las circunstancias de su intervención y sembrar antiimperialismo principalmente antiyanqui en las masas populares.

DERECHOS HUMANOS Y "AYUDA" La concepción marxista-leninista-maoísta, pensamiento gonzalo nos hace comprender el carácter burgués reaccionario, contrarrevolucionario de los llamados Derechos Humanos (DD.HH.) que tanto se manipulan hoy en el mundo, y cómo entender los derechos del pueblo.

Marx en el Tomo I de El Capital nos dice: "La órbita de la circulación, o del cambio de mercancías, dentro de cuyas fronteras se desarrolla la compra y la venta de la fuerza de trabajo, era, en realidad, el verdadero paraíso de los derechos del hombre. Dentro de estos linderos, sólo reinan la libertad, la igualdad, la propiedad y Bentham J. Bentham. 1748-1832, economista inglés, su teoría es el utilitarismo, antecedente del pragmatismo.. La libertad, pues el comprador y el vendedor de una mercancía, v. gr. de la fuerza de trabajo, no obedecen a más ley que la de su libre voluntad. Contratan como hombres libres e iguales ante la ley. El contrato es el resultado final en que sus voluntades cobran una expresión jurídica común. La igualdad, pues compradores y vendedores sólo contratan como poseedores de mercancías cambiando equivalente por equivalente.

La propiedad, pues cada cual dispone y solamente puede disponer de lo que es suyo. Y Bentham, pues a cuantos intervienen en estos actos sólo los mueve su interés. La única fuerza que los une y pone en relación es la fuerza de su egoísmo, de su provecho personal, de su interés privado. Precisamente por eso, porque cada cual cuida solamente de sí y ninguno vela por los demás, contribuyen todos ellos, gracias a una armonía pre-establecida de las cosas o bajo los auspicios de una providencia omniastuta a realizar la obra de su provecho mutuo, de su conveniencia colectiva, de su interés social.

Al abandonar esta órbita de la circulación simple o cambio de mercancías, adonde el librecambista vulgaris va a buscar las ideas, las concepciones y los criterios del capital, del trabajo asalariado, parece como si cambiase algo de la fisonomía de los personajes de nuestro drama: El antiguo poseedor de dinero abre la marcha convertido en capitalista y tras el viene el poseedor de la fuerza de trabajo,

transformado en obrero suyo; aquél pisando recio y sonriendo desderioso, todo ajetreado; éste tímido y receloso, de mala gana, como quien va a vender su propio pellejo y sabe la suerte que le aguarda: que se la curtan."

Aquí Marx establece la relación entre el sistema capitalista de compra y venta de fuerza de trabajo y el paraíso de los derechos del hombre; especifica el carácter de clase de cada uno de esos derechos: libertad del comprador para comprar fuerza de trabajo y libertad del obrero para vender su fuerza de trabajo; la igualdad de los poseedores de mercancías, del capitalista que posee el capital y del obrero para quien su única propiedad es su fuerza de trabajo; y la libertad de disponer de la propiedad que cada uno tenga, si tiene capital tiene derecho a disponerlo como le plazca: explotando más, si tiene sólo fuerza de trabajo tiene derecho a vender su pellejo para que lo curtan. Y, en tercer lugar desenmascara el contenido burgués de centrar en el individuo, de basarse en el egoísmo, en el interés personal y la creencia de un orden preestablecido o bajo un Dios de esos derechos.

En "Miseria de la Filosofía", Marx trata la libertad: "No os dejéis engañar por la palabra abstracta de libertad. Libertad de quién? No es la libertad de cada individuo con relación al otro individuo. Es la libertad del capital para machacar al trabajador". El Presidente Gonzalo comentando esta cita en la reunión del Buró Político, julio 90, plantea "Marx por sí sólo se hace entender; tanto se habla de libertad, pues de qué, de quién, de qué clase, para quién? Libertad de la burguesía para machacar al trabajador, para machacar no sólo a la clase, sino a todos los que trabajan con el sudor de su frente!. Ya Marx nos decía, mucho se habla de libertad y se habla de este sistema como derivado de la libertad, sin entender que la libertad no es sino la derivación ideológica del sistema burgués actual, eso es lo que entendemos hoy por libertad.

Y en "La Sagrada Familia", título "Sobre la cuestión judía" parágrafo I "Declaración de los Derechos del Hombre y del Ciudadano", articulo 2, dice Marx: "Estos derechos (los derechos naturales e imprescriptibles), son: la igualdad, la seguridad y la propiedad. En qué consiste la libertad? Es el derecho de hacer todo lo que no dañe a otro, el limite lo determina la ley, se trata de la libertad del hombre como una monada aislada, replegada sobre sí misma. Pero el derecho humano de la libertad no se basa en la unión del hombre con el hombre sino en la separación del hombre por el hombre. Es el derecho a esa disociación, el derecho del individuo delimitado, limitado así mismo". Clara crítica a la libertad burguesa; prosigue: "La aplicación práctica del hombre, de la libertad, es el derecho humano de la propiedad privada. El

derecho humano de la propiedad privada, es por tanto el derecho a disfrutar de su patrimonio y a disponer de él arbitrariamente (según su agrado), sin atender a los demás hombres, independiente de la sociedad es él derecho del interés personal. Ese es el problema del derecho humano de la libertad" "Aquella libertad individual y esta aplicación suya, constituyen el fundamento de la sociedad burguesa" Por tanto la libertad burguesa es en esencia el derecho humano de la propiedad privada; y la propiedad privada es el derecho a disfrutar de su patrimonio y a disponer de ella en su interés personal, que constituye el fundamento de la sociedad burguesa. "Sociedad que hace que el hombre no encuentre en ella la realización sino la limitación de su libertad y proclama por encima de todo el derecho humano de disfrutar y de disponer arbitrariamente de sus bienes, de sus productos, de sus frutos, de su trabajo y de su industria". Eso es lo que proclama en esencia el derecho humano de la propiedad privada. Esa es la libertad y fundamento de la sociedad burguesa. Liga libertad a propiedad privada en interés personal; no se puede separar, cuando se habla de libertad se habla de propiedad privada, el derecho del interés personal. Ese es su fundamento, es la base del liberalismo y neoliberalismo a ultranza. Y esto es lo que hemos visto en el análisis de la Constitución peruana y de las leyes internacionales, no es sino el derecho del interés personal de la clase burguesa y sometimiento al imperialismo, por tanto es plenamente valido lo que dijera Marx. La igualdad, dice Marx es considerada ligada a la propiedad privada y al interés personal, y la igualdad no es sino que todo hombre se considera por igual una mónada, tú mónada, todos mónadas, pero cada uno con su interés personal. Reconoce que todos tienen igual derecho o interés personal, ese interés personal es para tomar la propiedad, disfrutarla y ejercer su derecho en función de cada uno.

La seguridad, que también enumera el artículo y lo transcribe, dice es el supremo concepto social de la sociedad burguesa, el concepto de la policía. Según el cual toda la sociedad existe solamente para garantizar a cada uno de sus miembros la conservación de su persona, de sus derechos y de su propiedad.

A partir de esto comprenderemos que los derechos humanos son los derechos de la burguesía, basados en la concepción centrada en el individuo como poseedor de derechos naturales, propios de su condición de individuos; derechos que son imprescriptibles en cuanto están ligados a su libertad, que es libertad en tanto derecho humano de la propiedad privada; y entendiendo su derecho humano de la propiedad privada como disponer de su patrimonio y disfrutar de él, atendiendo al derecho de interés personal que es el fundamento de la sociedad burguesa. De estos criterios deriva la igualdad, derecho de

cada individuo a ejercer el derecho de su propio interés, de la propiedad privada, de su derecho de interés personal . Y la seguridad, el supremo concepto de la sociedad burguesa; destacar el concepto de policía, dice Marx que una sociedad burguesa requiere de un aparato que garantice los derechos de los individuos, su derecho de propiedad privada. (Todos los comentarios son del Presidente Gonzalo en el II Pleno del Comité Central, oct-feb 91/92).

Lenin. El Presidente Gonzalo en "Elecciones, no! Guerra popular, sí!" se reafirma en lo que Lenin escribe sobre este mismo problema en su texto "Economía política en la época de la dictadura del proletariado" en su parte V, al tratar socialismo, clases y dictadura del proletariado: "Bajo el capitalismo, el proletariado era una clase oprimida, carente de toda propiedad sobre los medios de producción, la única clase directa y totalmente contraria a la burguesía, y por lo tanto la única capaz de ser revolucionaria hasta el fin. "Las frases generales sobre la libertad, la igualdad y la democracia no son, en realidad otra cosa que la ciega repetición de conceptos calcados sobre el molde de las relaciones de producción mercantil. Querer resolver por medio de estas frases generales las tareas concretas de la dictadura del proletariado equivale a pasarse en toda la línea a las posiciones teóricas, de principio, de la burguesía. Desde el punto de vista del proletariado, el problema se formula así libertad con respecto a la opresión de qué clase? Igualdad entre que clases? Democracia en base a la propiedad o en base a la lucha por la abolición de la propiedad privada?, etc." La primera nos hace ver el papel revolucionario del proletariado frente al papel reaccionario de la burguesía. En la segunda está tan nítido el carácter de clase de libertad, igualdad y democracia que basta reproducirla.

Presidente Mao. También en el mismo texto el Presidente Gonzalo transcribe: "Y en lo referente a la libertad y democracia (el Presidente Mao nos enseña) `En realidad, en el mundo sólo hay libertad y democracia concretas, y no existen libertad y democracia abstractas. En una sociedad donde existe lucha de clases, si hay libertad para que las clases explotadoras exploten al pueblo trabajador, no hay libertad para que éste no sea explotado; si hay democracia para la burguesía no la hay para el proletariado y el resto del pueblo trabajador. En algunos países capitalistas también se permite la existencia legal de algunos Partidos Comunistas, pero únicamente en la medida que esto no pone en peligro los intereses fundamentales de la burguesía; no está permitida más allá de ese límite. Los que piden libertad y democracia en abstracto creen que la democracia es un fin y no un medio. A veces la democracia parece un fin, pero en realidad es solo un medio. El marxismo nos enseña que la democracia forma parte de la superestructura y pertenece a la categoría de la política. Esto

significa que, en fin de cuentas, la democracia sirve a la base económica. Lo mismo ocurre con la libertad. Tanto la democracia como la libertad son relativas y no absolutas, han surgido y se desarrollan en el curso de la historia. En el seno del pueblo la democracia es correlativa con el centralismo, y la libertad, con la disciplina. Son dos aspectos distintos de un todo único, contradictorios y a la vez unidos. No debemos recalcar unilateralmente uno de ellos negando el otro. En el seno del pueblo no se puede prescindir de la libertad, tampoco se puede excluir la disciplina, no se puede prescindir de la democracia, tampoco se puede excluir el centralismo. Tal unidad de democracia y centralismo, de libertad y disciplina, constituye nuestro centralismo democrático. Bajo este sistema, el pueblo disfruta de una democracia y una libertad amplia, pero al mismo tiempo debe mantenerse dentro de los límites de la disciplina socialista. Esta verdad la comprenden bien las grandes masas populares'. Así, el Presidente Mao elevando el problema de los derechos y libertades fundamentado y desarrollado por Marx y Lenin, recalca el carácter de clase de los mismos, su base ideológica burguesa centrada en el individuo, en el egoísmo; y, la relación entre derechos y sistema social".

Hasta aquí hemos visto la concepción marxista-leninista-maoísta. Ahora, esbozamos algo del proceso seguido en el mundo por la oligarquía financiera en cuanto a DD.HH. La oligarquía financiera, clase del imperialismo y especificación de la gran burguesía, siempre ha enarbolado las viejas y raídas banderas de DD.HH. para expandir su dominio mundial; fue en nombre de los DD.HH. que el presidente norteamericano Wilson participó en la I Guerra Mundial para erigir a EE.UU. como potencia imperialista y actuó en la primera gran guerra de rapiña para repartirse el mundo. El 41, con F.D. Roosevelt los yanquis van a intervenir en la II Guerra Mundial para expandir sus dominios a más partes del orbe. Después de la guerra y para garantizar su expansión, dominio e influencia promovió la Declaración Universal de los Derechos Humanos en la ONU, organismo proimperialista garante de las superpotencias y potencias imperialistas. Por otro lado, siempre los EE.UU. y demás potencias imperialistas han atacado los sistemas socialistas de la URSS, cuando Lenin o Stalin, y de China con el Presidente Mao, como violadores de los DD.HH. Y hoy día que el Imperialismo prosigue su hundimiento general recurre a sus antiguas banderas burguesas reaccionarias, a sus viejos principios remozados, porque ya no puede crear nada nuevo ni progresista. y los cubre de un barniz "humanitario" para ocultar su carácter de clase contrarrevolucionario que pretende contener en el mundo la tendencia histórica y política principal que es la revolución;

escondiendo arteramente que los derechos humanos son un instrumento más para imponer su ideología reaccionaria (cuya médula es el idealismo, y el pragmatismo más grosero, totalmente contrario al materialismo dialéctico) y su falaz política democrática-burguesa de sangrienta dictadura reaccionaria encabezada por la oligarquía financiera en los Estados imperialistas o por la gran burguesía burocrática en las naciones oprimidas (absolutamente contraria a la dictadura democrático-popular y a la dictadura del proletariado ambas dirigidas por el proletariado y sustentadas en la alianza obrero-campesina). Y todo para la defensa del caduco sistema imperialista, sangrienta barbarie parasitaria que asuela la Tierra, contrario y opuesto totalmente al sistema socialista, la gran nueva del siglo XX, único sistema que llevara a la humanidad al reino de la libertad el Comunismo.

Aparentemente el imperialismo, la reacción y el revisionismo defienden los derechos del hombre al margen de las clases, pero en el fondo solamente defienden su derecho y libertad para someter a pueblos y naciones; más aún hoy día el imperialismo, principalmente yanqui, usan los DD.HH. para imponer normas internacionales que justifiquen su intervención en cualquier parte del mundo y someter a todos a su hegemonía. Así, en la ONU, un representante de Austria acaba de proponer formar "cascos blancos" para defender los DD.HH., dijo: "El respeto a los derechos humanos tiene que ser uno de los pilares del orden interno"; su protección "no puede ser considerada como una interferencia en los asuntos internos de un Estado. Por el contrario, expresar preocupación por esta área constituye un elemento importante y legítimo del diálogo internacional". Se quiere arrasar con los derechos de soberanía, independencia y autodecisión o autodeterminación de los pueblos, naciones y Estados. Otro ejemplo de lo que afirmamos es la reciente agresión yanqui, entre otros imperialistas, a Irak y el embargo la que lo han sometido después de su guerra genocida contra el pueblo árabe. Otro más, el sometimiento vergonzante de Kampuchea por la ONU, que impone y maneja la política, economía, reducción de tropas, elecciones, absolutamente todo el orden interno de ese país. O la agresión a Panamá el 89. En consecuencia, es sobre todo el imperialismo yanqui, gran gendarme mundial, que pretende constituirse como superpotencia imperialista hegemónica única, quien más enarbola esas traposas banderas de los derechos humanos.

Dentro de los DD.HH. no caben los derechos del proletariado y del pueblo; los pueblos de Asía, Africa y América Latina tienen derecho a la vida pero los condenan a morir de hambre, los hunden en creciente miseria o lo sumen en profunda ignorancia; el pueblo tiene derecho a

ejercer el poder político pero no consienten su dictadura conjunta, menos aún la dictadura del proletariado; peor aún, en sus llamados sistemas democráticos que no son tales sino dictaduras reaccionarias, demoburguesas o fascistas, al pueblo jamás le consultan, salvo para cubrir apariencias; y los derechos que existen en las constituciones, leyes o normas de los viejos Estados del mundo son cada vez más formales.

Para la aplicación de esta política, el imperialismo crea organizaciones de DD.HH., como parte de su táctica de usar las dos manos; así, a nivel internacional las Comisiones de Derechos Humanos de la ONU o de la OEA y en el país, las ONGs a su servicio en este ámbito. Entre éstas tenemos en Lima, por ejemplo el Instituto de Defensa Legal (IDL), organismo proyanqui que alaba al genocida y vendepatria por sus "avances" en la política de "reinserción" o economía de mercado, saluda su "optimismo" de explotador proimperialista y critica la "aguafiestas violencia cotidiana que les hace recordar que no viven en el país de las maravillas"; quiere decir que, sin la guerra popular las políticas de explotación y entrega total al imperialismo yanqui son bienvenidas por estos defensores de los derechos humanos, sirvientes directos de los yanquis que exigen simplemente la llamada pacificación, o sea la estrategia contrarrevolucionaria de la guerra de baja intensidad; promotores de venales y siniestros periodistas contrarrevolucionarios que siempre han odiado al pueblo peruano, como Zileri de frívola cloaca reaccionaria que es "Caretas".

En América Latina, esta política imperialista también la enarbolan pero con la especificidad de combatir aparentemente el narcotráfico. Esta región es parte clave del imperialismo yanqui y para consolidar su poder tienen que combatir dos problemas fundamentales: la revolución y el narcotráfico, de ellos principal es la revolución porque encierra la contradicción principal en el mundo nación-superpotencias y potencias imperialistas, de cuya solución deriva el destino de cada parte en contienda. La estrategia de los EE.UU. para América Latina consiste en conjurar las revoluciones a través de planes políticos, económicos y militares como los de la llamada "iniciativa de las Américas" y la estrategia de la "guerra de baja intensidad". Pero además, han encontrado que en el Perú, Colombia y Bolivia se cultiva por tradición histórica la hoja de coca; más, como estupefaciente, cocaína, desde estas tierras el imperialismo y los narcotraficantes la llevan a EE.UU. y a otros países de Europa para corromper a sus pueblos, obteniendo grandes ganancias en su comercialización. Así, tomando el problema del narcotráfico como pretexto, han concebido un plan estratégico para intervenir "justificadamente" y conjurar las revoluciones; parte de este negro plan es la reunión de febrero 90 en

Cartagena y también del Convenio de intervención en el Perú ya visto.

En el Perú, ambos problemas, la revolución y el narcotráfico, cobran mayor importancia porque la guerra popular se está convirtiendo en un serio peligro para consolidar el dominio yanqui en América; y, por la crisis general del capitalismo burocrático y la pauperización de la sociedad peruana el cultivo de la coca ha proliferado. Por eso las relaciones entre Perú y EE.UU. se desenvuelven estrechamente ligadas a ambos problemas, principalmente a aniquilar la guerra popular que, al fin y al cabo, es su problema principal. El Presidente Gonzalo en el documento "Elecciones, no! Guerra Popular, sí!" nos enseña:

"La situación de la Región del Huallaga plantea el problema fundamental de la intervención del imperialismo yanqui. Esta cuestión encierra en perspectiva que la contradicción nación-imperialismo devenga principal, imprimiendo un cambio sustancial al desarrollo de la guerra popular en el Perú. En la revista del ejército de los Estados Unidos se dice:

"Finalmente, y más gravemente, Estados Unidos se enfrenta a un aspecto de la insurgencia en Latinoamérica que ofrece la mayor amenaza pero una que quizás aún pueda proveernos del arma con la cual podremos recobrar la superioridad moral que al parecer hemos perdido.

Hay una alianza entre algunos narcotraficantes y algunos insurgentes. Varios países en Latinoamérica se enfrentan a la corrupción de sus gobernantes y oficiales militares. Estos países se esfuerzan por tratar el problema con apoyo inseguro de los Estados Unidos y con variables grados de éxito. Los dólares ganados por los narcotraficantes se entregan a las cajas de ciertos guerrilleros o, posiblemente en forma de armas y abastecimientos, a las manos de la guerrilla.

Una solidificación en la percepción del público y el Congreso de esta conexión conducirá el necesario apoyo para contrarrestar a los terroristas guerrilleros/ narcotraficantes en este hemisferio.

Sería bastante fácil generar tal apoyo una vez probada la conexión y declarada una guerra total por la Autoridad de Mando Nacional. El Congreso tendría dificultad en impedir el apoyo para nuestros aliados con el entrenamiento, asesoramiento, y asistencia de seguridad necesarios para cumplir con la misión. Los grupos religiosos y académicos que han apoyado incansablemente a la insurgencia en Latinoamérica se verían en una posición moral indefendible.

Sobretodo, tendríamos una posición moral intachable desde la cual lanzar un esfuerzo ofensivo coordinado para el cual dispondríamos de los recursos del Departamento de Defensa y los de otras fuentes. La reciente operación en Bolivia es un primer paso. En lugar de responder defensivamente a cada insurgencia según el caso individual, podríamos tomar acciones de concierto con nuestros aliados. En lugar de sumergirnos en el enredo legislativo y los constreñimientos financieros que caracterizan nuestra postura de asistencia de seguridad, podríamos responder con la mayor presteza a la amenaza. En lugar de debatir cada amenaza distinta, podemos empezar a percibir al hemisferio como una entidad y por fin llegar a desarrollar la visión que mucho nos hace falta." (Military Review, Edición Hispanoamericana, mayo 1987; págs. 49 a 51).

Así, plantea que el llamado "narcoterrorismo" es un "arma para recobrar superioridad moral" del imperialismo yanqui, que le dota de "posición moral para ofensiva coordinada" y le proporciona "visión hemisférica" de la cual carece. Estos criterios obviamente más desarrollados, guían la política yanqui; y vemos muy claramente cuan siniestros son los planes que encierra infamar de "narcoterrorismo" a la guerra popular y a quien sirve; y a donde apunta el Viejo Estado, la reacción, el revisionismo, los oportunistas y sus lacayos de toda ralea cuando desenvuelven desde hace años su archirreaccionaria campaña de imputar y llamar "narcoterrorismo" a la guerra popular. Simple y llanamente promover y apoyar la intervención y agresión del imperialismo yanqui, sirviendo y defendiendo sus intereses, así como los de la reacción peruana. Por esto, debemos desenmascarar más la negra esencia contrarrevolucionaria de presentar como "terrorismo" o "narcoterrorismo" a la guerra popular; denunciar la creciente intervención yanqui y sus planes de agresión; impulsar la campaña antiimperialista Yankees Go Home!; apuntar más y esforzarnos por unir al pueblo peruano, a su inmensa mayoría sobre la base de la alianza obrero-campesina; prepararnos ideológica y política, orgánica y militarmente para seguir desarrollando la guerra popular cualquiera sean las circunstancias, enarbolando más el marxismo-leninismo-maoísmo, pensamiento gonzalo; seguir combatiendo cada día tenaz e indeclinablemente por conquistar el Poder en todo el país en función de la revolución proletaria mundial, a la cual estamos más ligados que nunca por la causa inmarcesible del comunismo; y golpear certera y contundentemente al enemigo cualquiera que sea y más aún al propio imperialismo yanqui..." (págs., 38 a 40).

Otra cuestión íntimamente ligada a los derechos humanos es la "legitimación", contenido clave de la estrategia yanqui de guerra de baja intensidad, por la cual los regímenes aliados deben ser

"democráticamente" elegidos, satisfacer necesidades básicas y respetar los DD.HH. Pero ni la votación lograda por Fujimori, ni la insatisfacción creciente de las necesidades fundamentales del pueblo peruano, ni la carente autoridad moral de cínico demagogo que aplica todo lo que negó durante su campaña electoral, ni su sistemática política genocida lo legitiman; por el contrario, Fujimori pierde más "legitimidad" cada día ante el pueblo peruano.

En conclusión, hoy...que el imperialismo está en su hundimiento final, sus derechos humanos son traposas y caducas banderas burguesas, contrarrevolucionarias; cobertura que "legítima" la intervención imperialista en cualquier parte del mundo, recurso engañoso para imponer su dominio, medio para condicionar su "ayuda" e instrumento para contener o derrocar revoluciones. Quien con más vehemencia e hipocresía los enarbola es el imperialismo yanqui que pretende erigirse superpotencia hegemónica única. Por todo lo visto, nuestra posición es bien clara, rechazamos y condenamos los derechos humanos porque son derechos burgueses, reaccionarios, contrarrevolucionarios; son hoy arma de revisionistas e imperialistas, principalmente del imperialismo yanqui. Enarbolar los derechos humanos en el Perú, es avalar la siniestra política intervencionista del imperialismo principalmente yanqui, servir al taimado genocida vendepatria Fujimori, y trabajar por las tres tareas del Viejo Estado; es negar el hambre y el genocidio que sufren las masas, es oponerse a los derechos del pueblo, es ser peón y carne de cañón de la "guerra de baja intensidad" en contra de la guerra popular; es en síntesis, estar por el Imperialismo, contra la nación peruana, por la gran burguesía y los terratenientes en contra de las masas populares, es venderse al pasado infame en contra del futuro brillante.

En lo referente a la "ayuda" imperialista, no es sino inversión altamente rindente en sus semicolonias, aliados o amigos a quienes exige garantías para sus capitales y les demanda "legitimidad" y respeto a los DD.HH. para garantizar sus intereses de clase; la propiedad privada, la economía de mercado, la libertad de acción para sofocar guerras revolucionarias o provocar guerras de rapiña locales y hasta mundiales. Sentado esto, veamos el vergonzante regate entre el "mayor productor y el mayor consumidor", por la llamada "ayuda". El riesgo de suspensión de la "ayuda" estipulada en el Convenio de intervención yanqui ante la persistente violación de los DD.HH. en la guerra contrasubversiva, no en ninguna lucha contra el narcotráfico. Llevó a que el genocida y obsecuente proimperialista yanqui, Fujimori, presuroso emitiera una serie de dispositivos legales por encargo y asesoramiento directo de especialistas norteamericanos; que estuviera a punto de no viajar porque nada de dinero traería al país; y,

que por arte de magia se redujeran las denuncias de desapariciones y ejecuciones extrajudiciales. En visita, no oficial, siervo y amo se encontraron para tramar contra el pueblo peruano; el papel principal del lacayo fue, además, ofrecer en venta todo el Perú, así como aceptar a ciegas todas las condiciones impuestas por el patrón.

Los diarios clamaban: "DD.HH. denuncia preocupante...la lucha antisubversiva sin miramientos legales sólo sirve para alimentar la subversión...si la democracia peruana se salvajiza habrá perdido ya la guerra". "Sólo las dictaduras más sangrientas pueden exhibir un récord de violación de DD.HH. como el Perú". "Del total de casos de desaparecidos reportados a las NN.UU. (Naciones Unidas) durante el año pasado, 60% provienen del Perú". "La subversión busca justamente que la democracia se descalifique a sí misma con actos de este tipo". Apreciación subjetiva que oculta la realidad, pues por su propia naturaleza contrarrevolucionaria tienen que violentar sus propios principios, normas y leyes demoburgueses. Una valiosa declaración señala: "le hace perder legitimidad al Estado peruano y el Estado peruano cava silencioso su propia tumba".

En el ámbito internacional, el secretario general de Amnistía Internacional destacó "la situación del Perú es una de las más preocupantes...los militares no aceptan violaciones y las atribuyen a excesos individuales...en las zonas de emergencia estas violaciones son demasiado frecuentes como para atribuirlas a excesos" Por tanto, son sistemáticas. En Londres, también Amnistía Internacional: "En Perú 300 hombres, mujeres y niños desaparecidos después de ser arrestados por fuerzas de seguridad...todavía practican la tortura..."; posteriormente, "son 150 los casos de desapariciones en Perú con el gobierno de Fujimori". La Comisión ONU de DD.HH. por intermedio del representante peruano denunció "El terrorismo viola los DD.HH.". Y en el Perú empezaron las campañas y operativos para "probar" las vinculaciones de la subversión con el narcotráfico; el general (FAP) Velarde, presidente del CCFFAA. descubre! contrato de comercialización y protección del narcotráfico por Sendero. Incluso difunden que la subversión vende drogas a agentes de la DEA!.

Un grupo de senadores del Congreso norteamericano, encabezados por el senador Kennedy, en carta a Bush por la atroz violación de los DD.HH. en el Perú y porque ningún militar o policía haya sido sancionado o condenado se oponen a la "ayuda" al Perú. Dicen: "Los intentos de Bush por disimular las lamentables violaciones de los DD.HH. en el Perú no sirven a la causa de los DD.HH. ni para eliminar el narcotráfico...esta violación violará la ley estadounidense y es una afrenta al Congreso, vergonzosa y fraudulenta, hasta que no haya

verdadero progreso en Perú no se debería dar un centavo".

"Congreso norteamericano detuvo la "ayuda" de casi 100 millones de dólares al Perú por asistencia militar y desarrollo económico, hasta el 15 de setiembre del 91, después de esa fecha se tratará este problema ligado a los DD.HH. en Perú".

El Premier peruano rechaza la carta de los senadores norteamericanos.

En EE.UU. editorializan a favor de la "ayuda". En el New York Post: "Los peores antecedentes de DD.HH. pero tiene sentido la cooperación militar limitada en contra de los narcotraficantes...en el Perú ninguna campaña por el estilo puede tener éxito sin también atacar la conexión entre la Industria de la cocaína y Sendero Luminoso". En el Washington Post: "el ejército peruano actúa con frecuencia contra sospechosos de izquierdismo, campesinos e indígenas, de forma que desvía la atención de la brutal guerrilla maoísta del país...Perú dista mucho de ser El Salvador y puede esperarse que el Ejército mejore como fuerza armada y en su respeto a los DD.HH. si EE.UU. está atenta y activamente involucrado".

"Cuál es el problema la cruzada contra el flagelo de la humanidad que es el narcotráfico o la lucha contra la guerrilla maoísta?" El secretario de Estado adjunto para asuntos internacionales de narcotráfico de los EE.UU., Levitsky a las agencias noticiosas "Reuter" y "Newsweek" dijo: "Es cuestión de saber que el problema involucra tanto a los narcotraficantes como a Sendero Luminoso...si nuestra asistencia es usada para enfrentar a Sendero Luminoso a fin que las actividades antinarcóticos puedan avanzar y ser eficaces consideraremos eso como un uso legítimo de nuestra asistencia" Aquí está su respuesta, más importa aniquilar la guerra popular que combatir el narcotráfico y su injerencia la consideran de uso legítimo, por lo demás quien lo dice es un representante del Estado norteamericano (algo así como un ministro de Estado). Prosigue: "Han hecho progresos en DD.HH... esperamos que el Congreso considere que es mejor actuar en Perú que simplemente dejarlo de lado...Si dejamos el Perú de lado habremos dejado de lado una buena parte de nuestra estrategia contra los narcóticos. Necesitamos participar y si no lo hacemos ellos van a asestar un golpe a los intereses de la lucha antinarcóticos". En el fondo teme que derrotemos su estrategia de guerra de baja intensidad.

WOLA cuestiona "ayuda" al Perú. La Oficina de Washington sobre América Latina a la vanguardia de que el Perú no reciba ayuda norteamericana, en una carta al New York Times Carlota Youngers lo critica por suponer erróneamente que a Sendero Luminoso y al

narcotráfico puedan combatirse con los mismos medios militares; dice que vincular los objetivos de la contrainsurgencia y la lucha contra la droga hará más daño que bien pues el gobierno del Perú no puede combatir a la guerrilla con eficacia si al mismo tiempo lleva a cabo acciones contra el narcotráfico. La recomendación de WOLA es que EE.UU. no ayude al Perú, pues 1) sus militares no tienen interés en combatir al narcotráfico y 2) quieren las armas y equipos para fortalecer su acción contra la insurgencia, proceso este que ha desaparecido 5 mil peruanos y muchos miles más de muertos. Las criticas de WOLA insisten en pronosticar que si siguen la actual política, EE.UU. se verá involucrado en la guerra sucia que se libra en el Perú, lo cual apunta a evocar el conflicto de Vietnam.

Prosiguen los debates sobre estrategia antidrogas en EE.UU.; Fujimori por boca de su Premier anuncia que esta en veremos su viaje a los EE.UU. La oposición yanqui plantea que se centra en demasía en cuestión militar. Fujimori promulga la ley que autoriza el ingreso de fiscales a los centros de reclusión.

Congresistas norteamericanos, 3 senadores y 10 diputados se reúnen en el CCFFAA. Fueron informados minuciosamente de 10 años de guerra interna contra Sendero Luminoso y la calificaron de "muy cruenta", concluyeron que había falta de preparación de las fuerzas armadas peruanas en DD.HH. en los niveles operativos lo cual había causado "excesos" pero que de ninguna manera estos constituían la doctrina de las fuerzas del orden habiéndose tomado recientes medidas para conjurarlos como la difusión de los DD.HH. en los cuarteles. A partir de esos días empiezan a proliferar los partes de guerra ya conocidos en los cuales llenos de falsas victorias denuncian todos nuestros actos de combate, asaltos y emboscadas o aniquilamientos selectivos a más de sabotajes, como "violaciones de derechos humanos". Lo cual revela un asesoramiento más directo de los yanquis.

El jefe del CCFFAA viaja a Washington. También difundieron que EE.UU. haría una revisión de su política antidrogas y que confidencialmente esto fue comunicado por el secretario de Estado norteamericano a la delegación peruana en Washington. Dijeron que el problema de la lucha contra el narcotráfico tiene que ver con el Departamento de Estado, con el Departamento de Defensa, y con el Departamento de Justicia. Obviamente no se podían referir a la lucha contra las drogas hasta por las frases difundidas por Bush acerca de que el Perú ya no es uno más de los países involucrados sino el principal.

Fue por entonces que el vendepatria viaja en visita no oficial a EE.UU. y pronuncia las condenables palabras en la OEA, que viéramos en la primera parte del balance. Lo que nos interesa es ver qué planteamientos virtió el gran genocida Bush ante la genuflexión de su mercenario: "Usted es la esperanza del Perú para el futuro...hemos conversado abiertamente de los duros retos que el Perú enfrenta tanto con relación a las penurias económicas como a la insurgencia renegada de la guerra de las drogas hasta la batalla para preservar los derechos humanos...reafirmamos los acuerdos de mayo..insto al Congreso a ayudar al Perú y a las naciones andinas...usted ha reemplazado a oficiales de policía sospechosos de corrupción, abuso...ha abierto los centros de detención a fiscales...y ha ofrecido fortalecer su código militar. Sus informes han comenzado a mejorar la actuación de las fuerzas de seguridad en materia de derechos humanos..." Ahí lo está reconociendo como uno de los mejores lacayos que garantizará la puesta en marcha de la economía de mercado, y la "insurgencia renegada" no es sino la forma de cubrir la lucha contra la guerra popular; el resto no son sino palabras demagógicas del amo al siervo fiel. Que después en el Perú, Fujimori haya dispuesto que sus asesores propagandísticos difundan su encuentro y sus palabras por radio y televisión ha sido una medida contraproducente porque al pueblo peruano no se le va a ocurrir aplaudir los halagos de un gran genocida a otro menor; otra ridiculez las fotos de la familia fujimorista en pleno con el gendarme mundial imperialista, ahí se puede comprobar la mentalidad de chulillo ante los supuestos poderosos de la tierra.

Pero ni el viaje propagandístico y pedigüeño de Fujimori logró el dinero que solicitó y la oposición continuó. Así, el senador demócrata norteamericano Alan Cranston expresó su temor de que la militarización de la lucha contra las drogas y la guerrilla en el Perú se transforme en una guerra sucia y advirtió no orientar la ayuda hacia la militarización si no a la asistencia técnica. América's Watch el 12 de octubre dijo que las violaciones de DD.HH. durante el gobierno de Fujimori eran tan numerosas como cuando García Pérez y que Fujimori había diseñado una política con algunos elementos positivos pero que estos deberían aplicarse recién en el futuro; y lo acusó de no haber llevado a la Justicia a ningún militar ni policía por violar los DD.HH. En Lima a los pocos días el senado anuncia que enjuiciarían a un pequeño grupo de militares subalternos por el genocidio de Santa Bárbara en Huancavelica.

Y con toda claridad se destapó el contenido antiguerra popular del Tratado por las interesantes palabras de otro funcionario del gobierno yanqui: Aronson quien declara la "necesidad de proporcionar ayuda

para lograr progresos en la lucha insurgente de tendencia maoísta Sendero luminoso"; dijo además que un "plan integral para detener la producción de la hoja de coca exige derrotar a Sendero Luminoso... y que sería un paso en un largo cambio estructural".

Finalmente, aceptan otorgar el dinero del "Convenio" pero recortado en 10 millones de dólares a desembolsarse en tres etapas dependiendo del progreso del Perú en respeto a DD.HH. y acciones antidrogas; fondos que no serían asignados directamente sino que pasarán por un tamiz civil que lo manejará. Los 10 millones suspendidos iban a ser para equipar 3 batallones del ejército peruano pero como no han demostrado aun respeto a los DD.HH. no se entregarán. El total de ayuda condicionada será de 83 millones de dólares solamente, de ellos 24 millones para cuestiones militares: para implementar y dar mantenimiento a unidades de ingeniería del Ejército, obras civiles, carreteras y puentes básicamente, 6 millones; mantenimiento y reparación de aviones Tucano cazabombarderos A-37 y helicópteros Bell 212 y 214 de la FAP, 12 millones; logística de algunas dotaciones de la Marina en ríos selváticos, 6 millones.

Además 60 millones para desarrollo económico, de ellos ya se firmo convenio por 52 millones (50 para balanza y el resto para planificación). La "ayuda" para el 92-93 se estima bordeará los 130 millones de dólares. Dicen.

Las condiciones de los legisladores norteamericanos al Ejecutivo son creación de registro nacional de detenidos, y nombrar fiscales con mandato para procesar a violadores de DD.HH. y acceso irrestricto de la Cruz Roja Internacional a cuarteles donde haya detenidos; además que el gobierno ejerza el control efectivo de aeropuertos y civiles y que las fuerzas policiales y militares actúen conjuntamente contra el narcotráfico. Se espera en Washington que hasta el 1o de enero del 92 se cumplan los dos primeros requisitos y que cuando se cumpla el tercero se hará el tercer desembolso efectuado directamente a Fujimori.

Este acuerdo se llegó a firmar el 1o de octubre del 91. Posteriormente, el debate ha proseguido y lo concreto es que hasta diciembre ni hay representante del más alto nivel de ninguna de las partes; pues, que acaben de nombrar a Bob Martínez como representante yanqui no sería sino un acto de cumplimiento formal. Y no hay un sólo centavo para el "desarrollo alternativo" y es vox populi el "fracaso del Convenio"; mientras los campesinos expresan su malestar y están abiertamente en contra de la acción de la DEA que esparce desde helicóptero la plagas de hongos que arrasan toda plantación. Pero los

cocales se extienden a nuevas zonas en el Alto, Medio y Bajo Huallaga hasta en el Alto Mayo. A la vez que el Partido extiende su control al Huallaga Medio. Además, se expresa una encarnizada lucha entre revolución y contrarrevolución no solamente en la región del Huallaga sino en toda la ceja de selva y el país en su conjunto, particularmente en Ayacucho y el Centro del Perú. En los EE.UU. prosigue la contienda, Bush defiende su estrategia andina contra las drogas y critica a los congresistas por haber impedido que se adiestre a tres batallones del ejército peruano y que puso en serio peligro, dice los planes de su administración en la región andina. Levitsky insiste en que no se puede aplicar un programa contra las drogas "sin tener en cuenta la amenaza a la seguridad que presentan los insurgentes". Y en el Perú les preocupa los resultados del Convenio sean una mayor incorporación de los campesinos a la guerra popular y que cocaleros de cultivadores pasen a ser elaboradores de PBC; por eso Expreso titula "Campesinos del Alto Huallaga reanudan sus lazos con narcotráfico", y organismos como el ILD indica que no hay visos de que EE.UU. envié el dinero a que se comprometió.

PARTICIPACIÓN MILITAR YANQUI. DEA. Partamos de la evidencia que nunca antes, durante la III Campaña de Impulsar, la guerra popular del Perú ha repercutido tanto en el centro del poder político norteamericano; por una parte se ve que en la pugna electoral entre demócratas y republicanos, toman nuestro proceso para manejar sus contradicciones pero si esta guerra no significara un verdadero riesgo para su dominio hegemónico en América Latina ni la tomarían en cuenta. Es uno de los grandes triunfos obtenidos en esta Campaña el haber remecido las entrañas del gran gendarme mundial y éste se ha tenido que ver inmiscuido más que nunca antes en la guerra contrarrevolucionaria del Perú.

La participación imperialista yanqui en la guerra contrasubversiva es un hecho y se manifiesta en todos los campos de la política peruana, hay un Tratado de intervención militar que como lo hemos demostrado es una injerencia completa en materia de política económica y militar totalmente violatoria de la Constitución peruana.

Hace tiempo construyeron una base contrasubversiva tras el engaño de base antidrogas, en Santa Lucía y proyectaron hacer otra similar en el valle del Ene; allí está el destacamento yanqui con 14 agentes de la Drugs Enforcemment Agency (DEA) que depende del Departamento de Justicia de los EE.UU., nominados "matavietnamitas" por las masas del lugar, quienes además de patrullar piloteando los helicópteros UH l H, actúan contaminando los campos con el SPIKE prohibido internacionalmente o sembrando hongos venenosos como lo han

probado los agrónomos peruanos y que han destruido los sembríos de todo tipo, para "erradicar" la coca, atacando a los campesinos y no así a los narcotraficantes; la prepotencia con que actúan ya la hemos denunciado al punto que los califican de parecer unos "rambos", parecer, porque son unos cobardes que les dan las peores faenas a los peruanos y gozan de una serie de beneficios como que solamente beben sus gaseosas enlatadas. En esa base se encuentran funcionando además de la DEA, la NAS organismo financiero que depende de la anterior, el CORAH proyecto norteamericano de erradicación, la Policía Nacional y desde fines de febrero o comienzos de marzo la FAP.

Hay asesores yanquis para guerra contrasubversiva, confirmado por el mismo vendepatria; hay aviones del tipo AWACS (sistema de alerta y control) que colaboraron con la FAP por lo menos en dos ocasiones según lo proclamó la revista limeña "OIGA" refiriéndose a las palabras del primer mandatario, se trataría de un Boeing E-3B centinela que probó su eficacia en la guerra del Golfo evidentemente no va a ser para la erradicación del cultivo de la coca tiene que ver con los Preparativos que ensayan en la intervención yanqui en la guerra contrasubversiva.

Incluso en la carta de las asociaciones norteamericanas dirigidas ante sus representantes en el Congreso norteamericano plantean que desde el 89 en que se involucró en la llamada guerra contra las drogas no se han obtenido resultados positivos y que más bien tanto en Colombia como en Perú, debido a la presencia de movimientos guerrilleros "la asistencia militar de EE.UU. ha sido explícitamente descrita como asistencia contrainsurgente...pero cualquier involucramiento de los Estados Unidos en los conflictos internos de la región debería ser ampliamente debatido y decidido por el Congreso y no conducido bajo el disfraz de guerra contra las drogas."

Un trabajo publicado por el departamento de estado de los EE.UU. de abril 89 del Instituto de Investigación de Defensa Nacional de la Rand Corporation menciona que EE.UU. adjudica a la guerra popular en el Perú "un papel de creciente relevancia capaz de provocar un eventual colapso institucional", dice que "si bien la acción de Sendero Luminoso ha creció sustancialmente en los últimos 5 años no tendrá éxito hasta que pueda capturar las ciudades". Pero, este mismo instituto está preparando un reciente informe y comentan algunos analistas que dicha institución concibe actualmente dos posibilidades, o que la situación presente de la guerra prosiga indefinidamente opinión calificada de optimista, o que SL gane la guerra en un lapso de 10 años, ésta es la opinión pesimista; se interrogan por qué ese cambio?

porque consideran que la organización subversiva estaría ya en condiciones de cortar el acceso a Lima del 75% de sus necesidades alimentarias transportadas por la carretera central; dicen que la crisis económica también favorece y que un golpe militar tiene chances limitados porque favorecería la polarización.

En la revista "New York Times" se publicó: "50 consultores van al Perú"; ante está noticia el ministro de Defensa Torres Aciego dijo que tocaba al ministerio decidir si venían o no los instructores norteamericanos, pero a los pocos días anunció la "llegada de norteamericanos con el fin de enfrentar el terrorismo con mayor eficacia", "vienen a capacitar en lucha antisubversiva". Levitsky dijo: "EE.UU. decidió enviar asesores militares al Perú porque cree que es imposible luchar contra el narcotráfico sin enfrentar también a los guerrilleros marxistas de Sendero Luminoso...decenas no centenas". El general Velarde jefe del CCFFAA tuvo una mesa redonda con Levitsky y con el director de la Oficina de Enlace de Seguridad Nacional para qué? nunca se informó, obviamente no para la lucha contra las drogas.

El Premier peruano Torres y Torres Lara primero informó que no había tropas norteamericanas en el Perú para de inmediato agregar "sólo se aceptará asistencia para adiestramiento", dijo que en junio 89 llegó personal de instructores del ejército norteamericano pertenecientes al primer batallón 7o grupo aerotransportado de Carolina del Norte con sede en Panamá para curso de operaciones en la selva con la Policía Nacional. Informó de la firma de dos anexos al Tratado en julio 91 y dijo que en agosto 15 miembros del ejército norteamericano están en Mazamari para instrucción. Qué coincidencia! precisamente cuando la guerra contrasubversiva se ha intensificado desde fines del 89 y el presente año, cuando el plan en el Centro del país ha adquirido caracteres genocidas conocidos como los de Corea o Vietnam donde despedazaban los cuerpos para escarmentar. Y quién asegura que solamente son esas decenas?

Otro dato de gran importancia para evaluar la participación creciente del imperialismo yanqui es la serie de reuniones del gobierno peruano con los gobernantes yanquis por ejemplo la reunión entre militares norteamericanos y peruanos en la que intercambian experiencias sobre justicia militar y DD.HH., reunión presidida por un contraalmirante de la Armada Peruana. Otras como las del jefe del Comando Sur del Ejercito de los EE.UU. George Joulwan que visitó a Fujimori, estuvieron presentes el presidente del CCFFAA, Quainton y asesores. El 11 de noviembre otra misión yanqui visitó al presidente peruano congresistas y subsecretario de Estado para América Latina, PH. McLean, congresistas de relaciones exteriores, DD.HH., presupuesto y

asuntos económicos para qué? evidentemente para legislar en materia de pacificación principalmente y habría que interrogarse si en la dación de los últimos 126 Decretos Leyes no han intervenido los propios norteamericanos.

Por eso también el chumbeque agente de la CIA embajador yanqui especialista en genocidio se mete a acusar: "Tanto los miembros de SL como del MRTA y las fuerzas del orden que afectan los DD.HH. son enemigos de la democracia, a la cual hay que preservar". Y para viajando a la selva, sobre todo al Centro a comprobar el avance de los planes y se inmiscuye en la política económica y militar peruana, hasta ha felicitado al genocida vendepatria por la `revolución liberal' que aplica y en uno de los tantos foros en los que participó opino que no se trataba de envió de tropas norteamericanas al Perú: "nosotros planteamos la posibilidad de asistencia a las fuerzas militares y policiales del Perú vía equipamiento e instructores en la medida en que el gobierno peruano lo solicite...no se trata entonces de militarizar la lucha contra las drogas sino de contribuir con elementos para una estrategia integral...podemos compartir nuestra experiencia y hasta cierto punto nuestros propios recursos pero no se trata de que EE.UU. señale cual es la solución." Para al poco tiempo agregar que no se podía diferenciar entre un narcotraficante y un terrorista si se estaba en combate. Y por los primeros quince días de diciembre tuvo una prolongada reunión con el Comando Político-Militar del Frente Mantaro, con el general Pérez para coordinar programas de acción cívica dentro del llamado Convenio, para rehabilitación y reparación de carreteras; también entregó herramientas por mil dólares al Centro Juvenil Salesiano San Juan Bosco Otra casualidad! la convergencia de los yanquis con los católicos, sobre todo los salesianos cuyo representante mayor acaba de venir al Perú.

Luego, una misión norteamericana visita Jauja y Huancayo "para ver avances de la lucha contrasubversiva" o sea que al amparo del Tratado quieren implementar planes pilotos y comprobar sus resultados.

Pero cuál es el resultado de tal intervención? Acaban de publicar en el The New York Times del 10 de noviembre que la droga y la subversión dominan el Perú, por tanto es un evidente fracaso reconocido por ellos mismos, hasta dan cuenta de un ataque por el ejército peruano contra un helicóptero policial que aplicaba un herbicida con la participación de elementos de la DEA; que el centro de las acciones norteamericanas siguen siendo represivas y dicen que los esfuerzos de SL por capitalizar esos fracasos están logrando éxitos y que según una encuesta realizada por ellos un 34% piensa que podremos triunfar. También en la revista Newsweek en un artículo

"Apoyo a la Justicia" Acuerdo Secreto, señalan que Bush pierde la guerra contra las drogas en las naciones andinas pese a la escalada militar en la región; basándose en documentos del Pentágono del Comando Sur, etc.; subraya la alianza entre la guerrilla y el narcotráfico y los campesinos productores de la coca, en especial en Colombia y Perú. También revela las fuertes fricciones entre los agentes civiles y los militares mientras la escalada militar estadounidense en Latinoamérica está dentro del marco de la "guerra de baja intensidad"; para la DEA y la CIA el objetivo es desmantelar los carteles y enjuiciar a sus miembros. En esta operación "Apoyo a la Justicia" participaron grupos de elite para entrenamiento de militares latinos como los Boinas Verde, Comando Delta y los New Seals.

Ya en el Newsweek de agosto pasado registraron el fracaso de sus planes en el Centro al reconocer que pese a las ofensivas perpetradas SL mantiene aún presencia en muchas partes del lugar, dice: "El Ejército ha emprendido una contraofensiva este año, pero los rebeldes son aún la única ley en muchas partes de la ciudad", se refiere a Huancayo. Reconocen además que 5 mil combatientes (confunden con militantes porque los combatientes son cientos de miles) han sido capaces de desafiar a un ejército de 120 mil hombres. En revistas económicas internacionales como en "The Economist" difundieron "Perú, invierta y muera"; en otra revista económica peruana "Actualidad Económica publicaron: "Alto costo y sendero riesgoso" Y el diputado norteamericano laborista John McFall en carta dirigida al diario "The Independent" denuncia la persistencia de violación de DD.HH. en el Perú e indica que se han cometido diversos "actos bárbaros" a los que "el gobierno parece incapaz de poner fin", añade que "en los 11 años de guerra ningún militar fue sancionado sino más bien ascendidos por sus violaciones de los DD.HH."; esto lo dijo en respuesta a la carta que el embajador Felipe Valdiviezo Belaúnde respondía a denuncias sobre desaparecidos por el mes de diciembre. Luego, el representante demócrata Robert Torriccelli, según el diario "New York Times" dijo: "Vi aviones despegar de los aeropuertos municipales con destino a Colombia, apoyados por las torres de control, sin ninguna inspección policial", y calificó de "completamente corruptas" a las fuerzas policiales y militares peruanas y critico a su gobierno por respaldarlas. Y según el último informe de WOLA en diciembre, dice que EE.UU. pierde la guerra contra las drogas en los países andinos al haberse aumentado la producción de la hoja de coca en 28% en Bolivia, Colombia y Perú en 1990 y en 10% en 1991; acuso al gobierno yanqui de "haber cambiado la Guerra Fría por la Guerra contra las Drogas en el objetivo político prioritario de su política hacía Latinoamérica; también dijo "la estrategia de EE.UU. para esos países

no funciona, porque el narcotráfico ya tiene zonas alternativas de producción de coca y droga en Brasil, Ecuador y Venezuela". En el Perú E. Tréveri escribía "Propuesta antidrogas del Perú pasa a segundo plano en EE.UU.". Entonces fracasa el Tratado y lo apuntarán más a la acción contrarrevolucionaria; reflejan contradicciones entre el Departamento de Estado de EE.UU. y el Departamento de Defensa que busca aplicar profundamente la "guerra de baja intensidad" para intervenir en forma más soterrada y conjurar la conquista del Poder, de ahí que se esmeren en potenciar sus llamadas "ayudas" en alimentos, medicinas, etc. y propagandizarlas.

Por todo lo expuesto podemos concluir que ya empezó la participación directa del imperialismo yanqui en la guerra contrasubversiva que se libra en el Perú con un Tratado suscrito, con la presencia de instructores militares, con grupos operativos y con uso de armas nuevas aunque sea como ensayo. Además de su actuación en la elaboración, ejecución y evaluación de planes específicos de acción contrasubversiva, políticos y económicos tras el cuento de Guerra contra las Drogas, agudizándose más sus contradicciones internas en cuanto al manejo de la "guerra de baja intensidad" en el Perú.

Durante el primer año de Fujimori se han detectado además de los viajes a los EE.UU. por los militares peruanos, otros viajes con fines de coordinación, asesoría y ayuda en materia de lucha contrasubversiva y contra las drogas, por ejemplo a España fue el ministro de Defensa; para lo mismo vino al Perú el británico jefe militar que se reunió con el Ejército Peruano; y se han producido intercambios similares con los franceses. Aparte de las coordinaciones con Chile por la PNP. Y acaba de venir el general (r) inglés R. Clutterbask uno de los jefes de la subversión en Malasia a dar charlas en el IPAE.

APOYO DE OTRAS POTENCIAS Y ORGANISMOS INTERNACIONALES. En lo referente a otras potencias imperialistas que no son superpotencias está la reacción de Japón país que pese a los ofrecimientos de garantías, conversaciones de convencimiento, ruego y súplica del vendepatria, no aceptó que sus técnicos se quedaran a seguir colaborando en sus programas de " investigación" y los retiro después del aniquilamiento de tres imperialistas contrarrevolucionarios japoneses en Huaral. Una fundación budista japonesa que dice cuenta con más de seis millones de creyentes, los cuales aportan su dinero producto del ayuno que realizan tres veces al mes además de orar por los menos favorecidos: "Fundación para la paz del Japón" ofreció ayuda para salud, educación y vivienda y para este fin sostendrá reuniones con instituciones privadas. Esto aparte de que Japón, así como EE.UU., Alemania, Italia, España, Francia y Canadá,

es uno de los países imperialistas que forman parte del llamado grupo de apoyo al Perú en la cuestión financiera.

Con motivo de los viajes del vendepatria y coincidiendo con sus ofertas de venta del territorio peruano, se empezaron a difundir en Europa y en Oriente, publicaciones contra las inversiones en el Perú debido al avance de la subversión y a la posibilidad de que conquistemos el Poder pronto. Esto expresa la contienda interimperialista en sus áreas de dominio y pugna por nuevo reparto y cómo utilizan la posibilidad real de la toma del Poder para contender entre ellos. En Francia en el "Herald Tribune" de París se publicó el artículo "Bandas de hierro amenazan al Perú" y la embajada peruana lo rechazó; el mismo día que Fujimori visitaba Singapur el diario "The Strasts Times" publicó un extenso y encomiástico artículo sobre la guerra popular en el Perú, fechado en Lima aunque distribuido por "The New York Times Service" está dirigido a los inversionistas orientales a los cuales parece decir no vayan al Perú SL va a tomar el gobierno.

Existe también la idea de que frente a los supuestos fracasos del socialismo con la caída de la URSS "sólo los maoístas tienen lamentablemente un papel activo" lo cual demuestra la consecuencia del maoísmo como base de unidad de los marxistas en el mundo hoy en día y la obligación de aplicar guerras populares especificadas a sus condiciones. Nosotros no somos ni hemos sido ni seremos seguidores de bastón de mando, así que esas supuestas apreciaciones no nos afectara, son expresión de la bancarrota del revisionismo. Y nuestro principio es apoyarnos en las masas, en nuestros propios esfuerzos, aplicamos firmemente la autodecisión, autodeterminación y autosostenimiento como suscribe nuestro Programa.

El alemán, ex-ministro del Interior de la que fuera República Democrática Alemana propagó que la STASI apoyaba al Partido y precisamente cuando Fujimori declaraba que el PCP era muy distinto al socialismo chino. El Presidente Gonzalo comentó: "Muy Bueno! No tenemos nada en común con el revisionismo chino, soviético ni con revisionismo alguno! Los afanes de Fujimori sirven también a que brille una vez más esta gran verdad; y, de paso a repudiar todo intento de querernos ligar al revisionismo soviético como pretenden al infamemente imputarnos haber recibido ayuda de Alemania Oriental a través de la STASI, su policía secreta. (Este no es sino un nuevo engendro yanqui que sirve, además, a la reacción peruana: la "declaración" de ese ex-ministro del Interior de ese país, es simplemente la invención del podrido revisionismo y agente yanqui que busca hacer servicios meritorios a su nuevo amo")

En cuanto a las coordinaciones de la reacción peruana con los países latinoamericanos hay que destacar las realizadas con Bolivia donde el propio ministro del Interior comenzó por propagar que la policía estaba en máxima alerta por atentados en La Paz culpando al PCP y a grupos indígenas radicales pero al día siguiente desmentía y se justificaba con que se había expresado mal y que descartaba la presencia del PCP en su país. A los pocos días Bolivia moviliza su fuerza armada "para impedir ingreso de terroristas peruanos". Posteriormente el comandante general del EP en La Paz con el ejército boliviano empiezan a definir una estrategia bilateral para combatir las guerrillas en la franja de la frontera que comparten, pero no se suscribió convenio alguno (Dicen). En Bolivia desatan campaña contra los peruanos y pregonan que de 20 mil peruanos ingresados en los últimos años 8 mil eran delincuentes y terroristas. Hasta que en junio el comandante general EP Pedro Villanueva Valdivia asevero el intercambio de información e inteligencia sobre terrorismo entre ambos países y que este tiene tres partes: preventiva, intervención y consolidación. En las conmemoraciones de la batalla de Ayacucho el coronel Alberto Jara Almonte, agregado militar del Perú en La Paz dijo que los ejércitos y pueblos latinoamericanos "deberían luchar hermanados contra la amenaza de la subversión armada".

Otro hecho reciente de apoyo a la reacción peruana y al imperialismo yanqui principalmente en la guerra de baja intensidad es la participación de los organismos de DD.HH. que por acuerdo de su reunión internacional en Japón van a denunciar las violaciones hechas por los grupos alzados en armas. Entre ellos Amnistía Internacional y Américas Watch quienes tibiamente y presurosos respondieron las graves imputaciones del genocida de actuar con "timidez" y "tibieza" frente a "los execrables asesinatos cometidos por el terrorismo", de ser "tontos útiles". Y como era de esperar, dado su carácter se definieron por el lado de la contrarrevolución planteando que ellos siempre habían denunciado las "atrocidades", sobre todo nuestras. Empero Américas Watch, el 30 de octubre nos envió una carta pidiendo que investiguemos sobre un caso ocurrido en Puno con prisioneros de guerra del Ejercito; documento que fuera rechazado por la Cancillería peruana porque nos otorga el status de fuerza beligerante que según ellos no lo tenemos, Amnistía Internacional por su parte publicó extensamente su rechazo a las "atrocidades" del PCP que fuera calificada como disposición positiva por la Cancillería peruana por haber rectificado su posición de llamarnos grupos terroristas y ya no grupos políticos de oposición; criticó simultáneamente que haya dicho que las fuerzas de seguridad hayan desaparecido y ejecutado a miles en las zonas de emergencia; rechazó igualmente que dijera que existe

un levantamiento generalizado o que tengamos control de territorio y que debe señalar con precisión que el terror es el principal método de los terroristas. La respuesta del jefe de la Región América, sobre los datos respondió que el Fiscal los confirmó en julio del 90 y que hubo error de traducción en lo de levantamiento generalizado reemplazándolo por "existe un conflicto que ha ido extendiéndose por todo el país"; que la primera vez que condenaron nuestras acciones fue el 83 y que ahora la diferencia esta en que la condena es "más explícita"; sobre Fujimori dijo: "ha sido decepcionante. La realidad de la situación de los DD.HH. en el Perú está muy alejada de las promesas hechas hace más de un año...el balance de los primeros 13 meses puede considerarse negativo. Afortunadamente en los últimos dos meses, se ha notado una disminución de las denuncias de desapariciones"

El embajador peruano R. Luna denunció al PCP en la sexta Comisión Legal de la Asamblea de la ONU "quisieran reemplazar a la nación mas antigua de Sudamérica por una comunidad totalitaria calcada en modelos que felizmente la historia ha superado" dijo; y que "su gobierno ha sido especialmente cuidadoso de garantizar el más pleno derecho a los DD.HH. al combatir ese flagelo".

La ONU denuncia al PCP por violación de derechos del niño por los métodos de reclutamiento y sus acciones sangrientas con que imponen su presencia en las comunidades rurales y áreas metropolitanas, pues violan los derechos más fundamentales del niño y atentan contra la propia vida; los "expertos del Comité que vigila el cumplimiento de la Convención de los Derechos del Niño de la ONU" expresaron su preocupación por la red de Escuelas clandestinas en las que los ideólogos de SL adiestran a niños entre 5 y 10 años. "Todos estos niños son obligados por el método del miedo o del chantaje a participar en las campañas de adoctrinamiento con las que pretende asegurar el futuro, bien nutriendo sus filas con nuevos cuadros políticos o con nuevos cuadros de aniquilamiento"..."Por primera vez se asiste a un fenómeno de inmigración basado por la huida provocada por la violencia, pero lo más triste es que ataca a las instituciones sociales que intentan ayudarles" Noticia de la agencia EFE. Aquí vemos el apoyo al gobierno peruano de organismos que ni se sabe quienes son pues habla de "expertos", lo claro y concreto es que la ONU sigue cumpliendo su papel imperialista contrarrevolucionario y no puede imputarnos ningún crimen a la niñez y acude al expediente del reclutamiento que sabe muy bien que no es forzoso y al del adoctrinamiento porque le teme a la ideología, pero ellos si pueden incorporar o formar "scouts" o adoctrinar lo mismo que las iglesias, los comunistas no podemos porque violamos derechos y ahí dónde está la

libertad de expresión de ideas? no existe sino libertad para difundir sus ideas. Esta es otra prueba más del carácter de clase de sus DD.HH.

Otra situación que causó revuelo y fue bastante agitada y tergiversada en Lima fue la llegada al Perú de la Comisión Interamericana de DD.HH. de la OEA, en torno a la cual se propaló un supuesto amotinamiento y "acción provocadora" de los prisioneros de guerra de Canto Grande en Lima, nada de esto ocurrió y el organismo habló con curas, con autoridades militares como el general Araico o el general Pérez y con el genocida vendepatria quien le presentó la denuncia del gobierno peruano acerca de los tres supuestos casos imposibles de ser probados porque no los cometimos, el de la criatura que voló en una torre minada por dirección, planificación y ejecución del servicio de inteligencia creado por Fujimori, el de un dirigente barrial aniquilado por vendeobrero; y, el de la aprista y falsa dirigente de las masas en la barriada del Callao justamente ejecutada por traidora del pueblo y trabajar con el ejército reaccionario; pero del genocidio perpetrado por su compinche García Pérez no dijo absolutamente nada. También hablaron con dirigentes políticos del PCP y del MRTA que están encarcelados en Lima en la prisión de Canto Grande, adonde se rehusaron a ingresar; con la Asociación de Abogados Democráticos; con el Comité de familiares de prisioneros políticos y desaparecidos, entre otros. Al termino de su visita el vicepresidente Marco T. Bruni en conferencia de prensa declaró "existe por parte del Estado el firme propósito de velar por los DD.HH."..."ni la lucha por superar la pobreza ni la defensa de la democracia o el Estado de Derecho pueden justificar asesinatos selectivos, destrucción de infraestructuras, torturas, desapariciones forzosas ni el empleo del terror como condición social para imponer determinadas ideas", "han disminuido la violaciones pero persisten serios problemas en utilización de acciones de garantía como habeas corpus y amparo; garantías para entidades que velan por derechos humanos; hasta el momento no ha sido sentenciado ningún miembro de las fuerzas del orden por violación de DD.HH. y deben ser juzgados por fuero común"; y "que se han incrementado las rondas como efectivo método de autodefensa del pueblo contra las organizaciones subversivas." Aquí vemos la posición de ambigüedad que se inclina más contra el PCP pues en ningún momento habla de genocidio, tampoco reconoce la estrategia militarista de Fujimori y le reconoce avances cuando la evidencia de la manipulación de cifras de violaciones de DD.HH. es escandalosa. Después dijeron que iban a ver el caso de la "masacre" del Frontón. Lo cual no contrapone nuestra denuncia porque es contra el genocidio en tres LTC de Lima.

También se difundió la noticia a través de EFE desde Madrid que los

Comités de Solidaridad con Perú y Latinoamérica (8 españoles, uno portugués y otro irlandés) emitieron un comunicado sobre la situación económica y social del Perú, afirman que la situación "ha provocado una agudización de la espiral de la violencia" y que "la respuesta del Estado peruano sigue siendo exclusivamente militar, acrecentando la guerra sucia que por cuarto año consecutivo sitúa al Perú como el primer país con el primer número de detenidos-desaparecidos", Aquí se ve cómo un organismo internacional critica al gobierno y al PCP.

Ya en diciembre se publicó que el IV Encuentro de Organizaciones de DD.HH. concluyó que existe riesgo de que la impunidad de las violaciones y el descontrol conviertan al Perú en un país caótico donde se tenga que aplicar la "ley de la selva" para conservar la vida y condenó el terrorismo en todas sus formas

Como decíamos antes los organismos de DD.HH. debemos verlos como parte de la política de dos manos del imperialismo en general y del imperialismo yanqui en particular; desenmascararlos, diferenciar sus posiciones, no considerarlos como un bloque y aprovechar sus contradicciones, nuestra política es usar todo aquello que pueda ser útil a la revolución y que permita esclarecer la política genocida de la contrarrevolución.

En síntesis, el apoyo de otras potencias y organismos internacionales a la reacción peruana se esta plasmando con acuerdos entre potencias imperialistas como España o con países atrasados limítrofes como Bolivia; y en cuanto a organismos los de DD.HH. del imperialismo principalmente yanqui y de las iglesias particularmente católicas de Europa. Las organizaciones particulares de DD.HH. como Amnistía Internacional o Américas Watch revelan contradicciones pero dentro del mismo campo reaccionario e imperialista.

3. IGLESIAS.

a) IGLESIA CATÓLICA.

ACCIÓN DE LA IGLESIA. IDEOLOGIA. En el II Pleno nos reafirmamos en el papel de escudo ideológico que cumple la Iglesia Católica y que lo concreta política y orgánicamente. Los hechos posteriores corroboran nuestros acuerdos. Vamos a referirnos a la posición oficial del Papado y a las posiciones oficiales de la Iglesia en el Perú a fin de comprender mejor el carácter y la esencia reaccionaria, contrarrevolucionaria que mantiene la Iglesia en general.

El 10 de mayo del 91 fue publicada la 3ra. Encíclica social del papa Juan Pablo II: "Centesimus Annus" (Cien años después de la encíclica Rerum Novarum del papa León XIII). Sobre la "nueva evangelización" que tanto invocan dice: "La 'nueva evangelización' de la que el mundo moderno tiene urgente necesidad y sobre la cual he insistido en más de una ocasión, debe incluir entre sus elementos esenciales el anuncio de la doctrina social de la Iglesia que como en tiempos de León XIII, sigue siendo idónea para indicar el recto camino a la hora de dar respuesta a los grandes desafíos de la edad contemporánea, mientras crece el descrédito de las ideologías. Cómo entonces, hay que decir que no existe verdadera solución para la 'cuestión social' fuera del evangelio y que, por otra parte, las 'cosas nuevas' pueden hallar en él su propio espacio de verdad y el debido planteamiento moral". Al igual que el imperialismo difunde la supuesta caducidad de las ideologías para vender su ideología evangélica rancia, trasnochada, falsa, de viejo oscurantismo idealista y siempre opuesta a lo nuevo, para combatirla son justísimas y certeras las palabras del Presidente Gonzalo en la Entrevista: "Marx nos enseñó 'la religión es el opio del pueblo', es una tesis marxista plenamente valida hoy y mañana lo seguirá siendo; que la religión es un fenómeno social producto de la explotación y que se irá extinguiendo conforme la explotación vaya siendo barrida y una nueva sociedad surgiendo. Estos son principios que no debemos solayar y que debemos tener siempre presentes. Ligado a lo anterior está recordar también que el pueblo tiene religiosidad, lo que jamás ha sido ni será óbice para que luche por sus profundos intereses de clase sirviendo a la revolución y en concreto a la guerra popular; debiendo quedar sumamente claro que esa religiosidad la respetamos como un problema de libertad de conciencia religiosa, como lo reconoce el Programa sancionado por el Congreso.

"El problema de la 'nueva evangelización' se refiere expresamente a cómo ven los jerarcas eclesiásticos, el Papado en concreto, el papel de América Latina; como ellos mismos lo dicen, la mitad de los católicos del mundo están en América Latina--así decía ya el actual Papa en el año 84. En consecuencia están buscando utilizar el medio milenio del descubrimiento de América para llevar adelante un llamado movimiento de 'nueva evangelización'. En síntesis lo que ellos piensan es esto: con el descubrimiento de América se inicio la evangelización en el año 1494, oficialmente pues bien, al cumplirse este nuevo centenario quieren desarrollar una 'nueva evangelización' en función de defender el bastión, la mitad de la feligresía, la mitad del bastión que sustenta su poder, eso es lo que buscan. Así los jerarcas, el Papado apuntan a defender sus posiciones en América y servir al imperialismo norteamericano que es quien domina principalmente en América Latina.

"Pero hay que entender este plan dentro de una campaña y un plan mundial, ligado a las relaciones con la Unión Soviética con motivo del milenio de su cristianización, o los vínculos con el revisionismo chino, las acciones de la Iglesia en Polonia, en Ucrania, etc.; es un plan mundial dentro de eso juega la 'nueva evangelización'. Pretenden como siempre defender el orden social existente, ser su escudo ideológico porque la ideología de la reacción, la ideología del imperialismo ha caducado y después acomodarse, seguir sobreviviendo, más la perspectiva será diferente, no como fue antes, se seguirá la ley que Marx estableció: la religión se irá disolviendo conforme vaya destruyéndose y disolviéndose la explotación y la opresión; y como ellos sirven a clases explotadoras y la que viene no es una clase explotadora, el Papado no podrá sobrevivir; y la religiosidad tendrá que irse disolviendo, entretanto hay que reconocer la libertad de conciencia religiosa hasta que los hombres, avanzando en nuevas condiciones objetivas puedan tener una conciencia clara, científica y transformadora del mundo. Para nosotros, en consecuencia, habría que ver, en síntesis, la 'nueva evangelización dentro de ese plan de la Iglesia por sobrevivir en las nuevas condiciones de una transformación que sabe que necesariamente se viene."

Prosiguiendo con la encíclica, textualmente está contra la violencia revolucionaria, contra la lucha de clases, contra las guerras justas y revolucionarias: "Los grupos extremistas, que tratan de resolver tales controversias por medio de las armas encuentran fácilmente apoyos políticos y militares, son armados y adiestrados para la guerra, mientras que quienes se esfuerzan para encontrar soluciones pacíficas y humanas, respetuosas para con los legítimos intereses de todas las

partes, permanecen aislados y caen al menudo víctimas de sus adversarios. Incluso la militarización de tantos países del Tercer Mundo y las luchas fratricidas que los han atormentado la difusión del terrorismo y de medios político-militares cada vez más crueles tienen una de sus causas principales en la precariedad de la paz que ha seguido a la segunda guerra mundial. En definitiva, sobre todo el mundo se cierne la amenaza de una guerra atómica, capaz de acabar con la humanidad. La ciencia utilizada para fines militares pone a disposición del odio fomentado por las ideologías, el instrumento decisivo. Pero la guerra puede terminar, sin vencedores ni vencidos, en un suicidio de la humanidad, por lo cual hay que repudiar la lógica que conduce a ella, la idea de que la lucha por la destrucción del adversario, la contradicción y la guerra misma sean factores de avance y de progreso de la historia. Cuando se comprende la necesidad de este rechazo, deben entrar forzosamente en crisis tanto la lógica de la 'guerra total', como la de la lucha de clases."

Habla de "caída del marxismo" e invoca dialogo: "Mientras el marxismo consideraba que, únicamente llevando hasta el extremo las contradicciones sociales, era posible darles solución por medio del choque violento, en cambio las luchas que han conducido a la caída del marxismo insisten tenazmente en intentar todas las vías de la negociación, del diálogo, del testimonio de la verdad, apelando a la conciencia del adversario y tratando de despertar en este el sentido de la común dignidad humana". Pero si se refiere a la URSS o a Europa Oriental en ambos casos ha habido o golpe de estado o levantamientos nacionales o hasta una guerra como la de Yugoslavia; además en ninguno de esos lugares ha habido marxismo sino revisionismo desde el 56 con Jruschov y precisamente lo que se ha producido es consecuencia lógica de la restauración capitalista. Prosigue su idea: "Esa actitud ha desarmado al adversario, ya que la violencia siempre tiene necesidad de justificarse con la mentira y de asumir, aunque sea falsamente, el aspecto de la defensa de un derecho o de respuesta a una amenaza ajena...Ojalá los hombres aprendan a luchar por la justicia sin violencia, renunciando a la lucha de clases en las controversias internas, así como a la guerra en las internacionales!" En la historia de la humanidad todo el proceso de transformación de modos de producción ha sido a través de guerras, para pasar de la comunidad primitiva al esclavismo se vivieron grandes guerras de dominio, sin las cuales no hubiera habido las poderosas sociedades esclavistas como Egipto o Roma: para pasar del esclavismo a la feudalidad, los esclavos se revelaron en innumerables guerras contra los esclavistas hasta que consiguieron dejar de ser vendidos como animales y se entro a la feudalidad, pero el nuevo sistema impuesto no

acabó la opresión, los oprimidos devinieron en campesinos siervos de los señores feudales contra los cuales volvieron a levantarse en inmensas y tenaces luchas campesinas por arrancar las tierras que trabajaban y les pertenecían y por destruir la feudalidad; entre los propios feudales se desataron multitud de contiendas entre pares para definir quién era rey y entre los reyes de un lugar y los reyes de otro se vivieron intensas guerras por el poder hasta definir poderosos reinados europeos por ejemplo el reino español o la Rusia zarista o el imperio Manchú en Oriente. También durante esa etapa de la feudalidad así como hubo guerras entre señores feudales se produjeron feroces guerras por el poder político y económico entre los jerarcas de la Iglesia Católica, entre los papas, entre los obispos, caso del conocido Papa Borgia y familia. Es además parte de la historia de la Iglesia Católica las guerras de las Cruzadas por imponer su religión en otras partes del mundo o el atroz exterminio de los nativos peruanos y latinoamericanos cuando conquistaron América con sus espadas y cruces divinas, con las salvajes reducciones de los jesuitas. Luego, derrumbada la feudalidad se desenvolvió el capitalismo y generó el proletariado, ultima clase explotada de la tierra que ha de destruir ese ominoso sistema también con guerras, pero guerras revolucionarias que por fin acaben con todos los sistemas de explotación, en rumbo definitivo de la humanidad hacia su verdadera libertad: y la violencia que pregonamos los proletarios, los comunistas como vanguardia de la clase, no necesitamos justificarla ni mentimos sobre su necesidad: ante un sistema inicuo que provoca guerras de rapiña como las dos guerras mundiales imperialistas que costaron como 60 millones de muertos qué es lo que por materialismo histórico corresponde? destruir el capitalismo devenido en su fase final imperialismo y construir el socialismo y el futuro brillante comunismo: nosotros si somos capaces de proclamar ante el mundo "La rebelión se justifica!". Así que esas fementidas palabras de olor a incienso encubren realidades para atacar la violencia revolucionaria justa, correcta y necesaria y defender la violencia contrarrevolucionaria, injusta, errónea, defensora de la explotación y la opresión.

Difunde su concepción idealista teocrática de "revelación cristiana" como medio para comprender la realidad: "Por otra parte, el hombre creado para la libertad lleva dentro de sí la herida del pecado original que lo empuja continuamente hacia el mal y hace que necesite la redención. Esta doctrina no sólo es parte integrante de la revelación cristiana, sino que tiene también un gran valor hermenéutico en cuanto ayuda a comprender la realidad humana"..."corresponde solamente a Dios separar a los seguidores del Reino y a los seguidores

del Maligno,...este juicio tendrá lugar al final de los tiempos. Pretendiendo anticipar el juicio ya desde ahora el hombre trata de suplantar a Dios y se opone a su paciencia ....Gracias al sacrificio de Cristo en la Cruz, la victoria del reino de Dios ha sido conquistada de una vez para siempre, ... volverá el Señor en su gloria para el juicio final instaurando los cielos nuevos y la tierra nueva". Primero, tras la absurda y anticientífica idea de pecado original encubren la existencia de explotación y explotadores; segundo el hombre no necesita de ningún crucificado ni de redención alguna si no emanciparse de la explotación y opresión y su emancipación es obra de su propia acción; y tercero, si creen en un imaginario juicio divino final, si ésa es su concepción, entonces por que se erigen por encima de su dios y nos juzgan como seguidores de su supuesto maligno al calificarnos de terroristas? por que tanta condena a quienes combatimos por la demolición de la explotación aquí en la Tierra?

Refiriéndose ampliamente a los sucesos de Europa Oriental del 89, que marcan un hito en la bancarrota del revisionismo y que es objeto de rebatiña imperialista, ni condena a uno ni repudia al otro, mas bien califica de crisis del marxismo y saca conclusiones beneficiosas a sus intereses de clase: "La primera consecuencia ha sido en algunos países el encuentro entre la Iglesia y el movimiento obrero nacido como una reacción del orden ético y concretamente cristiano como una vasta situación de injusticia. Durante casi un siglo dicho movimiento en gran parte había caído bajo la hegemonía del marxismo, no sin la convicción de que los proletarios, para luchar eficazmente contra la opresión, debían asumir las teorías materialistas y economicistas...En la crisis del marxismo brotan de nuevo las formas espontáneas de la conciencia obrera, que ponen de manifiesto una exigencia de justicia y de reconocimiento de la dignidad del trabajo, conforme a la doctrina social de la Iglesia. El movimiento obrero desemboca en un movimiento más general de los trabajadores y de los hombres de buena voluntad, orientado a la liberación de la persona humana y a la consolidación de sus derechos; hoy día está presente en muchos países y, lejos de contraponerse a la Iglesia Católica la mira con interés...La crisis del marxismo no elimina en el mundo las situaciones de injusticia y opresión existentes, de las que se alimentaba el marxismo mismo instrumentalizándolas...A quienes hoy día buscan una nueva y autentica teoría y praxis de liberación, la Iglesia no ofrece sólo la doctrina social y, en general sus enseñanzas sobre la persona redimida por Cristo, sino también su compromiso concreto de ayuda para combatir la marginación y el sufrimiento." Aquí reconoce la influencia del marxismo en el movimiento obrero y como piensa que hay crisis del marxismo entonces aplica "A río revuelto ganancia de pescadores",

viejo sueño de la Iglesia Católica de dirigir al proletariado; y como las causas no han desaparecido ella sale como la solución con su doctrina social. Un comentario del Presidente Gonzalo clarísimo para juzgar esas ideas es el siguiente: "Si subsisten los problemas y las situaciones de injusticia y sufrimiento humano que causaron su aparición", como realmente es, sólo que hoy cada vez más agravados, extendidos y totalmente insoportables por no corresponder en absoluto al desarrollo social alcanzado, mas aun habiéndose vivido el socialismo con sus conquistas y grandiosas perspectivas bajo la dictadura del proletariado (única forma estatal bajo la cual puede construirse y desarrollarse); el comunismo existe y combate cada día sustentado en los intereses de clase del proletariado y en la defensa de las masas populares del mundo, hoy y en lo inmediato en medio de una compleja e intrincada lucha de clases y enfrentando una ofensiva convergente y siniestra del imperialismo, el revisionismo y la reacción mundial desenvuelta en colusión y pugna a la cual se suma la Iglesia Católica no solo ideológica sino política y organizativamente: el comunismo hoy como ayer y mañana combatió, combate y combatirá siempre, inconmovible seguro de la victoria final, bajo las rojas e inmarcesibles banderas del marxismo-leninismo-maoísmo, la todopoderosa teoría del proletariado internacional. El arma decisiva de Marx, Lenin y Mao" (2 de mayo del 91).

Sobre el desarrollo de las fuerzas productivas las reduce al ejercicio personal de buscar a dios: "En fin el desarrollo no debe ser entendido de manera exclusivamente económica, sino bajo una dimensión humana integral. No se trata solamente de elevar a todos los pueblos al nivel del que gozan hoy los países muy ricos, sino de fundar sobre el trabajo solidario una vida más digna, hacer crecer efectivamente la dignidad y creatividad de toda persona, su capacidad de responder a la propia vocación y, por tanto a la llamada de Dios. El punto culminante del desarrollo conlleva al ejercicio del derecho-deber de buscar a Dios, conocerlo y vivir según tal conocimiento."

Persiste en su defensa cerrada de la propiedad privada porque es un derecho natural del hombre a gozar de los bienes creados por dios y adquiridos con el sudor de su frente, con su trabajo que no explota sino que dignifica y adereza su defensa con el supuesto destino universal de esos bienes, esto es, no impedir el derecho de los otros hombres a apropiarse de una parte de la creación de dios con su propio trabajo. Dice que ya León XIII afirmaba y argumentaba:"...carácter natural del derecho a la propiedad privada...este derecho es fundamental en toda persona para su autonomía y su desarrollo, ha sido defendido siempre por la Iglesia hasta nuestros días. Asimismo, la Iglesia enseña que la propiedad de

los bienes no es un derecho absoluto...:A la vez que proclamaba con fuerza el derecho a la propiedad privada, el Pontífice afirmaba con igual claridad que el 'uso' de los bienes, confiado a la propia libertad, está subordinado a: destino primigenio y común de los bienes creados y también a la voluntad de Jesucristo". Y Juan Pablo II amparándose en esas palabras se reafirma en las mismas ideas: "El origen primigenio de todo lo que es un bien es el acto mismo de Dios que ha creado al mundo y el hombre, y que ha dado a este la tierra, para que la domine con su trabajo y la goce de sus frutos...Ahora bien, la tierra no da sus frutos sin una peculiar respuesta del hombre al don de Dios, es decir, sin el trabajo. Es mediante el trabajo como el hombre usando su inteligencia y su libertad, logra dominarla y hacer de ella su digna morada. De este modo se apropia una parte de la tierra, la que se ha conquistado con su trabajo: he ahí el origen de la propiedad individual. Obviamente le incumbe también la responsabilidad de no impedir que otros hombres obtengan su parte del don de dios, es más, debe cooperar con ellos para dominar juntos toda la tierra." Así encubre base económica capitalista, plusvalía y relaciones de explotación.

Defiende la familia como centro: "La primera estructura fundamental a favor de la 'ecología humana' es la familia...Hay que volver a considerar la familia como el santuario de la vida...es sagrada...es el ámbito donde la vida, don de dios puede ser acogida y protegida de manera adecuada contra los múltiples ataques a que está expuesta...Contra la llamada cultura de la muerte, la familia constituye la sede de la cultura de la vida". En el capitalismo, más en el imperialismo, la familia es para proteger la herencia de los bienes adquiridos con la explotación; es un concepto contrapuesto a la sociedad comunista en la cual todo el conjunto velará por todos; hoy día solamente las familias de los explotadores pueden proteger los derechos de sus hijos; más el sistema inicuo no permite ni que se desarrollen las relaciones sociales entre los miembros de la supuesta familia que si a las cosas vamos ni existe ya por que el individualismo es tan exacerbado en la burguesía que no hay mayor interés que valga sino el particular por encima del general. Y en el proletariado y en las masas populares no existe ni siquiera el derecho a decidir cuántos hijos pueden tener y les imponen programas de control de la natalidad que la propia Iglesia facilita encubiertamente, oficialmente prohibe el aborto pero por debajo trabaja tras el estúpido y mendaz slogan de "paternidad responsable".

Con la hipocresía que durante miles de años ejercita esconde su posición pro-imperialista de defensora de la economía de mercado aunque en ningún párrafo del documento esté escrita la frase

economía social de mercado; y su critica al consumismo o al mercado sin control no quita que no defienda el mercado; lo que más bien revela es su posición pro-europea pero imperialista al fin; lo que ocurre es que previendo que el imperialismo yanqui avanza a ser superpotencia hegemónica única no puede malquitarse con él y se acomoda: "Volviendo ahora a la pregunta inicial se puede decir quizá que, después del fracaso del comunismo, el sistema vencedor sea el capitalismo y que hacia él estén dirigidos los esfuerzos de los países que tratan de reconstruir su economía y su sociedad? es quizá éste el modelo que es necesario proponer a los países del Tercer Mundo, que buscan la vía del verdadero progreso económico y civil?....La respuesta obviamente es compleja. Si por 'capitalismo' se entiende sistema económico que reconoce el papel fundamental y positivo de la empresa, del mercado, de la propiedad privada y de la consiguiente responsabilidad para con los medios de producción, de la libre creatividad humana en el sector de la economía, la respuesta ciertamente es positiva aunque quizá sería más apropiado hablar de 'economía de empresa', 'economía de mercado' o simplemente de 'economía libre'. Pero si por 'capitalismo' se entiende un sistema en el cual la libertad, en el ámbito económico, no está encuadrada en un sólido contexto jurídico que la ponga al servicio de la libertad humana integral y la considere como una particular dimensión de la misma, cuyo centro es ético y religioso, entonces la respuesta es absolutamente negativa....La solución marxista ha fracasada, pero permanecen en el mundo fenómenos de marginación y explotación, especialmente en el Tercer Mundo, así como fenómenos de alienación humana, especialmente en los países más avanzados; contra tales fenómenos se alza la voz de la Iglesia."

"La Iglesia no tiene modelos para proponer...Para este objetivo la Iglesia ofrece, como orientación ideal e indispensable, la propia doctrina social, la cual -como queda dicho-reconoce la positividad del mercado y de la empresa, pero al mismo tiempo indica que estos han de estar orientados hacia el bien común. Esta doctrina reconoce también la legitimidad de los esfuerzos de los trabajadores para conseguir el pleno respeto de su dignidad y espacios más amplios de participación en la vida de la empresa, de manera que, aun trabajando juntamente con otros y bajo la dirección de otros, puedan considerar en cierto sentido que 'trabajan en algo propio' al ejercitar su inteligencia y libertad."

"La empresa no puede considerarse únicamente como una 'sociedad de capitales': es al mismo tiempo una sociedad de personas, en la que entran a formar parte de manera diversa y con responsabilidades específicas los que aportan con el capital necesario para su actividad y

los que colaboran con su trabajo"..."A la luz de las 'cosas nuevas' de hoy ha sido considerada nuevamente la relación entre la propiedad individual o privada y el destino universal de los bienes"..."La propiedad de los medios de producción tanto en el campo industrial como agrícola, es justa y legítima cuando se emplea para un trabajo útil; pero resulta ilegítima cuando no es valorada o sirve para impedir el trabajo de los demás"..."La obligación de ganar el pan con el sudor de la propia frente supone, al mismo tiempo, un derecho. Una sociedad en la que este derecho se niegue sistemáticamente y las medidas de política económica no permitan a los trabajadores alcanzar niveles satisfactorios de ocupación, no puede conseguir su legitimación ética ni la justa paz social... la propiedad se justifica cuando crea en los debidos modos y circunstancias, oportunidades de trabajo y crecimiento humano para todos."

Concibe un Estado demoburgués equilibrado, con tres poderes: "León XIII no ignoraba que una sana teoría del Estado era necesaria para asegurar el desarrollo normal de las actividades humanas... por eso el Papa presenta la organización de la sociedad estructurada en tres poderes: legislativo, ejecutivo y judicial... Tal ordenamiento refleja una visión realista de la naturaleza social del hombre la cual exige una libertad adecuada para proteger la libertad de todos. A este respecto es preferible que un poder esté equilibrado por otros poderes y otras esferas de competencia, que lo mantengan en su justo limite. Es este el principio del 'Estado de derecho', en el cual es soberana la ley y no la voluntad arbitraria de los hombres." Defiende la dictadura burguesa contra la dictadura del proletariado: "La Iglesia aprecia el sistema de la democracia en la medida en que asegura la participación de los ciudadanos en las opciones políticas y garantiza a los gobernados la posibilidad de elegir y controlar a sus propios gobernantes o bien la de sustituirlos oportunamente de manera pacífica." Por eso mismo no puede permitir la formación de grupos dirigentes restringidos que, por intereses particulares o por motivos ideológicos, usurpan el poder del Estado. Una auténtica democracia es posible solamente en un Estado de derecho y sobre la base de una recta concepción de la persona humana."..."La Iglesia tampoco cierra los ajos ante el peligro del fanatismo, o fundamentalismo de quienes, en nombre de una ideología con pretensiones de científica o religiosa, creen que pueden imponer a los demás hombres su concepción de la verdad y del bien." "No es de esta índole la verdad cristiana. Al no ser ideológica, la fe cristiana no pretende encuadrar en un rígido esquema la cambiante realidad sociopolítica y reconoce que la vida del hombre se desarrolla en la historia en condiciones diversas y no perfectas. La Iglesia, por tanto, al ratificar constantemente la trascendente dignidad de la persona,

utiliza como método propio el respeto a la libertad."

Finalmente creemos necesario conocer su concepción acerca de los tan hoy en día pregonados DD.HH.: "Después de la caída del totalitarismo comunista y de otros muchos regímenes totalitarios y de 'seguridad nacional', asistimos hoy al predominio no sin contrastes, del ideal democrático junto con una viva atención y preocupación por los derechos humanos. Pero precisamente por esto, es necesario que los pueblos que están reformando sus ordenamientos den a la democracia un auténtico y sólido fundamento, mediante el reconocimiento explícito de estos derechos. Entre los principales hay que recordar: el derecho a la vida del que forma parte integrante el derecho del hijo a crecer bajo el corazón de la madre, después de haber sido concebido; el derecho a vivir en una familia unida y en un ambiente moral, favorable al desarrollo de la propia personalidad; el derecho a madurar la propia inteligencia y la propia libertad a través de la búsqueda y el conocimiento de la verdad; el derecho a participar en el trabajo para valorar los bienes de la tierra y recabar del mismo el sustento propio y de los seres queridos; el derecho a fundar libremente una familia a acoger y educar a los hijos, haciendo uso responsable de la propia sexualidad. Fuente y síntesis de estos derechos, es en cierto sentido, la libertad religiosa entendida como derecho a vivir en la verdad de la propia fe y en conformidad con la dignidad trascendente de la propia persona." Ahí está el meollo de sus derechos: vivir en la verdad de la fe católica, en la trascendencia de la vida humana.

A modo de conclusión transcribimos los comentarios del Presidente Gonzalo sobre la Encíclica y que resumen la posición marxista-leninista-maoísta, pensamiento gonzalo del PCP: "Ver el contexto histórico y perspectiva en que se redactaron ambas encíclicas: 1891, Rerum Novarum y 1991 Centesimus Annus; la primera a los veinte años de la derrota de la Comuna, cuando el viejo revisionismo pasaba a la ofensiva, el marxismo aun no había encontrado la forma de conquistar el poder por la fuerza de las armas, y el capitalismo se desenvolvía en la llamada 'Belle epoque' completando la formación del imperialismo. La segunda, la Centesimus Annus a treinticinco del derrocamiento de la dictadura del proletariado y la restauración del capitalismo en la URSS, y a quince de lo mismo en China, cuando se desenvuelve, en colusión y pugna, una ofensiva convergente del imperialismo, el revisionismo y la reacción mundial contra el marxismo; cuando el imperialismo pregona una 'revolución tecnológica', extiende su dominio sobre los despojos de lo que fue el sistema socialista y proclama el triunfo definitivo del capitalismo y la democracia burguesa; pero cuando el proletariado guiado por partidos comunistas y con la luz del marxismo leninismo-maoísmo aprendió a

conquistar el Poder con la guerra popular, construir el socialismo y con la revolución cultural continuar la revolución bajo la dictadura del proletariado, aunque; aun esté pendiente crear en la lucha de clases las leyes del socialismo, descubrirlas, comprenderlas y aplicarlas cabal y completamente, afincar y consolidar la dictadura del proletariado tomando el Poder cada vez más desde abajo para garantizar su ejercicio por las masas bajo la dirección del Partido; y cuando la tarea del proletariado internacional y de los partidos comunistas, así como la más profunda necesidad de las masas, sigue siendo irrefrenablemente hoy mas que ayer y mañana más que hoy, desarrollar y dirigir la revolución proletaria mundial a su triunfo barriendo de la faz del orbe al imperialismo, construir profunda y ampliamente el socialismo en todas las esferas de la sociedad y con sucesivas revoluciones culturales proletarias 'Hacer de la Tierra un paraíso'. El comunismo, el inicio del reino de la libertad para toda la humanidad!. En ese contexto sacando lecciones hay que analizar la nueva encíclica, concibiéndola como parte de la ofensiva del imperialismo, del revisionismo y de la reacción mundial, aunque con intereses propios y específicos, los del papado, los del Vaticano y sus sueños teocráticos hoy siniestramente redivivos." (3 de mayo del 91).

Dentro de estos criterios podemos enjuiciar la sistemática condena del arzobispo del Perú Vargas Alzamora y demás jerarcas. Cuando el gran apagón en abril en Lima denuncio que 12 personas habían muerto producto de la acción y declaró que era muy importante la reinserción donde están? y quienes fueron? El Presidente Gonzalo comentó: "Muy bueno! He aquí una muestra clara y rotunda del papel de la Iglesia: El jerarca mayor de la Iglesia Católica del Perú ataca arteramente la guerra popular y a la vez pone sus esperanzas en el imperialismo. Expresivo ejemplo negativo que como otros debe explicarse a las masas." En mayo, mientras el obispo de Moyobamba trataba con el MRTA para la liberación de los rehenes, el arzobispo manifestó su voluntad de participar y mediar en pacificación: "Concertar en todos los sectores es necesario para pacificar la nación", además la Iglesia está dispuesta a mediar entre el gobierno y los alzados en armas, pero no sólo para que los subversivos hablen sino escuchen...la Iglesia no puede actuar por los rehenes en Moyobamba...es otra jurisdicción." Mientras los obispos con un llamado señalaban; "de una vez para siempre debe constar con toda claridad quiénes estamos por la vida y la paz en nuestra patria y quiénes por el contrario se autoexcluyen y colocan al margen de este compromiso personal y social. El Perú ya no puede esperar más!". Con días de diferencia la Conferencia Episcopal Peruana pidió deponer las armas y volvió a formular un llamado a "quienes han elegido el camino de la violencia...destierren todas las

formas de terrorismo, participando en la edificación de un Perú más justo y fraterno..." invitó a todos los grupos políticos a sentarse en las "mesas de la paz" para buscar una estrategia integral de respuestas contra la violencia política "procurando la progresiva y profunda pacificación del país".

En junio nuevamente el primado pide "a los hombres de corazón violento" que abandonen el camino equivocado porque "la muerte, el terror y las amenazas sólo traen más sufrimiento e intranquilidad a las familias afectadas y traba el desarrollo de los pueblos" pero de la aplicación del brutal shock de agosto 90 y de las criminales medidas de Boloña el 91, bajo mandato del hambreador Fujimori que generaron 13 millones de peruanos en pobreza no hubo una sola palabra de condena o emplazamiento, por lo menos; en cambio reclamaba por la importancia de la "reinserción" o sea el pago de la deuda al imperialismo que provoca hambre, desesperación, mayor desocupación y sume en la ignorancia a más de un millón de niños que dejan de estudiar, actuando así contra lo que su propio papa reclama y denuncia contra la deuda en su Encíclica. Así se puede ver la entraña negra contrarrevolucionaria de este cuervo de la Iglesia católica, incapaz de enfrentarse a un gobierno hambreador, genocida y vendepatria. En el día del campesino vuelve a la carga de "siembra, siembra que algo queda" y nos culpa de ser los causantes de la pobreza del campesinado como si las raíces de semifeudalidad, el sometimiento al imperialismo y el capitalismo burocrático los hubiéramos generado con la guerra popular; pero si habla de que es el campesino el que mas sufre con la violencia debería en todo caso especificar que se trata de la violencia de los genocidas.

En julio es cuando el arzobispo va a pasar a llamar a su frente. "Unidad contra los subversivos" dijo "es necesario levantarnos en una sola fuerza para no permitir que la subversión se aproveche de nuestras debilidades", este es su deseo comandar un frente de pacificación y la Iglesia Católica se siente la única institución social, con capacidad de ponerse por encima de las clases que puede "salvar" a la humanidad y desea también subsistir en el comunismo por eso así especifica hoy día su papel de escudo ideológico: ser parte activa ideológica, política y organizativa de la ofensiva contrarrevolucionaria general.

Y en la Homilía del Te deum del 28 de julio, el sacerdote Jorge Aguilar proclama su alabanza a la posición pro-imperialista del archirreaccionario gobierno fujimorista defendiendo el llamado capitalismo popular, las microempresas que no son sino parte complementaria de las economías neoliberales y que De Soto describió

como la solución para la crisis general del capitalismo burocrático: "Como Iglesia somos testigos de la originalidad económica que tiene el pueblo no sólo en su capacidad creativa sino su audacia de invertir en proyectos...vemos cómo se multiplican las tiendecitas, las bodegas, las pequeñas, industrias, los trabajos comunitarios y comunales, la Iglesia los apoya y pide que el gobierno apoye estas iniciativas aligerando los trámites para que la gente pueda trabajar..." Y como nosotros somos el "maligno" que está en contra de esos paliativos nos recuerda "depongan la violencia como actitud de vida y muéstrennos sus rostros para edificar el país". Nuestra actitud de vida no es la de subsistir, el pueblo no quiere vivir por vivir, quiere vivir para transformar el mundo, para manejar sus leyes y con éstas construir un mundo justo e igual para toda la humanidad, para construir el comunismo; y que mostremos los rostros se parece a lo que difunden los militares "no dan la cara" es que buscan delatarnos y aniquilarnos; cuando somos los únicos que con nuestros cuerpos desnudos y nuestras almas henchidas de convicción revolucionaria marxista-leninista-maoísta, pensamiento gonzalo nos mostramos sin hipocresía alguna y proclamamos nuestra ideología en los dichos y en los hechos porque no tememos morir cortados en mil pedazos, por eso somos capaces de destruir lo viejo y construir un mundo de paz perdurable. Quién de los católicos actúa así?

En agosto, siguiendo la pauta del imperialismo principalmente yanqui y del vendepatria Fujimori el arzobispo exige que el cuerpo diplomático difunda en el extranjero la imagen de que el Perú es un país de fe, que busca conquistar la paz para su territorio. En setiembre el obispo Danmert otro jerarca cuervo negro, tiene la desvergüenza de hablar de un Perú de paz en un país sangriento de hambre y en una misa por la paz le habla al Presidente Gonzalo y le dice que le va a perdonar la vida a él y a sus seguidores. Pero si nosotros no necesitamos su perdón porque no tenemos nada que deba ser perdonado salvo el no hacer más por la revolución y vivimos con nuestras almas en paz inmolándonos por lo más hermoso que puede hacer un ser humano entregarse al combate por el comunismo en la Tierra. Acaban de difundir un folleto "Paz en la Tierra" Conferencia Episcopal Peruana, reflexiones dicen para estos tiempos de violencia, pese a no haberlo estudiado se puede apreciar que en el punto sobre juicio sobre la situación, de 9 puntos que contiene 5 son dirigidos directamente contra el PCP y la guerra popular, parte de que nada justifica la violencia usando el pretexto de las ideas; "los terroristas" no tienen consideración por la vida, humana y la subordinan al logro de sus objetivos; que la violencia, es fruto de una mentalidad negativa: que los grupos terroristas alzados en armas contra el estado Peruano

violan las mínimas normas humanitarias que deben aplicarse en un conflicto armado pruebas? no las hay por eso no las ponen; qué busca la violencia terrorista? obtener el Poder imponiendo el terror para lograr el sometimiento; desprecio y odio frente a los más pobres. Los otros puntos son la violencia ejercida por ciertos elementos de las fuerzas del orden; parece sumarse a las anteriores una violencia llamada 'paramilitar'; otra fuente de las violencias son el narcotráfico y diversos tipos de delincuencia; finaliza diciendo que "la política y las instituciones nacionales como el Poder Judicial, el Congreso nacional, los gobiernos regionales y municipales así como toda la administración pública están al servicio de la persona humana y deben tener una consideración especial por ella" esto es tan vago que no se sabe si es la política del Estado o del gobierno y ni menciona al Ejecutivo, menos al presidente genocida y vendepatria Fujimori que es quien establece la política peruana, según reza la Constitución peruana. Hay un agregado además de la política "también la economía debe poner en el centro de sus preocupaciones la persona humana y la satisfacción de sus necesidades básicas": Tenemos pues justa razón cuando calificamos de mendaz e hipócrita a la Iglesia Católica y a sus jerarcas. Pero no solamente constatamos su actuación política. Así que eso de que "mi episcopado no es de este mundo" sale sobrando.

En México acaban de difundir en el semanario "Siempre" que "la Iglesia es antes que nada poder mas antiguo, por cierto, el poder más antiguo, intolerante e intrincado que ha conocido la humanidad. Por ello pensar en la posibilidad de que aceptara dócilmente no ser una fuerza política no solo es un error sino una ingenuidad" Y ellos no son comunistas y lo dicen refiriéndose a "los candados que hoy quita el gobierno al clero mexicano y que después éste se los pondrá a él en forma de presión o quizás incluso hasta de mordaza," en cuanto a las modificaciones de los artículos de la constitución favorables a la Iglesia Católica.

"Alarma roja en Perú" "El grupo guerrillero SL se encuentra a un paso del poder en ese país". Esta advertencia fue publicada originalmente en el diario "Avenire" órgano perteneciente a la Conferencia Episcopal Italiana publicado en "El Mercurio" de Santiago de Chile.

Resumiendo, la Iglesia Católica en el mundo y en el Perú está actuando dentro de la ofensiva contrarrevolucionaria general ideológica, orgánica y políticamente, cumpliendo un papel cada vez más activo.

PLANES Y CAMPAÑAS Como las ideas vienen de la práctica y vuelven a ella para transformarla, el papel de escudo ideológico que está

desarrollando esta reaccionaria institución lo está plasmando a través de una intensa actividad política y proliferando una serie de organismos de "pacificación" de religiosos y de seglares, mencionaremos algunos de sus planes y campañas cumplidos durante esta III Campaña.

Como viéramos en la Sesión Preparatoria del II Pleno va participar en el PES, plan de emergencia social de Fujimori que fue un fracaso completo del que se retiró en aguda contradicción con el gobierno. Han proseguido con sus planes propios de subsistencia con las donaciones principalmente del gobierno yanqui a mas de otros imperialistas europeos, sobre todo en el campo y en las barriadas de las ciudades, Cáritas es una muestra; allí manipulan las necesidades de hambre para comprar a las masas por sus estómagos y ganar adeptos a su ideología anticientífica basada en la fe y en la caridad que no es sino conciliación de clases. Otro plan muy activo es el de la llamada pacificación, colabora al fin en el Consejo Por la Paz y sobre sus vueltas y revueltas ya tratamos largamente, pero lo principal es el conjunto de campañas propias dentro de las cuales están el Acto por la paz en la Plaza Francia de Lima donde la Asociación Peruana de Estudios por la Paz con el cura Mc Gregor opinó sobre el Consejo por la Paz y dijo que iba por buen camino, que la reunión de octubre permitiría unir todas las fuerzas de nuestro país en una sola dimensión cuál? contra la guerra popular. En ese mismo acto político organizado por el Instituto Paz y Vida, el arrepentido de su Teología de la liberación, el cura Gutiérrez calificó al Partido de "sanguinario", que "no respeta la vida de nadie", que "no deben hacerse ningún tipo de consideraciones", que "la matanza de sacerdotes y dirigentes vecinales muestran que se actúa contra los que no se considera enemigos". Otras marchas como las de los Pueblos Jóvenes de Lima, donde el Partido actúa con fuerza, también en el cono norte como la marcha por la paz y los DD.HH. de los distritos de Independencia, Comas, Los Olivos, convocada por la Comisión "Perú, vida y paz" en la que hablaron los "laicos comprometidos". Una de las más propagandizadas fue la de Canto Grande, hasta por el lugar era estratégicamente importante para ellos sacar buen contingente y agitar contra la guerra popular pero lo cierto es que ni con monjas, curas, bibliotecas parroquiales, catequistas, parroquias y demás organizaciones vecinales, clubes de madres, Comedores populares, Comunidades cristianas, Organizaciones no gubernamentales etc. pudieron reunir ni a 400 personas y la llamaron:"Gran movilización por la paz y el desarrollo" No pasaron de portar unas cuantas banderolas blancas con "Queremos paz!" y "Los niños no se usan, los niños se respetan!" cumpliendo su parte activa en el reparto de tareas contrarrevolucionarias como la

campaña negra del supuesto uso de niños para desprestigiarnos ante las masas, sabiendo la Iglesia, porque bien informada que está, de que esa era una imputación falsa y un plan armado por la reacción. Otra consigna "No al hambre y al terror!" quiénes son los causantes del hambre. quiénes son los genocidas?; otra "Nosotras somos madres que servirnos a la comunidad y buscamos la paz" sí pero las madres también se dividen en clases y siendo pobres o proletarias pueden convertirse en lacayas de la reacción o siervas del imperialismo o agentes de las FF.AA. y PP genocidas, hasta soplonas y cuchillos de sus propios hijos, entonces el problema es desenmascarar y diferenciar que clase de madre se es o del pueblo o contra el pueblo y a qué planes de la comunidad se está sirviendo consciente o inconscientemente. Es muy sintomático por ejemplo el articulo del periódico del gobierno "El Peruano" que se titula "Sendero contra el Pueblo" y el artículo firmado por Henry Péase, de la IU con el mismo título aparecido en "La República", ambos discrepan en cuestiones de política económica pero coinciden en apuntar contra la guerra popular y convergen en la campaña sicológica del ejército. Otra banderola apuntaba a la juventud: "Los jóvenes de canto Grande trabajamos por la paz" es que la Iglesia con su vieja experiencia sabe a quién apuntar, por eso somos dos partes en contienda que debemos conocernos bien, a los jóvenes los tenemos nosotros no la Iglesia, pero debemos aumentar más jóvenes y niños porque son el futuro. Allí entonaron el himno nacional que es un himno de opresión y habló un supuesto representante de un Frente Amplio por la Paz y el desarrollo de San Juan de Lurigancho. Ya de estos organismos de desarrollo y paz hemos tratado en la movilización de la población y recursos en la llamada estrategia yanqui de guerra de baja intensidad. Dijo que había que vencer el temor a quienes asesinan dirigentes en nombre del pueblo, demandó apoyo al gobierno para el desarrollo del distrito, que se cumpla la ley que financia el Vaso de leche y solicitó Parque industrial para los jóvenes así como el desarrollo de los pequeños y microempresarios; su rechazo contra nosotros lo limitó a invocar la autoridad de los votos de los demoburgueses porque ya no pueden imputarnos, como lo hacían antes, que estamos desligados de las masas, ahora apelan a cuantos votos ha obtenido el PCP?. Concurrieron también los alcaldes de IU de San Juan de Lurigancho y de Villa el Salvador. Es correcto que fue un fracaso sin embargo debemos aprender a conocer bien al enemigo, estratégicamente menospreciarlo y tácticamente tenerlo muy en cuenta porque así van a usar su contingente y moverlo contra la guerra popular por eso es necesario hacer contracampañas de desenmascaramiento ideológico político para que las masas no se dejen engatusar por una de las instituciones más recalcitrantes de la reacción y no permitan que las

utilicen aprovechándose de su respetable religiosidad popular o las compren por su hambre. La respuesta antes, durante y después con zozobra local fue de gran efecto pero debemos potenciarla con volantes, pintas, incursiones en asambleas y sobre todo potenciar más la doble política e infiltrarse en todo tipo de organizaciones y desenmascararlos, socavarlos hasta destruirlos, son aparatos amarillos o grises y ahí debemos actuar en función de impulsar los preparativos de la insurrección.

En el departamento de San Martín la Iglesia ha formado otro frente en colusión con la IU y las autoridades locales. En Puno están atribuyéndose el papel principal en la pacificación. En el Norte ya vimos las "rondas por la paz" y están los enviados por el papa. En el Norte medio la Iglesia es la que reparte volantes contrarrevolucionarios elaborados por el Ejército. En Ayacucho actúan con todos los planes que tienen desde los programas de subsistencia hasta las misiones selváticas en las Bases de apoyo. En el Centro los programas de subsistencia alimenticia los usan como tráfico del hambre del pueblo para servir a los planes de aniquilamiento de la guerra popular. En Lima a mas de sus marchas por la paz en los PP.JJ. desenvuelve presentaciones artístico-culturales con lo que queda de la IU, sobre todo con el MAS, para atraer jóvenes a sus filas porque sus creencias no convencen a la juventud; así como las marchas carnavalescas falsos "pasacalles" que usan para abultar contingente, organizados por "Perú, vida y paz" en el centro de Lima. También en la Plaza de La bandera hicieron votos por la paz en el "Día del árbol" nosotros nos oponernos a ese trafico vil de las costumbres de nuestro pueblo para fines contrarrevolucionarios. Otra forma es la participación activa en los izamientos de la bandera los domingos, organizados por el Ejército y ejecutados por los municipios o el Cuaves en Villa El Salvador donde la Iglesia hace llamamientos Públicos a la Paz.

Ha financiado y dirigido costosísimas campañas televisivas y radiales contra la guerra popular, entre otras la de "Compartir" y la de "Cuida a tus hijos" o una última sobre los niños. "Queremos vivir". Y está convocando al minuto de silencio en todo el país para el Día mundial de la Paz.

Luego, sigue avanzando en su posición capitulacionista de fomentar el diálogo, especialmente con el MRTA erigiéndose como intermediaria, como ya lo hizo en mayo en Moyobamba En el mes de junio, la Conferencia Episcopal de Acción Social (CEAS) a través de su secretaria ejecutiva informó a la agencia alemana de prensa (DPA) sobre sondeos iniciados en Suecia y Alemania por la Iglesia Católica

Peruana para promover un diálogo de paz entre el gobierno del presidente Fujimori y los grupos subversivos, dijo: "la Iglesia posee informaciones según las cuales el grupo Túpac Amaru está dispuesto a sentarse a la mesa para dialogar sobre pacificación y que muchos integrantes del PCP grupo que no tiene absolutamente ninguna voluntad política de dialogar, desean abandonar ese grupo". Dijo también que el gobierno había sido claro en afirmar que no iba a dialogar con gente que está armada, "pero también sabemos que hay algunos sectores que estarían muy interesados en abrir puertas..." Que al interior del MRTA había dos tendencias una dispuesta ya al comienzo de negociaciones para una rendición y un diálogo y otra muy fuerte todavía que mantiene la postura de la lucha armada y las actuales condiciones de su guerra. Que por otra parte el PCP esta tratando de empujar a las fuerzas del MRTA para aislarlas en remotas regiones de la Selva hacia la frontera con Ecuador o Colombia. Concluye que la Iglesia tiene que estar al lado del pueblo y que no se retirará de las zonas que están sufriendo esta situación de violencia; agregó que la Iglesia insto a que tiene que haber otra salida que no sea militar y que "este es el momento de abrir las condiciones para abrir el dialogo en el Perú, a pesar que todo nos divide". Estas simples frases finales son otra de las demostraciones de que estamos en el equilibrio estratégico, la Iglesia también está recuperando posiciones para defender el sistema contra la guerra popular y siente que este es el momento si no se puede pasar a circunstancias inmanejables para ellos.

Invitaron al gobierno alemán a recibir informes sobre los derechos humanos en Lima y promovieron la venida de una Comisión católica europea de DD.HH. que coincidió con la Comisión de la OEA en interesante convergencia política. En noviembre la Comisión europea de Justicia y Paz conformada por integrantes de Comisiones de Paz y Justicia de España. Alemania, Bélgica, Francia, Holanda. Inglaterra y Gales, (organismos creados por las Conferencias Episcopales siguiendo el llamado del Vaticano II plantean organismos que estudien el tema del desarrollo, la paz y los DD.HH.) vino al Perú e invocó a los grupos subversivos que "renuncien a este camino equivocado y busquen caminos para el diálogo y la pacificación" y al gobierno "que no conteste al terrorismo con terrorismo"; dijeron "hemos podido comprobar que los peruanos sufren por la violencia que reina en el país. Condenamos el terrorismo con que los grupos alzados en armas intentan imponer su ideología. Los modos como estos grupos operan violan profundamente la dignidad humana de las víctimas"; añadió que habían recibido muchos testimonios de las víctimas de la violencia contrasubversiva del gobierno peruano, que constataban "La

casi total impunidad de crímenes por terrorismo igual como la impunidad a violaciones de DD.HH. por parte del Estado, las que contribuyen al alto grado de la violencia política en el Perú"; que "Si se quiere resolver el problema del terrorismo hay que resolver el problema del narcotráfico que sustenta o financia esos grupos"; "Consideramos totalmente rechazables los asesinatos, las amenazas de muerte, el reclutamiento forzoso para las filas de SL y cualquiera otra violencia de la acción terrorista. Además la violencia causa graves daños materiales a la economía nacional." Ahí puede comprobarse el afán de ponerse por encima de las clases, grupos o regímenes para en el fondo aplicar su propio plan contrarrevolucionario, aparte que se inclinan siempre a favor de la contrarrevolución.

Otro de los planes políticos contrarrevolucionarios que aplica es la formación de Talleres de capacitación de jóvenes en proyectos de microempresas con dinero de EE.UU. y de los países vascos de España. El obispo adjunto del Callao, Irízar pronunció en una ceremonia de inauguración de unos de esos centros: "No tengamos miedo a quienes quieren meternos miedo", siempre instigando contra la guerra popular y desprestigiando al Partido, los comunistas no metemos miedo a nadie, allá los imperialistas, reaccionarios, explotadores y revisionistas que se asustan del poder de la clase y de su ideología. Ese "Centro de útiles artesanales" ha sido creado con donaciones a Cáritas Callao donde, según el propio director informo, realizan un plan para crear créditos blandos para los técnicos capacitados en ese Centro, compra y venta de insumos para Talleres de capacitación y Centros ocupacionales auspiciados por la Iglesia. El presidente de la Comisión respectiva del CEAS informó que a 1991 ya son 9 mil capacitados, 400 unidades productivas familiares, 150 microempresas y 27 Talleres pilotos. La institución norteamericana "Esperanza y Solidaridad" aportó 80 mil dólares y la donación vasca fue de 40 mil. En consecuencia, tras la falacia de que les metemos miedo encubren el plan de acumulación capitalista que hoy promueve el neo-liberalismo para fomentar la economía de mercado y bajo estas modalidades chupar la sangre del pueblo que sanamente pone sus esperanzas en lo poco que ha podido sacar con años de trabajo de explotación; estos modos de trabajo familiar y artesanal no aportan ningún beneficio a las masas, primero, no reciben ningún salario, segundo trabajan al destajo, en jornadas mayores que las que estipula la Constitución peruana de 8 horas porque son entre 12 o 14 horas de trabajo invertido, más aún trabaja toda la familia incluidos los niños y los ancianos y si de casualidad llega alguna visita también la hacen participar del trabajo para cumplir con las entregas que se comprometen a hacer en fechas determinadas, tercero, carentes de

seguro social y sujetos a pagar todo el costo de los insumos, altamente gravoso porque se compran en pequeñas cantidades; cuarto, las propias masas costean la luz, el agua y los combustibles usados para el trabajo, gasto que se suma a los costos de producción pero que no se les toma en cuenta, quinto, las personas son generalmente los desocupados obreros y empleocracia surgidos por las medidas antipopulares de Fujimori y su amo el imperialismo yanqui. Esto es lo que la Iglesia está fomentando la acumulación de la plusvalía capitalista en beneficio de la burguesía peruana y del imperialismo y su fondo político es amortiguar la explosividad de las masas para servir a las tres tareas de la reacción, en este caso a reimpulsar el capitalismo burocrático. Esto es lo que necesitamos hacer comprender a las masas y penetrar también en estos engendros para desenmascararlos, socavarlos y volarlos desde dentro.

También vino al Perú el superior de la Congregación Salesiana desde Roma y proclamó que la Iglesia responde al temor con la educación de los jóvenes: "En el mundo la violencia totalitaria y militarizada ha caído por su podredumbre interna no por conflictos internacionales" cuál es esa podredumbre interna? no lo dice, a lo mejor habla del fascismo italiano que su papa Pío XII nunca condenó; dijo que "la enseñanza a la juventud y al pueblo en valores humanos era la repuesta de la Iglesia a la violencia" quieren meter su ideología en los jóvenes y meterse más en la Educación. Informó que tienen 45 colegios en el Perú, 3 institutos pedagógicos y casas para jóvenes abandonados. A la Iglesia, pues sí se le permite tener escuelas propias para envenenar a la juventud y crear archireaccionarios que conduzcan en el futuro los viejos Estados de explotación.

Pero su labor no queda ahí, en el campo especifico de su labor religiosa programan misas por la paz como aquella en la que el obispo Danmert consintió banderolas políticas con consignas contrarrevolucionarias:no matarás! No mas violencia! No al terrorismo!. Programan jornadas de oración para la paz como la del 14 de octubre. Propician eventos como el Debate sobre la Evangelización en América en Ayacucho. O el Primer Encuentro Social Católico "La doctrina social de la Iglesia y el trabajo. Una opción ante la crisis" en los que en vez de centrar en sus funciones religiosas las emprenden contra la guerra popular desde las palabras de la inauguración hasta las de la clausura como cuando el nuncio apostólico Luigi Dossena manifiesta: "Hoy nos vemos amenazados violentamente por el terrorismo que asesina sacerdotes (primero ellos), empresarios (los dueños del capital), políticos (los reaccionarios y revisionistas), civiles (explotadores, gamonales, lacayos, soplones) y militares (los genocidas), y destruye toda iniciativa pública y privada

en favor del progreso y el desarrollo". Los eternos defensores de lo viejo ahora farfullan contra los constructores de lo nuevo. Allí también exponen charlas políticas y económicas sus cuadros seglares como el decano de la facultad de Economía de la universidad del Pacifico González Izquierdo que hablo sobre "El rol del trabajo en el mercado" o el economista que flota desde Velasco en el poder, Silva Ruete "Las opciones ante la crisis" a más de teólogos alemanes pagados especialmente por la Iglesia peruana.

Desarrollan la IV Semana Social del Perú auspiciada por la CEAS "La Iglesia Peruana y el mundo del trabajo" en torno a la cual las ponencias tratan el desempleo, el subempleo, el rol de los sindicatos, la gestión empresarial del Estado, etc. Usan, pues, estas tribunas para propagandizar su economía de mercado y la doctrina social de la Iglesia como la salida ante la crisis del socialismo y el consumismo mercantilista del capitalismo, ellos quieren la economía de mercado tipo Alemania con participación del Estado con medidas sociales etc., lo que esta en su encíclica, pero enfilando sus ataques contra la guerra popular y el PCP. Una cuestión que también comprobamos en las palabrejas de Danmert en ese evento de setiembre es la decreciente aceptación de su ideología por el pueblo peruano cuando al referirse a la doctrina social de la Iglesia en el Perú "detecto un avance lento y penoso de la misma en nuestro medio, lo cual indica que la DSI aun no ha calado lo suficiente en el corazón de los creyentes como para poder realizar los cambios profundos que exige la situación social."

Han realizado también el Primer Encuentro de Juventudes Católicas con el mismo contenido contrarrevolucionario que los eventos anteriores buscando ganar a la juventud porque cada día son menos los que se acercan a ellos, pero como se van a definir por la Iglesia Católica potros encabritados que buscan lo nuevo y que en este país han vivido 11 años de sus vidas el más grandioso proceso de transformación revolucionaria? y mientras ven que la una pregona sumisión el otro aplica rebelión, si escuchan promesas de un cielo que nunca nadie ha visto y ven mundos nuevos construidos en poquísimos tiempos históricos, su posición lógica, consecuente, es de tender hacia la revolución y este es el entusiasmo revolucionario que nosotros debemos seguir estimulando para que se incorporen mas a la guerra popular. Lo mismo en las mujeres que son la mitad del mundo.

Todos estos actos son eminentemente políticos contrarrevolucionarios que apuntan tras bambalinas de la pacificación a aniquilar la guerra popular, por eso también actúan como soplones y delatores o se interponen algunos en pleno combate. Pero debe quedar bien claro que estos planes y campañas son programadas por los jerarcas de la

Iglesia peruana siguiendo las órdenes de la más alta jerarquía del Vaticano y que muy distinta es la actitud de algunos religiosos, elementos de base que viven en el campo y que aunque son muy pocos también sienten la necesidad de participar en la revolución y con ellos aplicamos la política de Frente Unico.

ANIQUILAMIENTO DE SACERDOTES Y MONJAS. LOS CURAS POLACOS. En la Sesión Preparatoria del II Pleno, página 187 certeramente planteábamos: "La Iglesia también plantea exigencia de estrategia antisubversiva al gobierno; a su retorno de Roma el arzobispo Vargas Alzamora condenó enérgicamente la actitud criminal de los grupos subversivos y dijo 'la pacificación es una tarea impostergable para todos los peruanos'. La Iglesia ha iniciado campaña 'Compartir 1990', bajo la socapa de la ayuda a los 50 mil desplazados de las zonas de emergencia. En el mes de octubre ha salido a luz como la Iglesia desarrolla sus organizaciones para combatirnos y cómo hace años habían organizado aparatos para enfrentarnos. En su visita al Perú el papa dijo: 'Vuelvan la mirada hacia Ayacucho...aún es tiempo y dio nacimiento a la Comisión de misiones en zonas de emergencia de la conferencia de religiosas del Perú; la forman parte 40 congregaciones, fue creada hace 5 años, el 85 como resultado de la primera visita papal, cumplen labor en la sierra, en zonas de emergencia, ofrecen instrucción, alfabetización, en las Escuelas locales y comunales. Son un instrumento de penetración ideológica, de socavamiento a la guerra popular utilizando su condición de monjas y mujeres, batallón femenino contrarrevolucionario para protegerse mejor y generar escándalo en caso que se les atacara. La Iglesia cumple papel ideológico, político y organizativo, esto debe ser desenmascarado y conocido por el pueblo para que se vea que la lucha de clases enfrenta que 'ponerse por encima soñando con el reino de los cielos' encubre ardorosos cruzados, frenéticos contrarrevolucionarios aquí en la Tierra."

Nosotros diferenciamos lo que es Iglesia como institución reaccionaria defensora del orden de explotación y la religiosidad del pueblo que no es sino la creación social en la que se refugia para explicar su situación de hambre o pobreza; también diferenciamos función religiosa de Iglesia, esto es el ejercicio de su culto, rezos, misas, de su acción contrarrevolucionaria, nos basamos en el Programa del Partido que concibe la libertad plena de creer y no creer; y dentro de la Iglesia diferenciamos lo que es jerarquía de elementos de base. Y en cuanto a separación de Iglesia de Estado solamente cuando se desarrolle el socialismo se logrará porque hoy día es una farsa lo que al respecto pregonan ya que la Iglesia es parte de las instituciones que sostienen los viejos Estados reaccionarios por más que se mantengan

aparentemente al margen de estos.

Durante la presente III Campaña se han producido la muerte de dos curas polacos en Ancash, el de la religiosa Mc Cormack en Junín y el de el párroco italiano de Santa, Chimbote. Todos estos casos merecen ser investigados y justamente analizados. De los polacos y el italiano se generó una inmensa grita propagandística pero no era la primera vez que hechos similares ocurrieran, caso de las 2 peruanas Hermanas del Buen Pastor y de la australiana de las Hermanas de San José del Sagrado Corazón, en setiembre-90 y mayo-91 en la selva de Junín y en la sierra de Huasahuasi, cuando en aquellas ocasiones se limitaron a imputarnos su autoría y las causas eran su activa participación en planes de subsistencia y por oponerse activamente al ajusticiamiento de cabezas negras, y de dos pronunciamientos periodísticos no pasaron.

Quiénes eran esos curas? Partamos que en el Perú la mayoría de los religiosos son extranjeros. El italiano y los polacos pertenecían a las parroquias de la zona Norte del Perú donde está comprobado el papel activamente contrarrevolucionario de la Iglesia Católica allí. De los polacos queda claro que siendo franciscanos dependían directamente del papado y no de ninguna de las dos provincias de la organización territorial de franciscanos del Perú: que fue el obispo de origen vasco de Huaraz Gurruchaga, el de las rondas por la paz, quien solicitó expresamente su presencia hace tres años; que de Cracovia, Polonia fueron a Chimbote de donde el obispo Bambarén envió a los voluntarios a una zona roja de la cual la policía se había replegado; que trabajaron activamente en la zona y compraron una movilidad con el dinero de la feligresía italiana, que levantaron una Iglesia; que aprendieron el quechua y llegaron a dirigir el programa alimenticio de subsistencia; que recibieron la invitación del PCP a que salieran de la zona y dejaran que las masas se organizaran solas en esos repartos; que el 9 de agosto del 91, en la segunda incursión, se produjo el ajusticiamiento del alcalde, del teniente alcalde y que los dos curas y la hermana Bertha Hernández Guerra fueron llevados en el auto de la parroquia y que después regresó viva la mujer más no así los hombres cuyos cadáveres con un balazo en la nuca aparecieron con un cartel: "Muerte a los fieles del imperialismo"; que, según reveló la monja, en el trayecto conversaron 45 minutos acerca del contenido político de los llamados programas de emergencia social de la Iglesia.

Ante estos hechos, así como ante la muerte del párroco la repercusión alcanzó hasta el Vaticano, el papa celebró una misa especial, envió un telegrama de condolencia y los polacos ante la cancillería peruana demandaron seguridad para sus connacionales. Expreso conminó a la

Iglesia a dirigir una cruzada a que convoque a rezos, procesiones contra el terrorismo, pero recibió la callada por respuesta, ya sabemos que la Iglesia tiene su plan propio y no quiere ser usada por nadie. El obispo Danmert aconsejo a los curas sobre todo extranjeros a retirarse de las zonas de emergencia y en general recomendó prudencia y cautela a todos los sacerdotes lo cual fue duramente criticado y entre la serie de entrevistas que concedió a la prensa opinó también que el asesinato de religiosos por senderistas puede significar una nueva estrategia considerando que la Iglesia Católica por su arraigo en la nación es la entidad que puede detener su avance. Declaraciones que chocaron con la publicación de la Carta Pastoral de la Conferencia Episcopal Peruana firmada por el mismo obispo, en la cual enjuician que dios los ha confiado en esas zonas y que ahí les ha demandado su sangre, es necesario decir que de fervor religioso no tiene nada. Posteriormente el mismo obispo va a declarar que se trato de un crimen de guerra como otros. Ahí se puede ver las divergencias que tienen los jerarcas de la Iglesia y cómo ni uno mismo tiene ideas firmes sino que las cambia como veleta de acuerdo a los intereses en juego.

Bambarén enjuiciaba por su parte que "había un chantaje diabólico", que "El PCP ha puesto la mira en la Iglesia" por lo menos en su diócesis, dice que vemos en ellos un gran impedimento por el mensaje evangélico que predican de qué mensaje habla? será de su acción contrarrevolucionaria que la vamos a desenmascarar y derrotar definitivamente. El obispo del Callao Durand retrucaba al anterior "No van contra la Iglesia" y dijo por radio a nivel nacional que sabia por testigo presencial que habían sido aniquilados por adormecer al pueblo hablando tanto por la paz y por paralizarlo con víveres del imperialismo, dijo "han sido acusados de impedir el avance de la revolución." En tanto el arzobispo Richter Prada pidió que se esclarecieran esos crímenes de religiosos extranjeros. El acólito, administrador seglar da sacramentos H. Péase dijo: "fue por propiciar la paz que es opción de Cristo". Hubo también quienes dijeron que los móviles eran la xenofobia del PCP a todos los extranjeros. A modo de conclusión en este problema concreto tomamos un párrafo de la Carta mencionada que expresa la profunda remoción que han causado estos hechos en la institución: "La nueva situación de violencia contra la Iglesia nos invita a reflexionar y a la revisión de nuestras obras pero sobre todo a la autenticidad evangélica en nuestra labor misionera."

Sintetizando, los hemos desenmascarado y la repercusión ha sido mundial alcanzando la madriguera misma de la jerarquía eclesiástica papal y en la Iglesia peruana están reflexionando sobre el papel de sus llamadas obras de bienestar que no son sino planes y campañas

políticas contrarrevolucionarias.

Otra situación de similar repercusión y que ha sido muy usada por la reacción peruana como parte de la acción sicológica de la guerra de baja intensidad que están aplicando es la propagandización de la acción del religioso de la Misión de Cutivireni, el franciscano Magnon, en el valle del Ene, con los nativos ashaninkas. Trabajaba desde los 70 en la región pero desde el ILA 80 adoptó una posición contraria, particularmente desde el 85 cuando el Partido instaló una de sus Bases de apoyo en el lugar y sus feligreses se iban incorporando a nuestras filas; llegó a pedir por escrito la presencia del ejército reaccionario hasta que llegaron a instalar una base contrasubversiva. La política de nuestro Partido fue la de invitarlo a través de muchas formas y requerimientos a que se sujete al Nuevo Poder y se limite a labores estrictamente religiosas y se abstenga de acciones contrarrevolucionarias; se realizaron varias incursiones de sabotaje y arrasamiento hasta que lo obligamos a salir del lugar, lo cierto es que nunca se enfrento contra la guerrilla; hoy día hay en lo que ayer fuera una "misión religiosa" hay una base militar contrasubversiva desde donde se planifican, dirigen y ejecutan las más sangrientas campañas de aniquilamiento de combatientes y masas de Junín y de Ayacucho.

Aquí tenemos una diferencia, unos fueron cuadros contrarrevolucionarios formados por el papa actual para actuar de cruzados contra la guerra popular en el Perú y otros que en el devenir de sus funciones adoptan posición activa contrarrevolucionaria.

Que se difunda en EE.UU. que la Iglesia tenga que volver a las catacumbas y actuar en la clandestinidad parece más bien remordimiento de conciencia por sus pecados mortales cotidianos de pronunciarse sistemáticamente por el imperialismo, el revisionismo y la reacción peruana, contra el proletariado y el pueblo peruano contra el poderoso marxismo-leninismo-maoísmo, pensamiento gonzalo y parte de las ridículas campañas de guerra sicológica.

Finalmente, queremos decir algo del tráfico vil que hizo Fujimori durante este primer año de gobierno de la religiosidad del pueblo peruano con las vírgenes que lloran y el santón brasileño: "Queda nítido que intereses están detrás de las campañas de las 'Vírgenes que lloran' y de 'Joao de Dios', así como el protervo papel de Expreso. He aquí un monstruoso y siniestro manejo demagógico de los atrasados fondos del pueblo; la más sucia manipulación de la religiosidad popular traficando con la miseria y sufrimiento del pueblo y con la desesperación; incentivando y exaltando la mas embrutecedora superstición que pretende cerrar el paso a la toma de conciencia

política para que las masas no asuman su destino en sus propias manos. Este burdo y artero manejo muestra métodos fascistas de la llamada sicología de masas y además revela acción del imperialismo yanqui; son planes y ensayos sobre como desarrollar sus operaciones sicológicas contra la guerra popular y manejo y control de la población para sus tres tareas. Ver seriamente estas cuestiones." Comentarios del Presidente Gonzalo 4 de mayo del 91.

LA IGLESIA Y LA PACIFICACIÓN Sintetiza todo lo tratado: cumple plan propio dentro de la llamada pacificación que no es sino plan del imperialismo y de la reacción peruana para aniquilar la guerra popular; desarrolla su papel de escudo ideológico político y organizativo y quiere encabezar porque se cree encima de las clases; es parte activa de la ofensiva contrarrevolucionaria general.

b) Otras Iglesias. El imperialismo principalmente yanqui sigue potenciando aparatos religiosos no católicos con el objetivo de socavar la revolución en los países del Tercer Mundo en particular de ahí la participación activa de la Iglesia evangélica peruana en las elecciones generales y la presencia de miembros activos de ésta en el Ejecutivo actual así como sus viajes de denuncia contra las supuestas matanzas de sus activistas por el PCP sumándose a las condenas de otros organismos internacionales en la campaña contra la guerra popular en el Perú a nivel Internacional. También sigue la proliferación de sectas religiosas en la Selva y en algunas partes de la serranía peruana todas estas cumplen el mismo papel que la Católica guardando distancia de dimensión.

Fue de gran repercusión el golpe a la Institución Visión Mundial (WVI) provocando su retiro del Perú a partir del presente año.

4. MRTA

SU PAPEL EN LA POLÍTICA PERUANA. Actuando dentro del reparto de tareas con la reacción para aniquilar la guerra popular han desarrollado su acción capitulacionista de amnistía y alistamiento a través de los siguientes hechos: mayor y más activa actuación en el aniquilamiento de combatientes por la guerra popular: rescate de la dirigente M. A. Cumpa: acción propagandística en la parte norte del departamento de San Martín; diálogo e integración legal al sistema; división y con balas resolver sus luchas internas.

Sobre el rescate de la Cumpa. Evidentemente con ayuda de las fuerzas

policiales se cometieron una serie de negligencias extrañas desde la no citación de la detenida por juez alguno o el tipo de carro que se uso o los cambios del personal de escolta a última hora hasta la actitud parloteadora y risueña con los miserables de la guardia en el trayecto e incluso la muerte de elementos policiales presentes en los hechos; incluyendo el baleamiento y escandalosa farsa de que se había pretendido fugar una de las acusadas que la vinculan al PCP. Todos estos hechos demostraban que no se quería que se pudiera esclarecer nada acerca del papel que cumplió el APRA en la salida de Polay y compañía y la caída de esa dirigente tenía que haber provisto de nuevos datos o elementos para el juicio pero como las condiciones no estaban maduras para destapar el asunto entonces se fabricó el "escape". Muy bueno es el comentario del Presidente Gonzalo al respecto: " Otro "otro oportuno escape" parte de entorpecer diligencias sobre la salida de Polay sus seguidores, es que como parte de su contienda está en el tapete.

SOBRE LA "GRAN ACCIÓN" EN EL NORTE DE SAN MARTÍN En su propio comunicado plantean que fue una "campaña político-militar para llamar la atención de la opinión pública nacional e internacional sobre la situación de abandono de la región la corrupción de muchas de sus autoridades y el abuso y prepotencia del comando Político Militar." El objetivo político define el tipo de acción y esta es una simple acción de propaganda. Y para que llaman la atención? no hay causas de sistema de explotación o sea del carácter de la sociedad semifeudal semicolonial o capitalista burocrática; tampoco causas de superestructura política o sea del carácter del viejo Estado que a través del cual actúa un gobierno de clase que tampoco ven porque para ellos el problema de Fujimori es de "política inhumana del gobierno del señor Fujimori" o de "la estafa de las promesas electorales" o "la sumisión ante la banca internacional" o "la entrega de nuestra soberanía a través del convenio antidrogas" para ellos no es explotador gran burgués terrateniente ni imperialista principalmente yanqui. Por lo tanto hacen una lucha armada para que cambien a un presidente inhumano y se resuelven los problemas del país. Y en cuanto a la propia acción propagandística no ha sido sino una de las miles de acciones que desde hace mas de 11 años larga y altamente superamos bajo la forma de combates guerrilleros tipo ataques a puestos policiales. simultáneamente no en una sino en todas las regiones del país y como parte de un conjunto de acciones armadas complementarias como sabotajes, bloqueos, apagones, tomas de armas y captura de rehenes o retención de fuerzas en ciudades y puntos estratégicos incluyendo acciones masivas de propaganda como base asambleas populares de agitación y propaganda armada incluyendo

juicios populares. De modo que no es sino en chiquito y deformado un tipo de acción propagandística que les fracaso. Su centro fue llamar la atención pero hasta la fecha no han atendido los problemas del departamento y dicho sea de paso ni siquiera denunciaron el genocidio que hoy prosigue. Lo de la política con prisioneros para nosotros es mas bien nuestra rutina y la aplicamos en todo el sentido político que corresponde porque a los presos en combate se les plantea si se quieren regresar, si quieren desertar o si se quieren incorporar, nunca los entregamos, por principio, al enemigo como espectacularmente y con la Iglesia Católica lo hicieron ellos violando precisamente uno de los acuerdos de Ginebra que tan escrupulosamente dicen respetar; su propuesta de que la Cruz Roja Internacional ingresara también fracaso; el juego de la reacción de diferenciar terrorismo de subversión también fue un ensayo fracasado. El dialogo al que también llamaron en su comunicado oficial fue dirigido a "todas las fuerzas sin excepción que estén interesadas en el cambio para lograr una paz basada en la justicia y la soberanía de nuestro pueblo." El Presidente Gonzalo justa y correctamente nos enseña que para el MRTA la cuestión es: "Todo por el dialogo, nada de revolución, ni de guerra revolucionaria, ni de nuevo Poder, etc. y todo en nombre de 'paz basada en la justicia y la soberanía de nuestro pueblo'."

COMENTARIOS. Las declaraciones de la dirigente Cumpa y las de "Evaristo" en Caretas son bastante ridículas sobre todo la primera que muestra una mujer revolucionaria que centra en cuestiones personales y afanes de figuración, por lo que dijo hizo la entrevista expresamente para explicar que no había pagado miles de dólares por su salida. El otro se mostró en favor del Convenio y no lo califica de imperialista, no lo rechaza tampoco y al igual que la anterior dice que si cumple las condiciones de desarrollar la zona, favorecer y hacer participar a los campesinos entonces seria bueno, pidió una congestión en la erradicación de la coca, dijo "no estamos en contra del Convenio, pero oponerse tampoco significa apoyo a los narcotraficantes" y atacando al PCP: "tiene una relación muy fluida con los narcos en el Alto Huallaga".

Sobre la división y resolver con balas su lucha interna ha sido hecha evidente por las consecutivas entrevistas de sus dirigentes a la revista reaccionaria "Caretas" haciendo apología del MRTA. En Julio, el llamado "Germán" refiriéndose a Polay planteo que "había abandonado la lucha por el socialismo reemplazándola por un nacionalismo revolucionario neo-aprista de los años 20" y el "abandono de la lucha por el Poder"; que "en su III Pleno se penso en la posibilidad de la reinserción en el sistema y él opinó que eso debería ser mas integral";

que la estrategia de SL "es una estrategia de derrota...las condiciones mínimas para pasar a un proceso de pacificación necesariamente tienen que pasar por la derrota de Sendero Luminoso. Una entrega de las armas en las actuales condiciones desarrollaría más violencia porque provocaría el crecimiento de Sendero y lo mismo ocurrirá con las Fuerzas Armadas." Estamos dispuestos al diálogo con las Fuerzas Armadas, con la Iglesia. Creemos que este gobierno no tiene fuerza moral pero hay sectores con los que por lo menos puede ir comenzando el diálogo...la misma Sociedad de Industrias debería estar dispuesta a conversar con nosotros...En este contexto estamos dispuestos a derrotar política y militarmente a Sendero Luminoso como lo hemos hecho en esta zona donde hemos eliminado a más de 60 mandos de Sendero, Esta sería nuestra contribución a la pacificación del país. Pero se debe facilitar la vía al dialogo y no oponerse totalmente como lo hacen el gobierno y la Fuerza Armada." Bien clarito su aporte a la pacificación consiste en aniquilarnos, ahí está la declaración de cumplir su papel en el reparto de tareas que aplican sobre todo en el Huallaga y en el Centro.

Para Gálvez Olaechea, hoy detenido en Lima, en Canto Grande el problema de las divergencias es que "no hay un abanico de tendencias" y que "Polay es mi amigo"; dice "Queremos una transformación y creemos que es posible con democracia"; "No tenemos nada que ver con Sendero Luminoso, no trabajamos en función de ellos. No somos de la misma línea ni doctrina."; "la entrega de armas de parte del MRTA no es la única posibilidad para lograr la pacificación del país"; "En la eventualidad de un diálogo, que no negamos, los interlocutores vendrían a ser la Iglesia o las Naciones Unidas, tendríamos que buscar los mecanismos necesarios para que eso se lleve a cabo es una variante, todo depende de que haya una verdadera voluntad política de parte del MRTA y de los grupos dominantes": "que quede en claro que no luchamos por nuestro provecho sino por el del pueblo. Estaríamos locos si sabiendo que con esto mejoraría la situación del país no accediéramos, pero no se piense que estamos agotados ni entrampados si lo hacemos." Se ve que también está por la entrega de armas y cree que con un diálogo se podría cambiar la situación política en favor del pueblo. Manifiesta una posición vergonzosamente capitulacionista y ambigua, conciliadora en la lucha interna.

En octubre desarrollaron un Comité Ejecutivo Ampliado parte de cuyos acuerdos fuera difundido en la revista Cambio. Dice "Fujimori hambreador! El pueblo vencerá!, otra vez no definen el carácter de clase del gobierno. Sobre el imperialismo yanqui ahora ya no es cuestión sino de intereses norteamericanos". Hablan de derecha tradicional pragmática y neoliberal y ponen a AP, PPC. Libertad etc.

Hablan de la izquierda legal y dónde colocan al APRA? se la olvidaron. Del PCP reconocen sin querer decirlo que estamos avanzando y les arde que nos encontremos en el equilibrio estratégico Dicen textualmente: "El carácter autoritario del gobierno de Fujimori...su política neoliberal y entreguista...su alianza con las FF.AA. y los partidos de la derecha tradicional.... así como la ausencia de la izquierda legal... han creado un vacío de alternativas para el movimiento popular y el pueblo en su conjunto. La situación de profunda marginación económica...está creando condiciones políticas para un posible proceso de revolución popular con características violentas" Atreverse a decir que después de 11 años de guerra popular en el Perú recién se crean condiciones políticas para posible proceso de revolución con caracteres violentos es dorar la píldora y cerrar los ojos a una realidad, es que como no son marxista-leninista-maoístas no plantean ni condiciones objetivas, ni condiciones subjetivas, ni situación revolucionaria y se enredan en describir hechos y elucubrar creaciones que ya están analizadas y claramente establecidas en el marxismo; y de lo que se trata es que están reflejando revisionistamente las condiciones de maduración de la revolución para la conquista del Poder, en el fondo las están negando por su posición capitulacionista. Bueno, pero prosigue y dice que en estas posibilidades, "De una u otras manera Sendero Luminoso quiere capitalizar estos elementos para ampliar su radio de acción política y militar; sin embargo la táctica asumida confirma una vez mas que el camino escogido conduce inevitablemente a su derrota estratégica" Nosotros no es que queremos ampliar radio de acción, lo que queremos es potenciar la guerra de movimientos e impulsar los preparativos para la insurrección y desarrollar el equilibrio estratégico para conquistar el Poder en todo el país. Les duele la existencia de la República Popular de Nueva Democracia, la potenciación de los combates guerrilleros como emboscadas y asaltos, los sabotajes, los aniquilamientos selectivos y las acciones de agitación y propaganda armadas. Concluyen que entonces hay un "fujifascismo versus un senderofascismo" si así fuera su consecuencia lógica sería la que su asesor Tapia la viene proclamando un frente amplio antifascista; pero su reacción hepática pequeñoburguesa y principalmente revisionista les nubla el fondo de lo que están reconociendo: el equilibrio estratégico, la polarización de fuerzas entre el régimen gran burgués, terrateniente burocrático y pro-imperialista de Fujimori y por otro lado el Partido Comunista que avanza en ser centro unificador de todas las fuerzas susceptibles de ser unidas por la guerra popular y la República Popular de Nueva Democracia. El resto es sobre su acción: "Desobediencia civil, hacia la rebelión popular!" o sea simplemente aplicar la lucha dentro de un artículo de la Constitución peruana. Por

eso afirmamos que están marchando más hacia su amnistía y alistamiento. Y para el imperialismo yanqui, como dijo una revista no es más que un "demonio conocido".

La entrevista de Polay a Borges el revisionista de Nicaragua, también en Caretas es otra declaración de capitulación y admiración por el APRA y confirma lo que "Germán" declaró. No habla como marxista sino como renegado del marxismo, no invoca para nada al marxismo y de la situación del revisionismo en la URSS dice que Gorbachov no pudo prever la desintegración. Del convenio antidrogas no dice ni pío solamente dice "los norteamericanos priorizan una eliminación represiva y a eso sí nos oponemos Claro! al Convenio no. Del PCP dice "es el hermano enemigo de los sectores más reaccionarios de nuestro país, porque uno y otro se son necesarios, se alimentan mutuamente."; que tenemos "visión mesiánica o somos un fundamentalismo islámico o que nos creemos los únicos depositarios de la verdad o la versión peruana de Pol Pot" igualito a lo que dijo Fujimori en Bangkok y para nada menciona que somos un Partido Comunista con ideología marxista-leninista-maoísta, pensamiento gonzalo. Dice que el MRTA lucha por la justicia y la paz y que en el Perú solo es posible el cambio combinando todas las formas de lucha revolucionaria" ya ni siquiera defiende la principal forma de lucha que es la lucha armada y en la cual sus dirigidos están entregando sus vidas.

Hace poco acaban de publicar un comunicado de un Frente nuevo que se llama "Patria Libre" este organismo es uno de los canales a través del cual el MRTA podría insertarse en la política peruana postulando a las futuras elecciones o amnistiarse y alistarse en el viejo Estado. Allí hablan de un Plan de salvación popular y que están por la paz con justicia social y el Gran Diálogo Nacional.

SU SITUACION Y PERSPECTIVA. Sintetizando el MRTA está avanzando en su camino capitulacionista y actuará más activamente contra la guerra popular en este reparto de tareas de la reacción peruana y el imperialismo, incluso se podría vender al imperialismo yanqui ahora que el socialimperialismo soviético está en bancarrota y las relaciones con Cuba son un tanto indefinidas y en crisis, ellos que siempre han aplicado bastón de mando tendrán que optar para enrolarse en la amnistía y el alistamiento por aniquilarnos vendiéndose al mejor postor, después de todo el APRA no es su única carta.

5. POSICIONES, PLANTEAMIENTOS Y OPINIONES.

a) DIARIOS Y REVISTAS. En mayo los periódicos El Comercio,

Expreso, La República, Ojo y las revistas Caretas y Oiga presentaron un documento sobre subversión al primer Ministro. Plantean entre otras cuestiones: "Han pasado 10 años y la subversión y la violencia terrorista son cada vez más graves en el país. Ahora resulta más evidente que nunca que para encarar esta guerra no convencional con las armas de la democracia se requiere urgentemente de nuevos planteamientos y del respaldo de decisiones políticas e institucionales de singular trascendencia..." Propone "Consejo Superior de Defensa Ad Hoc presidido por el propio presidente.... crear instancias en las que participen la Iglesia, los partidos políticos, las organizaciones empresariales, laborales y otras...crear un Comando Operativo Unificado dedicado exclusivamente a combatir la subversión, organismo vertical operativo y estable, con un jefe dotado de amplios poderes, poniendo bajo su mandato a todas las fuerzas del orden, policías, aviadores, militares, servicio de inteligencia, de salud, etc., dependiendo solamente del presidente...prioridad presupuestal ...continuidad en el mando...unificar y reforzar los servicios de inteligencia...fondo nacional de defensa interna", todo esto en el plano del Sistema de Defensa y Militar.

Abarcando además cuestiones en el campo judicial: "mayor seguridad, estímulos y capacitación, modificar las penas (prisión perpetua, más severidad con los menores), simplificar los procedimientos, ampliar plazos de prevención preventiva, reservar a la justicia común todo caso de violación de DD.HH. reorganización del sistema carcelario, evitar que siga siendo una escuela de subversión y ponerlo al servicio de las labores de inteligencia."

En el campo educativo "campaña de educación y una estrategia integral destinada a promover en los colegios, universidades y centros formativos del magisterio, los valores éticos y esencialmente progresistas del sistema democrático".

En el campo de la comunicación: "Crear en el Comando Operativo Unificado de la lucha antisubversiva una oficina de comunicaciones que alimente a los medios de las siguientes maneras: informando con precisión acerca de los enfrentamientos bélicos, acerca de los hechos positivos victorias, avances, informando con periodicidad cómo va la subversión a fin de crear una conciencia y sicología de lucha antisubversiva, una oficina que no sólo informe de los hechos sino que los utilice y movilice toda una estrategia de información, aprovechar las ventajas que ofrecen los medios escritos para la lucha ideológica recurriendo al estudio detallado de toda la producción doctrinal de SL y el MRTA...con el fin de refutar en términos didácticos la teoría misma de la violencia subversiva...suscitar permanentemente debates

y entrevistas acerca de la estrategia antisubversiva a fin de recoger aportes e involucrar crecientemente a los políticos y dirigentes empresariales, laborales, etc. en la conducción de la lucha que es de toda la sociedad."

El comentario del Presidente Gonzalo nos es sumamente claro para enjuiciarlo, a más de ser justo, correcto y certero más aún hoy después de la dación de los decretos sobre pacificación: "Este documento es parte del problema central de la reacción: cómo defender y mantener el Viejo Estado? reiterada interrogante que hoy les demanda perentoria respuesta pero, desde el principio, los planteamientos de cuestión militar revelan serias divergencias con lo informado por el Primer Ministro en nombre del gobierno; así la 'concertación' sobre la llamada pacificación no es tan simple como la creen, se dará en medio de intensa y constante colusión y pugna. Por otro lado, en el campo de la revolución, la perentoriedad que plantean también demuestra que reflejan una realidad evidente: la guerra popular se desenvuelve en el equilibrio estratégico."

Sobre Expreso y sus campañas transcribimos algunos comentarios del Presidente Gonzalo: A propósito de la noticia de que en Lima hallan otro auto con arsenal de explosivos: "Dentro del mismo plan policial Expreso como siempre, sirviendo a intereses yanquis de combatir el narcotráfico y apuntar contra la guerra popular para sacar adelante intereses económicos; es su meta concreta ahora". Dos ligados al MRTA: "Se levanta al MRTA y se pregonan 'éxitos ' del gobierno y 'reveses' de Sendero"; y: "Ayer apoyó diálogo con el MRTA tomando los policías 'rehenes' como instrumento: hoy que el plan de colusión y diálogo fracasó, Expreso lo critica para distanciarse, limpiarse y tramar nuevos contubernios contra la guerra popular. Ayer no más en su editorial exaltaba al MRTA como gran opositor del Convenio; buscando una vez más levantar al MRTA cuya acción de San Martín ha fracasado en sus objetivos, y, lo principal, cuando la III Campaña expresa gran pujanza y éxito, más aún cuando está en marcha un paro armado en Lima de muy buenas perspectivas." Otro a propósito de asesinato de Persiles fue 'vendeta de la mafia' después de difundir que había sido acción del Partido, habitual actitud de este diario en los últimos tiempos, dice: "Como siempre Expreso enlodando". Otro referente a la supuesta derrota del Partido en las elecciones de Huaycán: "Extraños y mágicos cálculos para fabricar otra 'rotunda derrota de Sendero' el mismo viejo cuento y la misma campaña de Expreso; mismo plan reaccionario, mismos titiriteros, sólo cambian los muñecos: ahora de Cambio 90 e IS". Y sobre El Peruano: "Parte de las operaciones sicológicas de la guerra contrarrevolucionaria, por un lado desprestigiarnos ante el pueblo y, por otro, levantar y promover

al MRTA. El Peruano lo mismo que Expreso; en la misma campaña de la reacción en general y sus medios de comunicación."

Referente a El Comercio con motivo de supuesta noticia de "Tras enfrentamientos, efectivos EP incautaron armamento a senderistas", el Presidente Gonzalo comenta: "El Comercio informó sobre lo mismo el 3/VI, bajo el titulo: 'Efectivos militares dieron muerte a 30 senderistas'. Los 'muertos' del 3 se tornan hoy 'presuntos muertos' y el 'decano' pasa a centrar en 'una significativa parte del armamento con que actúa Sendero Luminoso en el Alto Huallaga, fue recuperada por el Ejército'. Este y otros ejemplos muestran como El Comercio, (el diario de la 'Independencia y veracidad' según pregona como lema) se suma más activamente cada vez y con igual o mayor artería y cinismo a la campaña de Expreso contra el Partido y la guerra popular." Y con motivo de un artículo de H. Guerra en la página editorial del mismo diario "La generación frustrada" que apunta contra la juventud forjada en once años de guerra popular, el comentario se vuelve aún más contundente: "He aquí una muestra de la campaña ideológica que proponen los directores de periódicos y revistas. Quieren contraponer a la juventud con la guerra popular. Pero, como se ve esa campaña ideológica está viciada en sus bases y perspectivas: empeñémonos en combatirla a fondo y la destrozaremos."

En conclusión, la propuesta de los periódicos fue rechazada en los hechos porque al genocida vendepatria le conviene aplicar su plan propio, la promulgación de sus decretos de pacificación expresan una divergencia de fondo con la propuesta de los periodistas en cuanto no se tiene en cuenta a las organizaciones políticas, civiles, sino que potencia el poder militar. Por tanto los diarios han estado actuando con su propio plan y agudizarán sus divergencias.

b) OPINIONES. PUM, En Amauta N 82 del 7/VI informan de la culminación de la X Sesión del CC, ahí en cuanto a Situación nacional dicen: "Se caracteriza por una profundización de la ofensiva neoliberal del gobierno, el defensismo en el movimiento popular y su vanguardia y la extensión de la guerra interna" Ahí lo que definen será la coyuntura política y su pesimismo es notorio, ven tan grande a la reacción que el movimiento popular lo separan de su expresión política más alta, esto es de la guerra popular, y como su grupo político está mal, dividido y confundido ideológicamente, entonces la emprenden contra la vanguardia del proletariado peruano que está hace más de 11 años dirigiendo la guerra popular y se consideran ellos la vanguardia en defensismo; si fueran marxistas porque no lo son, son burgueses, entenderían que la guerra es la continuación de la política y la forma más alta de resolver las contradicciones; baste comparar la

respuesta del pueblo argentino o del boliviano con la del pueblo peruano para demostrar la alta calidad de la respuesta popular aquí; y está respondiendo con su sangre y se le abre más la posibilidad de conquistar el Poder con las armas en la mana, en todo el país dirigió por el Partido comunista, y si a cantidades proporcionales de masas populares en lucha vamos, pues, ni punto de comparación; de modo que, la respuesta popular en el Perú es mucho más alta en calidad, y cantidad; no ver ésa realidad es partir de un pesimismo burgués. De ahí su respuesta ante la coyuntura "El CC del PUM ha aprobado como línea táctica inmediata y de corto plazo el desarrollo de un movimiento de resistencia activa al neoliberalismo y la contrainsurgencia; prevención y contención de los golpes del senderismo; y recuperación de la iniciativa política de las masas y su vanguardia" Ejemplo la marcha contrarrevolucionaria del diputado Letts con una decena de personas y sus banderas blancas de rendición y alianza reaccionaria en la carretera central de Lima, recordando el ajusticiamiento del vendeobrero pumista, en el momento más oportuno y favorable al gobierno por el cual ellos votaron.

Sobre el equilibrio estratégico opinaron en su documento oficial de la X Conferencia Nacional lo siguiente: "Para el análisis de la situación política ...buscar entender lo que Sendero Luminoso anuncia al proclamar el paso de una nueva etapa de la guerra, a partir de la conquista de un supuesto 'equilibrio estratégico' frente al Estado y las FF.AA. Es evidente que en esta declaración hay alta dosis de voluntarismo y bravuconada y una tercera negativa a reconocer los fallos y pérdidas sufridas durante la última campaña ligada al boicot electoral. Sea como sea, lo cierto es que Sendero está forzando la máquina para producir un salto crucial en su acumulación de fuerzas y su capacidad de combate." Lo de la supuesta derrota del boicot lo hemos refutado largamente en "Elecciones, no! Guerra popular, sí'" y a ese documento ni lo tocan porque les quema. Ante el equilibrio estratégico apelan a voluntarismo esto en política se llama ultrísmo izquierdismo y en el fondo es derechismo, como lo prueban? el ultrísmo está definido en el marxismo como la desviación que no ve las condiciones objetivas y fuerza la realidad para actuar sobre ella basándose en la voluntad, es no manejar leyes, pero podría decirse de nuestro proceso que durante tantos años estamos forzando la realidad? quién ha planteado el carácter semifeudal, semicolonial y capitalista burocrático de la sociedad peruana? nosotros y también somos nosotros quienes estamos develando el carácter reaccionario del viejo Estado terrateniente burocrático, pro-imperialista quién antes, qué partido político lo ha demostrado ante las masas? quién ha definido el carácter de la revolución democrática hoy en camino ininterrumpido

al socialismo y a través de revoluciones culturales llegar al comunismo? El presidente Gonzalo, el PCP. Y lo hacemos aplicando en la práctica lo que predicamos de palabra durante años porque somos marxistas desde que Mariátegui nos fundó como Partido comunista marxista-leninista, creemos que un Partido se constituye para tomar el poder político y no para ser partido en sí, más en este país desde los años 60 el Partido fue reconstituido y se retomaron las bases marxistas de su fundación, se derroto y barrió al revisionismo y el Partido desarrolló a la luz del maoísmo generando un pensamiento específico propio aplicado a las condiciones objetivas de nuestra sociedad, el pensamiento gonzalo deviniendo en partido de nuevo tipo, Partido reconstituido marxista-leninista-maoísta, pensamiento gonzalo. Luego, manejando las leyes del proceso de la sociedad peruana contemporáneo y aplicando la ideología desarrolló la tesis maoísta del capitalismo burocrático y mostró así los dos caminos que se dan en el Perú, y se concluyó que habiendo llegado al tercer momento del capitalismo burocrático y teniendo Partido de nuevo tipo lo que nos correspondía como respuesta dialéctica, materialista histórica, lo que se debía responder a las condiciones objetivas y las condiciones subjetivas existentes era que el Partido se levantara en armas y dirigiera a las masas para con lucha armada y nuevo Poder desarrollar esa situación revolucionaria y generar la crisis revolucionaria para conquistar y defender el Poder. Y qué partido hay en el Perú que tenga una dirección marxista-leninista-maoísta, pensamiento gonzalo? un marxista cabal, ortodoxo, capaz de defender el marxismo con su propia vida entregada total absoluta y desinteresadamente por el comunismo en medio de una nueva ofensiva contra revolucionaria general? quién ha desarrollado el marxismo elevándolo a niveles que ni se imaginan cuanto aporta a las revoluciones en el mundo hoy?, quién ha establecido todas esas leyes de la sociedad, del Estado, del Partido, de la revolución, de la guerra popular, del ejército y del nuevo Poder? todo lo ha hecho el Presidente Gonzalo, el más grande marxista-leninista-maoísta que existe hoy en la tierra alguien puede demostrar lo contrario?. Luego teniendo ideología, derrotando líneas contrarias, Partido de nuevo tipo y jefatura del Presidente Gonzalo alguien podría decir que no tenemos masas? podría una guerra popular sostenerse sin masas? quién, qué partido hoy en día ha levantado a las masas hondas del campo, a las masas pobres de las ciudades, al proletariado lo ha organizado en su vanguardia en el Perú? hasta los propios grupos nacionalistas burgueses centroamericanos lo reconocen ni ellos todos juntos han podido hacer lo que nosotros estamos recién empezando a hacer. No tiene sentido, pues, que habiendo Partido marxista-leninista-maoísta, pensamiento gonzalo, habiendo jefatura y habiendo guerra popular en segunda

etapa por tantos años y a tantas masas se las pueda estar forzando y a nosotros nadie nos podrá decir que traficamos con los principios porque palabra que damos la cumplimos, dijimos retomar y desarrollar a Mariátegui y lo conseguimos, dijimos ILA 80 y la cumplimos, hoy decimos conquistaremos el Poder y lo haremos hasta proseguir el socialismo, las revoluciones culturales y el comunismo. Lo que pasa con el PUM es que como partido que representa los intereses de la burguesía teme la dirección del proletariado y se refugia en cretinismo parlamentario y en negar las condiciones objetivas y subjetivas. Y así como ayer se opuso a retomar y desarrollar a Mariátegui, hoy también se opone al marxismo-leninismo-maoísmo, pensamiento gonzalo, es por carácter de clase de sus ideas.

Pero así como suelen hacer se cachetean públicamente y después de imputar lo que no pueden probar pasan a dar sus sesudas razones de por qué decimos que estamos en el equilibrio estratégico y reconocen la existencia del mismo, lo que les preocupa es y dónde quedarán ellos? qué les dirán sus bases? Dicen: "El sentido que puede encontrarse .." o sea que tiene sentido lo que decimos; "se resume en: a) mantienen potencial defensivo para conservar sus zonas de retaguardia estratégica...b) Ejército Guerrillero y que se debe pasar de actos de pequeños grupos a concentraciones mayores de combatientes...c) ampliar la participación de las masas en la guerra...para llevarlas a un choque violento y frontal con el Estado...d) insistir en sabotaje y terror en las grandes ciudades para colocar a las FF.AA. y PP en posición defensiva (eso nunca lo podríamos haber dicho porque es un error militar) . e) enfrentar a la izquierda y a las dirigencias de masas que estén fuera de su control, como obstáculos para la guerra (otra elucubración burguesa, mejor seria que leyeran textualmente nuestros documentos y sobre eso debatir) lo que ocurre es que lo ven con ojos burgueses, f) ampliar el ámbito a todo el territorio nacional.

Luego ven que estamos avanzando y ellos se están quedando: "dispone de zonas de control estratégico...otras en vías de consolidación...en ellas ha anunciado pase de comités populares clandestinos a comités populares abiertos y bases de apoyo apuntando a estructura de poder real (siempre negando lo que existe)..."es verdad que ha logrado reunir un contingente numeroso de combatientes" Cómo no dicen que forzamos a las masas? así como ayer dijeron que no teníamos masas ahora dicen que si las tenemos pero a la fuerza..."lo que no han conseguido es el paso al armamento, moderno y semipesado" tampoco es cierto porque en esto estamos avanzando en arrancárselo a la reacción que es nuestra fuente principal,.. "ni a una industria de armas de guerra" verdad? y de quién han aprendido en Ayacucho a hacer

armas los ronderos? ..."en materia de despliegue simultáneo y sostenido de fuerzas y de sostén estratégico, es sendero el que mantiene clara supremacía" se refieren frente al MRTA al que le atribuyen mejor armamento pero no dicen que ellos lo compran. Luego "la ofensiva de SL parece estar centrada en producir duros golpes contra las rondas ...y a mantener un estado de zozobra y confrontación en las ciudades...El paro armado en Lima el 29 de mayo fue una exitosa prueba en esa dirección que llegó a neutralizar al gobierno y al conjunto de partidos políticos".

Otra situación que plantean y que revela que algo quieren: "Nada, en esta nueva etapa de la guerra senderista, indica que existan modificaciones en las concepciones dogmáticas y autoritarias que caracterizan su línea de actuación frente a las masas, la izquierda y nuestro partido."

A propósito de la campaña de Expreso sobre el desarrollo de la guerra popular en Puno salió como respuesta el articulo del diputado pumista Alberto Quintanilla. El Presidente Gonzalo comentó: "Estos planteamientos del PUM nos permiten precisar una vez más sus posiciones. Sobre su acción por 'tomas de tierra' para la 'reestructuración' que abre 'un camino de esperanza para cerrarle el pase a SL': implica: 1) cualquier avance (si lo hay) en recuperar algo de tierras, en este caso es subproducto de la guerra popular; 2) 'Toma' para oponerse a la guerra popular y al Partido; 3) A quién beneficia? no a los pobres (o mínimamente a estos); 4) además, el problema de la tierra que daban por superado, subsiste y lo que el Partido dijo sobre la ley agraria de Velasco hoy lo repican, pero ayer, los especialmente pumistas, lo condenaban como 'ultrísmo', 'dogmatismo', 'infantilismo' así, pues, tienen que tragarse todo lo que vomitaron. En cuanto a sus reiteradas frases 'entre dos fuegos', 'asesinan dirigentes' y que la represión genera 'desprestigio y desconfianza del Estado'; las dos primeras son viejas cantaletas y cerrada defensa de podridos dirigentes sobre los cuales cayó la justicia popular; y la tercera inveterada defensa del Viejo Estado y muestra de cómo les duele lo que le sucede a su Estado, y no les falta razón: es la ubre que los amamanta, como a sus compinches y congéneres de la IU, entre otros. Y en lo referente a la solución, 'la alternativa' que plantea, destaquemos: a) 'tenencia de la tierra' es vieja posición de la democracia cristiana en el país (Cornejo Chávez); b) 'reestructuración' es versión pumista de la 'redimensión' del general Morales Bermúdez; c) 'defender empresa comunal' es mantener una de las formas asociativas y sostener la bondad de esas falsas modalidades 'socialistas'; ch) 'escoger democráticamente el modelo empresarial' es concordancia con el decreto de Fujimori; d) 'acuerdo regional agrario'

es una muestra más de su frentismo ('agricultores modernos', ni gran burguesía) traficando con el regionalismo reaccionario." (7/VI).

Sobre la IU lo único que ha hecho es apoyar al gobierno de Fujimori, la revisionista Patria Roja no sale de su asombro de tener representantes en el Parlamento y en su periódico el secretario plantea que la tarea consiste en organizar Partido sino todo el trabajo de masas (que no lo tienen) se derrumba. Sobre el equilibrio estratégico no pasó de calificativos y como siempre adjetivando resuelven la lucha . El revisionismo de "Unidad" que ya ni se publica se ha definido contra Gorbachov después de haberlo defendido. Todos ahí, también la IS y el MAS siguen empeñándose en limpiarse de sus votos. El paro que convocaron sus dirigentes divididos para el 18/VII/91 "paro cívico" o "paro nacional popular" para contraponerse a "paros armados" que desarrollábamos por todo el país fue un rotundo fracaso.

"Sendero marca el paso" entrevista de la revista Oiga a Carlos Tapia quien fuera miembro de la Comisión de Defensa de Diputados y actualmente asesor del CEPRODEP instituto dedicado a los migrantes de las zonas de emergencia, del 24 de junio. El derrotero de este individuo siempre sé ha caracterizado por repetir lo que otros sustentaban, cogiendo un poco de unos y otro de otros, su incapacidad de analizar es típica y la raíz es su posición de clase contrarrevolucionaria, conocido traficante de Mariátegui y parásito arribista; si ahora perora sobre la guerra popular es por la desesperación de venderse al nuevo gobierno y muchos de los planteamientos que mal repite los encontramos en "Armas para la paz" de S. Pedraglio, Profundamente asustado dice que hemos avanzado "ha avanzado significativamente"...se extiende en casi todo el territorio nacional...controla el 1 % de la población del país y un territorio que equivale al 2 o 3 %. Luego reconoce que tenemos Nuevo estado: "Eso lo controlan directamente...Ha ocasionado de acuerdo a su Plan de desarrollo de Base, vació de Poder en un 8 al 10 % del territorio nacional donde habitan aproximadamente el 5 % de la población nacional...cuando hablo del 2 % del territorio y 1 % de la población ahí sí tiene Estado, en el 5 % ahí está en disputa el Estado... al viejo estilo de Mao son bases de apoyo móviles". "Alegan tener 24 Bases de apoyo, de esas 16 están en la sierra centro-sur del país. Ahí han construido un Nuevo Estado donde funcionan los Comités Populares...Esta es la expresión concreta de la dictadura del Nuevo Estado...impone este funcionamiento con autoritarismo y violencia..es una dictadura militar que no significa violencia contra el campesinado sino una actitud paternalista."

El periodista Pedro Planas lo interroga podría decirse que está

cumpliendo puntillosamente las fases proyectadas en 1980? responde "Si. Definitivamente....han planeado una estrategia integral dividida en fases, planes y campañas, con una rigurosidad que es rara en este país" reconociendo, pese a su odio de clase, el papel de estratega político, militar y filósofo del Presidente Gonzalo. Añade: "muchas veces se subestima el bando senderista y no se entiende que Guzmán es tan filósofo que hizo su tesis sobre Kant y que al encontrarse con una filosofía de la guerra en la teoría maoísta ha podido establecer determinados principios filosóficos para desarrollar su estrategia."

Se sorprende y aterra al ver el papel del Comité Central y los planes estratégicamente centralizados y tácticamente descentralizados: "La campaña se aprueba dentro de un plan que corresponde a una gran fase y el Comité Central toma el acuerdo. Las acciones operativas no se definen en el CC sino que corresponden a una descentralización táctica en cada frente."

En contra de sus deseos registra que somos el partido político más importante. El periodista: "Hemos visto que tendría el control directo sobre 220 mil personas que es el 1% de la población nacional pero cuantos integrantes puede tener? Responde: "Si diéramos veracidad a las cifras que dicen que han muerto, entre 10 mil y 12 mil, entonces sería el partido más grande del Perú...Yo creo que es una cifra absolutamente exagerada y que hay muchísimos más civiles muertos. La cantidad de senderistas muertos debe ser entre 1,500 y 2,200...Ya con esa cantidad seria el partido político más grande de la izquierda."

Lo que si no quiere registrar aquí, es la existencia de EGP porque teme registrar el equilibrio estratégico, es que como profetas de pasado los oportunistas solamente llegan a registrar lo que ya está demostrado en décadas de años como en nuestro caso hoy a quién se le ocurriría negar lo que está reconociendo que existe? solamente a un necio, pero en cuanto a Ejército ahí si no registra porque lo llevaría a afirmar lo que cree que todavía no existe, ya veremos después cuando pasemos a la tercera etapa de la guerra ahí recién va a reconocer Ejército y equilibrio estratégico siempre ha sido así.

Habla de: las 4 formas de combate guerrillero y de las cuales considera que 20 % son de combates guerrilleros pero que los emprendemos contra las rondas; a los aniquilamientos les pone 4% y dice: A ellos no les interesa estas acciones de aniquilamiento ahora "les va a interesar esas acciones cuando pasen a la fase del equilibrio estratégico y trabajen el proyecto insurreccional en las ciudades. Ese equilibrio estratégico no tiene que ver con la fuerza militar. Es tonto creer que se puede producir una equiparidad entre las fuerzas

militares del Estado y el senderismo. Este equilibrio estratégico tiene que ver con la correlación global de fuerzas de la sociedad en su conjunto y apunta a crear un grado de ilegitimidad en la acción represiva del Estado....ellos van a comparar la ilegitimidad del Estado con el grado de legitimidad que ellos han logrado alcanzar en ciertas zonas del país. Esa es la meta que quieren alcanzar para alcanzar el equilibrio estratégico." confirma lo que hemos dicho antes.

Registra que hemos avanzado en tomas de ciudades como Ayacucho y Huanta pero que en Lima estamos avanzando en algunas zonas barriales no interesándonos por ahora tomarla, sin embargo dice que carecemos de trabajo sindical.

Repite lo mismo de otros acerca de una de nuestras supuestas debilidades, la construcción del Frente y rechaza la militarización del MRDP: "Como está militarizado no puede abarcar mayores sectores de la sociedad. Este es a mi entender el primer elemento de vulnerabilidad en el terreno político mas no en el militar." y dice que para avanzar en el Frente debemos corregir la sujeción al pensamiento Gonzalo. Lo que ocurre es que, como lo hemos dicho en documentos públicos concebimos el Frente Unico para la guerra popular y no al margen de ella, lo construimos en el campo como Estado de dictadura conjunta y en las ciudades como MRDP apuntando hoy a desenvolver el Frente Unico de la Revolución para la conquista del Poder. Lo otro es un absurdo porque la base ideológica que debe dirigir el frente es el marxismo-leninismo maoísmo, pensamiento gonzalo si no estaríamos abdicando de la dirección del proletariado en el Frente y dando paso a que la burguesía lo dirija, este individuo como otros consideran que el PC no debe dirigir el Frente, son sostenedores del orden y pretenden un frente con la burguesía, incluso grande, para ellos, los burgueses, dirigirlo: lo que nosotros concebimos es que esa dirección se garantiza a través de la base de la alianza obrero-campesina y que en el Programa máximo consideramos la meta el comunismo y en el Programa mínimo tomamos en cuenta los intereses de las demás clases que conforman el frente, que el Frente varia según la etapa de la revolución, esto es según la contradicción principal del momento. En el fondo lo que ahora están aplicando para criticarnos es que como ya esa batahola de adjetivaciones no cala para desprestigiarnos, usan el expediente del sectarismo cuando son ellos los que se oponen a la dirección del proletariado y buscan la dirección de la burguesía: segundo, juegan a que el socialismo ha fracasado, que el comunismo ha caducado y que no es una ideología que debe dirigir a las masas, y tercero, como ya muchos están planteando que conquistaremos el Poder pero que el problema va a ser que no lo podremos sostener, que no será un proyecto viable, lo que pasará es que nos invadirán, que

vendrá el "poderoso" gendarme mundial imperialista yanqui a salvarlos y nos derrocarán. Es dentro de eso que imperialistas, reaccionarios y revisionistas se mueven para combatirnos hoy.

Agrega que desde el 87 hay un cambio de estrategia militar que tenía que ver con la organización de las rondas y la defensa civil, expresa su pleno acuerdo y dice que se debió hacer antes. Propone una "tesis política que guié la acción militar" que consistiría en un "cambio de las relaciones económicas y un nuevo sentido de la democracia para construir una nueva estructura de poder donde el campesinado sea el protagonista" y concluye que "no puede ser una propuesta de restablecer el viejo Estado que tan fácilmente fue derrotado por el senderismo" y "propuesta política común para movilizar a la sociedad civil y hacerla participar en esta lucha". Un imposible sin revolución democrática dirigida por Partido comunista.

En octubre, Expreso lo entrevisto y ahí salió con: "Hay que aislar socialmente a sendero" la cuestión central de sus planteamientos fue su propuesta de "Comités distritales de pacificación y desarrollo", ya de esto hemos hablado: sobre la acción del ejército en Raucana consideró buen precedente pero que no puede ser generalizada porque las fuerzas no les alcanzarían; y propuso un "minigabinete de guerra", que no es sino otro absurdo. En el foro "Violencia estructural e insurrección" nos calificó de fascistas dijo: "Aquí sólo hay dos posiciones la fascista de Sendero y la del resto de la sociedad democrática". La desesperación e impotencia del oportunismo lleva a afirmar sin probar fascismo en lo ideológico? por que? porque la ideología que nos sustenta es marxismo-leninismo-maoísmo, pensamiento gonzalo, es comunismo que le duele?, en lo político? en lo organizativo?, en la dirección?, en el trabajo de masas?, en la acción militar? es un ignorante del contenido del fascismo ya que fue uno de los adoradores del fascismo de Velasco a quien calificó de "reformista" y "avanzado". Precisamente, un desarrollo importante del pensamiento gonzalo es acerca del fascismo.

Otro articulo "Movilización política total del país", entrevista de Oiga al general S. Jarama el 3 de junio. Dice en síntesis que el paro armado convocado en Lima, tal como lo reconoció la revista "SI" es otro éxito del Partido. Que "la guerra que llevamos no es militar sino política para conquistar el poder; que se conquista el poder cuando se tiene partido, base social o frente y ejército guerrillero popular", que "están tratando de ampliar su base social, su respaldo popular usando sus organismos generados; están tratando de ampliar el frente." Podemos aplicar las mismas críticas que a Tapia con la atingencia que fue el general el primero que empezó a difundir ese problema sobre el

Frente.

"Yo no creo que nos están ganando, yo diría que nosotros estamos perdiendo porque no estamos haciendo lo que debemos hacer"... "estamos haciendo lo que ellos quieren que hagamos, o sea, ellos manejan nuestra estrategia y la suya". "Usted cree que Abimael Guzmán improvisa? El evalúa, mide, define el objetivo, la modalidad de acción y empieza a empujar sus fuerzas. Y después observa el resultado"... "Nosotros no porque no hay quien lo haga". "La ciudadanía no tiene mucha credibilidad, por ejemplo, en la autoridad de la justicia, empieza a perder credibilidad en su fuerza publica, empieza a cuestionar la validez de las instituciones como el Parlamento, en la palabra oficial. Estas son manifestaciones objetivas de que el sistema pierde base, consistencia." Es una demostración del avance de nuestra guerra popular y de la caducidad de su Estado.

Sobre el MRTA confirma posiciones que hemos venido denunciando aunque claro, debido a su posición de clase apunta a confundir cuando se trata el uso del MRTA por las FF.AA. él se refiere sólo al uso por el APRA: "Yo creo que el MRTA desea tener una presencia más determinante en el panorama político nacional con miras a un futuro en el cual puede ser la fuerza que se reinserte en el esquema político pacifico del país". "Desde el punto de vista militar hay mayor posibilidad de poderlo destruir o neutralizar" Entrevistador: Desde el punto de vista militar no hay punto de comparación entre el MRTA y SL? Responde : "No, no la hay. Son términos totalmente diferentes, responden a estrategias y concepciones diferentes, entre ambos hay un abismo total." A SL no le importa el MRTA? "No porque el MRTA ha demostrado ser una fuerza que en su momento será aplastada: hoy el MRTA no constituye para SL ningún peligro". "El MRTA tiene su origen en el APRA. No olvidemos que el APRA Rebelde es una facción que se separa del APRA y da origen al MIR, de las huestes del MIR nace el MRTA.". Sobre la salida de Canto Grande: "Yo creo que ése fue un canje de Delgado Parker por Polay", "Creo que durante el gobierno de Alan García el MRTA significaba una fuerza paramilitar que bien hubiera podido ser utilizada para jugar estratégicamente frente a la posibilidad de un golpe militar: cabe también la posibilidad que Alan García hubiera tenido en mente utilizar al MRTA para un posible enfrentamiento con Sendero".

Vale la pena comentar el articulo de Alejandro Miro Quesada Cisneros en El Comercio quien propone "Una nueva estrategia". Parte de que la subversión es un fenómeno eminentemente político y que tiene un objetivo, cambiar el sistema de gobierno. No solamente es eso, nosotros no solamente queremos cambiar el sistema de gobierno sino

que lo principal y decisivo es cambiar la dictadura de las clases que mandan, la dictadura de clase del Estado, el sistema de Estado; derrocar, pues, a las clases reaccionarias de este viejo Estado y construir un nuevo Estado de dictadura conjunta, de frente único de cuatro clases en que el proletariado tenga hegemonía a través de la alianza obrero-campesina, Unico Estado de nuevo tipo que puede aplicar la nueva democracia, esto es la dictadura contra los que explotaban y la democracia para el pueblo; no puede existir el nuevo Estado sin democracia, así como no se puede manejar la guerra popular sin democracia, es todo lo contrario de un viejo Estado y de una guerra injusta. contrarrevolucionaria. "En el caso del Perú, dice, los subversivos han optado por una vía, el terror, convirtiéndose en mas terroristas que subversivos: así entendidos, el terrorismo es la manifestación armada de la subversión". Este señor no conoce el problema militar, el terrorismo según la teoría de la guerra no es sino una de las formas de lucha que se usa en la guerra revolucionaria y no es la principal. Dice que nosotros concebimos que "hay que destruir todo lo que signifique presencia y servicio del Estado", sí, eso es lo que queremos, demoler el viejo Estado, en términos de Marx y para construir uno nuevo, la República Popular del Perú. "Profundizando el análisis, dice, nos explicaremos también el por qué del poco éxito que el Estado está teniendo para combatir la subversión", aquí está reconociendo que el viejo Estado no tiene éxito en su combate contrasubversivo; y enseguida nos muestra por qué y cómo esta el Estado; dice: "El Estado ha ido desarticulándose. Hoy no presta a los ciudadanos muchos de los más elementales servicios a los que debe su razón de ser" muy buena declaración, confirma lo que venimos difundiendo, más, hay que insistir en demostrar que este Estado está incumpliendo sus funciones más elementales de alimentación, salud, trabajo, educación, que si incumple ya no tiene razón de ser y lo que corresponde es un nuevo Estado. El articulista ve que la ciudadanía está en gran parte desprotegida, que los propios ciudadanos, ya sean de pueblos jóvenes como de zonas residenciales organizan su propia seguridad, dice: "En las zonas rurales se producen retiros 'tácticos' de las fuerzas del orden hacia las ciudades", conforme avanza la guerra popular el enemigo más y más se va a replegar en las ciudades, es ahí donde se atrincheran, dejando a los pequeños pueblos desprotegidos, donde nosotros nos hacemos mas fuertes, el Partido, el ejército y el nuevo Poder, los Comités Populares. Dice: "como consecuencia de la desprotección, las autoridades políticas se van retirando o en casos extremos son asesinadas; zonas enteras quedan de esta manera, presa fácil de la subversión. Está todavía presente la renuncia masiva de autoridades en el área de Tarma. Igualmente, en estos días de elecciones complementarias, comprobamos que en muchas localidades

no hay candidatos. Pero el éxodo no termina aquí, junto con las autoridades se van retirando los representantes del Estado encargados de brindar los servicios básicos de salud, educación, etc., a ellos les seguirán los pobladores. Quedarán entonces solo los representantes del Estado y pobladores que decidan convivir con la subversión. Finalmente, primero solapadamente y luego abiertamente, la subversión tomará el control del pueblo o la zona. Habrán alcanzado entonces, en pequeño, un objetivo final", está reflejando la conquista política que obtenemos: la construcción del nuevo Estado, hasta Fujimori lo ha dicho en uno de sus discursos "mi gobierno no convivirá con otro Estado" lo que pasa es que están reconociendo que existen dos Estados en contradicción opuesta de clase y no les cuadra, esta es otra manifestación del equilibrio estratégico que todos se empeñan en negar pero que es tan evidente que les golpea la cara como el viento; es por eso mismo porque se desarrolla el nuevo Estado en el campo y porque se avanza a la RPP que tienen que empeñarse en recuperar y consolidar posiciones; para un Estado caduco es una vergüenza que les hagan formas estatales hasta a pocos metros del palacio de gobierno, en su propia capital, no queremos decir que construyamos Estado en las ciudades, hemos especificado que se trata de una sexta forma de poder y primera en ciudad y tiene su nombre: Comité de lucha popular. "En la ciudad, prosigue, el flaqueo de los ciudadanos frente a la subversión puede manifestarse de maneras muy personales. Cada vez que un negociante deja de invertir en un proyecto, cada vez que dejamos de ir al cine o al teatro; en fin cada vez que el terrorismo logra atemorizarnos y hacemos alterar nuestro ritmo de vida la subversión va obteniendo pequeños microéxitos...tal cual la gota de agua que horada la piedra", lo que está expresando es nuestro avance en las ciudades donde estamos actuando en función de impulsar los preparativos de la insurrección, aunque ésta siga siendo complemento del campo, no es principal aún, y no se trata de una sola ciudad sino de las ciudades. Prosigue, "en las ciudades se prioriza ataques al aparato productivo" le duele pero entonces es bueno, hay que proseguir los sabotajes al gran capital monopolista estatal y no estatal, al imperialismo. Dice que las consecuencias de la acción subversiva no son solamente económicas sino que se ha resquebrajado la moral pública. Lo que pasa es que un viejo Estado por su carácter de clase es inmoral y lo que la guerra popular hace es mostrar ese carácter en forma más nítida y explicarlo científicamente, las moralizaciones de los viejos Estados no son sino cuentos para niños. "Este descarnado análisis pone en evidencia que la subversión ha ido teniendo éxito en su objetivo principal: ir derrumbando el Estado. En contraposición, la estrategia del Estado, prioritariamente militar-antiterrorista y, aparentemente no orientada con criterios políticos, no

ha llegado al fondo del problema". No está de acuerdo con la política contrasubversiva de Fujimori centrada en lo militar y nos reconoce éxito político y si lo político es exitoso lo militar en consecuencia también lo es; es un reaccionario que comprende bien el problema, no es un ignorante y está bastante informado, es cierto que nosotros estamos entorpeciendo, socavando y hasta demoliendo el viejo Estado. Prosigue "Qué implica enfrentar el problema antisubversivo desde un ángulo político? implica desgraciadamente seguir un camino mucho más largo y complejo que el de las armas. Esto no significa desactivar el frente militar. Todo lo contrario El frente militar debe ser potenciado, pero desde una óptica distinta, integrado a una estrategia política". Lo que concibe es una estrategia integral, en los cuatro planos y que lo militar se subordine a lo político, a una dirección política. Dice "el camino empieza por una real toma de conciencia de la ideología que nos sustenta: la democracia, aquella que representa la libertad y la paz", pero el pueblo peruano siente que cada día le recortan mas sus derechos y libertades, Fujimori se empeña mas en burlar el Parlamento, en atacar el poder judicial, entonces de que democracia esta hablando sino de la libertad para los que de arriba nos opriman impunemente; pero lo bueno es que esta emplazando al nuevo gobierno, le esta diciendo que si prosigue pisoteando su democracia pisotea su punto de partida para combatirnos y así van a fracasar; dice "hay que contraponerla a la ideología de la subversión: el maoísmo", muy bueno, es ideología burguesa versus marxismo-leninismo- maoísmo, pensamiento gonzalo. "Fortalecido nuestro cimiento ideológico y paso consiguiente se deberá iniciar una recomposición general del Estado" pasa de fortalecimiento ideológico a fortalecimiento político que consiste en una reestructuración estatal. "Junto con los demás servicios, el nuevo Estado deberá brindar las condiciones para quien sea eficiente y trabajador pueda desarrollarse", esto es parte de la búsqueda de la legitimación que demanda el imperialismo, que los Estados de sus aliados sean capaces de satisfacer las necesidades elementales de sus ciudadanos, además piensa que debe surgir un nuevo Estado, que surgiría según él bajo las banderas de la democracia fortalecida, pero eso es imposible porque un Estado de clases explotadoras generará en una sociedad como la nuestra una democracia para los de arriba y las condiciones para desarrollar no son sino pedir que el capitalismo burocrático se desarrolle, por eso aclara más adelante: "Ofrecer las condiciones para que pueda enfrentar el primer escalón el capital", es lo que hemos comentado antes que se concreta en reimpulsar el capitalismo burocrático. "El Nuevo Estado deberá también haber alcanzado pronto el orden económico suficiente para enfrentar la lucha antisubversiva con la logística adecuada", entonces, necesitan resolver el problema

económico para comprar mas armas para combatirnos, dice: "ya no mas falta de balas" ..."ni de alimentos..ni uniformes",' ahí está reflejando la falta de medios de la fuerza armada; "no más falta de comunicaciones", necesitan carreteras; "no más falta de combustible", necesitan hasta, gasolina para los helicópteros; "ya no más tropas desmoralizadas", probada la falta de moral de las tropas y de los jefes.

"El lector se quejará de lo complejo de la propuesta. Puede tener razón. Pero si analizamos los últimos sucesos políticos, veremos que se estaría empezando a caminar en esa dirección. El aparato estatal se va poco a poco, reestructurando", lo que quiere es un camino evolutivo y refleja el pesimismo de clase explotadora. "En la lucha antisubversiva se ve también avances, si bien todavía embrionarios, con la activación del Consejo por la Paz...juntos, políticos y militares, la nación entera, cada uno en su especialidad, debemos enfrentar esta lacra que ha empezado a corroernos. Para el Estado no será fácil...posiblemente muchas instituciones deban ser íntegramente reestructuradas", esto es clave, nos está hablando de las tres tareas está reflejando la necesidad que tiene el viejo Estado peruano de reestructurarse, pero lo que esta en debate es bajo que forma, si demoburguesa más archirreaccionaria o la otra que sería una forma corporativa esto es lo que aún no se ha definido, más aún, el II Pleno nos plantea que pensemos en nuevas formas fascistas o en formas demoburguesas en las que se fortalezca cada vez más el Ejecutivo.

"Para el Estado no será fácil" ... "Deberá encontrar representantes probos y eficientes en todos sus estamentos: prefectos, gobernadores, jueces, fiscales, defensores del pueblo, profesores, policías, médicos, asistentas sociales, etc. Posiblemente muchas instituciones deberán ser íntegramente reestructuradas, quizás hasta el punto de crear. una nueva institución"..."Para la nación entera no será fácil, requerirá una reestructuración profunda de sus valores... "recuperar principalmente valores cívicos: el respeto a los derechos de los demás y la sanción a quien actúa en contra de las normas..."Aprovechemos el problema de la subversión y enfrentemos la reestructuración de un Estado y de una sociedad que hace mucho necesitaba de una buena modernización". Tras la "modernización" ha salido, lo que quiere, reestructurar el Estado.

Sintetizando sus planteamientos, dice que debe manejarse una nueva estrategia que parta del fortalecimiento ideológico de la democracia burguesa, del fortalecimiento político, que implica la reestructuración estatal, la transformación social, cambio de valores, y simultáneamente un impulso económico para manejar el reimpulso del capitalismo burocrático. Así, concibe una estrategia centrada en lo

político para aniquilar la guerra popular y prevé difícil perspectiva. Debate, vol. XIII, No. 65, julio set. 91. En la Encuesta Anual del Poder en el Perú consideran al Presidente Gonzalo como el número cuatro de los 10 peruanos más poderosos, después de haber sido el quinto en el 90; y lo ubican posterior a los recientemente entrados Fujimori el vendepatria; Boloña el fabricado por el imperialismo yanqui y De Soto el burócrata del imperialismo yanqui. Si recordamos, en los gobiernos anteriores siempre han cambiado los tres primeros. Dice la revista: "La persistente capacidad de influencia de la subversión sobre el curso de los eventos en el país se refleja nítidamente en los resultados de la encuesta que ubican a Abimael Guzmán en el cuarto puesto...el líder apareció por primera vez en los resultados de la Encuesta del Poder en 1982 en el puesto 28, pero desde el 83, Guzmán ha estado siempre entre los diez primeros. "Está reflejando el avance de la guerra popular y la persistente capacidad de dirección del Partido comunista en la sociedad peruana, la polarización entre Fujimori, el imperialismo principalmente yanqui y el PCP.

Empresarios: "Sin enfrentar con decisión esta situación no se podrá captar inversión nacional y extranjera", dijo Luis Vega Monteferri, presidente de la SNI. Los empresarios se sintieron amenazados por el Partido y en El Diamante la fábrica emprendió una campaña siniestra contra la clase acusándolos de terroristas y de poner en "estado de guerra" la fábrica para bajo ese pretexto despedir a los obreros y responder al juicio que lo sentenció por tres meses contra esa difamación; usó todos los recursos económicos a su alcance y por TV 4 de Lima propaló sus improperios hasta que el IV Tribunal Correccional presidido por el vocal Hermoza Moya absolvió al empresario Gino Pinasco, planteando que "lo hecho por Pinasco es un reclamo legítimo para desarrollar con confianza las actividades de producción". En conferencia de prensa el presidente de la SNI, Luis Vega Monteferri expreso que "la sentencia honra la imagen del Poder Judicial en momentos en que los terroristas amenazan y tratan de debilitar al sector empresarial , que es fundamental para el desarrollo del país. "El abogado Lengua Balbi anunció el cierre definitivo de la fábrica. Gastos de seguridad de empresarios, "... equivale a 150 millones de dólares", casi el 7 % de sus gastos operativos, más del presupuesto asignado a la Policía Nacional", afirmo Julio Favre, presidente de comisión organizadora del Quinto Congreso Nacional de la Empresa Privada. Agregó: "Tenemos que pacificar el país. Es una labor fundamental del Estado. Pero de alguna forma los empresarios tenemos que poner la cara y ayudar". "Vamos a proponer canalizar los esfuerzos del empresariado para ayudar a la PNP. Es cuestión de organizarnos. En vez de gastar dólares en 'guachimanes', podríamos: destinar ese dinero

a la policía de la zona, a fin de que esté bien pagada y resguarde la ciudadanía del contorno". "No hay desarrollo si no hay seguridad. El empresario no sólo tiene que ser líder en el desarrollo del país, sino también en la confrontación con la subversión, porque esto es un fenómeno que ya está rebasando e impide el desarrollo."

Otra opinión que preocupa a los reaccionarios e imperialistas es la del casi 20% de jóvenes peruanos que creen que el Partido ganará la guerra y conquistara el Poder y realizan una serie de malabares para apartarlos del brillante camino yendo en contra, una vez más de la historia.

Y como colofón, al termino de la III Campaña los artículos periodísticos registraban nuestro arrollador avance: "La escalada sanguinaria de SL en busca del llamado equilibrio estratégico siguió su curso...La estrategia del senderismo no es azarosa, obedece a las enseñanzas del maoísmo chino...El cerrojo se estrecha en torno a Lima y en este campo el gobierno de Fujimori no sabe dónde está parado." D'Ornellas, 6/IX. Otro: "Equilibrio estratégico o desequilibrio mental?" El peruano. 30/IX. Otro "Equilibrio estratégico?: Sendero Luminoso ha intensificado sus acciones en las últimas semanas en un intento desesperado por hacer de la fórmula del equilibrio estratégico un fenómeno real y no un simple ejercicio desiderativo...Debe ser tomada en cuenta por la dirección (si existe) de la contrasubversión. No es difícil prever una escalada de acciones de un estilo diferente al hasta ahora practicado...Sendero no es un enemigo débil ni superficial ...subestimar al enemigo es la peor estrategia posible, más aún cuando no hay razones para hacerlo, Complacerse como lo hacen algunas autoridades gubernativas con que el llamado 'equilibrio estratégico' sea poco más que una frase no conduce a nada. En La República del 3/ XI "Cosecha Roja" La renuncias son cada vez más numerosas... como parte de su vasto plan para trasladar su guerra del campo a la ciudad...ensaya su plan con simulacros de insurrección con manifestaciones nocturnas... las huestes de Guzmán están avanzando en aquellos sectores donde la presencia del Estado es débil ...sus seguidores son los barrios más pobres de Lima...en otro campo buscan dominar los mercados mayoristas y otros centros de abastos donde han impuesto listas de precios...no una sino cientos de marchas serían necesarias para contrarrestar la escalada". "Gorriti decía ya desde julio: "Equilibrio estratégico...es una exageración calculada, buscan poner en tensión sus fuerzas para ponerse esa meta y cumplirla... sin embargo si están marchando hacia eso, pueden lograrlo dentro de uno o dos años". El Comercio decía en noviembre "el accionar terrorista no ha decaído ni mucho menos, en los últimos tiempos... las felices gestiones del primer mandatario, de nuestros diplomáticos y

empresarios, en ofrecer al mundo una faz atractiva, son letra muerta frente a un accionar que desdibuja toda iniciativa... se está padeciendo la misma falta de estrategia... la falta de seguridad no permitirá una reactivación económica en la que es indispensable el concurso de capitales y de tecnología extranjera sobre una sola base: seguridad" Otro "Abimael 95?" dice "surge la hipótesis de derrota del sistema democrático frente a SL alrededor de esa fecha, SL haciendo gala de dureza se erige efectivamente como la autoridad, como el poder y por eso avanza la lógica electoral no es lo que rige el avance o el retroceso de un movimiento insurgente" Ricketts sobre genocidio de Barrios Altos: "al cabo de ocho días nada sabe el país... es bochornoso... por que tan ligeramente atribuyeron a SL este crimen... lo único que no sólo podrá derrotar sino que está deteniendo hasta ahora a SL es la superioridad del estado de Derecho... entre dos o más terrorismos en conflicto el país no tiene elección posible". Y Expreso editorializó en contra de los decretos leyes sobre la llamada pacificación "Una estrategia excluyente no funciona".

Sintetizando esta parte las opiniones de partidos, senderólogos, militares, periodistas, revistas económicas, todos reaccionarios, están reflejando el grandioso éxito de la III Campaña el equilibrio estratégico, el avance en las ciudades y el cumplimiento de las estrategias y objetivos trazados.

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Preparatory Session of the Second Plenum

Outline of the Strategic Plan of Construction of the Report:

Build the Conquest of Power in the Midst of the People's War

Frame of Reference

This will be the central report for the preparation of the II Session of the Central Committee. Several days ago an outline on the topic of Building the Conquest of Power, was distributed. We have revised this outline and added a fifth part, “the III Campaign to Impulse,” with the goal that this report will have all the pending questions that we are interested in handling. Afterwards, aside from studying documents, we have evaluated the Balance of the II Campaign to Impulse and its expansion. Consequently, since this is our work, and what is appropriate today is to see the part of Construction as a substantial problem and see it as an Outline of the Strategic Plan of Construction.

It is also necessary that we look at the III Campaign. Before beginning this exposition, we would like to recall what we concluded from the Congress. The Congress is an event of transcendental importance for the Party, and we move and guide ourselves within its framework. Obviously we must guide ourselves on the Basis of Party Unity, that is, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, on the Program, and on the General Political Line. We would like to highlight point six of the Program. It says: “Fight for the formation of the People’s Republic of Peru as a class Front based on the worker-peasant alliance, led by the proletariat headed up by its Communist Party, as the formation of New Democracy that carries forward a new economy, new politics, and a new culture.” We know what this implies. It is very important in this moment within the perspective of conquering power throughout the country.

It is intimately linked to point 14 which says: “Fight tenaciously and heroically for the total and complete triumph of the democratic revolution throughout the country, and with the culmination of this stage, immediately, without any pause, pass over to the socialist revolution along with the international proletariat and the people of the world, in order to continue humanity’s march to its final goal, Communism, by means of cultural revolutions.” It is also very important that we bear in mind point 14 of the Program. Evidently, we must complete the first stage of the revolution, for which the conquest of power countrywide is aimed. But the question doesn’t end there, the problem is the continuation of the revolution, as a socialist one aiming at Communism, linked to the international proletariat and the peoples of the world through all the zigzags and great struggles that will be unleashed through cultural revolutions.

On this point 14, it is very important that we always reaffirm ourselves on our final goal: Communism. If we did not do so, we would not be Communists. On the other hand, we must focus on to and base ourselves on the characterization of this period made by this same Congress. The document tells us:

“But considering that the democratic revolution in the country is passing through a period characterized by:

1. A deepening of the general crisis of Peruvian society, principally of bureaucratic capitalism;

2. An increase in the reactionary nature of the state, today with a fascist, corporativist, Aprista government headed by the genocidal Garcia Perez;

3. The sharpening of the class struggle, with the masses realizing the necessity to combat and resist;

4. The People’s War is developing vigorously and increasingly; and

5. The people need a People’s Republic built according to the principles of new democracy.

This is a period that covers approximately four or five years, which is to say that we are moving forward within this period and the characterization made by the Congress is plainly valid. Item one talks about the deepening of the crisis of Peruvian society, principally of bureaucratic capitalism. The Peruvian republic is living through its worst crisis within the third moment of bureaucratic capitalism, which is its destruction; all the daily events demonstrate it. Item two tells us that there is a major increase in the reactionary nature of the state. This is obvious since it is its path. When we characterized them as aiming at a new restructuring of the old state, this can be nothing more than its reactionarization.

Thus, they try to fortify their state to better combat the People’s War, because their state represents a rotten system. Obviously, now we are not dealing with Garcia, we are dealing with Fujimori and his new government. Even before the government took command of the Peruvian state it was deeply discredited, and in a short time, has shown all of his reactionary essence. Item three refers to the sharpening of the class struggle, and we see that it is happening. Furthermore, this sharpening of the class struggle takes as an example the People’s War (and its innovative forms of struggle) for its daily combat. Events show this. What item three is telling us in reference to

combat and resist is more evident every day, with the understanding that today the problem is to combat and resist to serve the People's War as the Party.

Item four states that the People's War is developing vigorously and increasingly. This is shown now that we are engaged in mobile warfare. This shows the fortification of the People's War, its development, and the difficulties that the reactionary government has in fighting us. At the same time we hear how the reactionaries are demanding a new strategic plan, which demonstrates the difficulties they have in confronting the People's War that is vigorously expanding countrywide. Item five, refers to the People's Republic. It is a sincere hope of the people. It has already been specified as the People's Republic of Peru and it is precisely in its service that we must work. This is the form of state that the conquest of power will establish. The third element of the Basis of Party Unity is the general political line.

In synthesis, we develop what was established within the framework of the Congress, which guides us. In the same way, we should consider the I Plenum of the Central Committee, which is very important because of the problems that were outlined there. The First Plenum aimed at problems of construction and the building of conquest of power throughout the country, and we are guided by this because when a political line is just and correct, the greater the necessity to line to apply it. We are opposed to the believe that "line is enough." Thus, the meeting of the Political Bureau, and the events handled there, are proof of the politics that we are applying and how they are stamped on reality.

Similarly, in the August circular we specified outlines of the new government, its plans, and how to respond to them with the goal of launching our "Third Campaign to Impulse" [the People's War]. Furthermore, we must always keep in mind our victorious process of People's War which after 11 years is transforming Peruvian society. The war is the superior form through which the fundamental problems of the revolution are resolved and society is transformed to benefit the class and people. It is the principal form of organization. It is a war of masses, peasants (especially poor ones), the proletariat and the petty bourgeoisie. We must see the role of the masses in the war. This is very important because the masses make history. We must keep in mind the role played by the People's War in Peru in the world proletarian revolution, which for us is a major responsibility.

Finally, we must see that everything that the Party leads cannot be

developed unless we guide ourselves by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought (MLM, GT) our ideology and essence of the Basis of Party Unity (BUP). We must reaffirm ourselves in it today more than ever before, because MLM, GT is under attack, and they try to defame and deny it. We must maintain absolute conviction that it is all-powerful because it is true, it is the plain truth. A solid truth like a rock. After all, their attack is idealist verbiage, it will pass, and the deeds will remain as incontrovertible reality. It is true that we live in difficult times, but the main tendency of history in today's world is revolution, it is incontrovertible and will impose itself.

Communism will impose itself and shine throughout the world. We must keep in mind the words of Chairman Mao that the road is difficult but the future is bright. Thus, Comrades, the revolution will triumph throughout the entire world, and whether it takes more or less time depends mainly on the actions of Communists. This is the frame of reference unfolding today. We must keep in mind that the resolutions of the Congress is our guide, including the Basis of Party Unity with and its three elements set forth in the First Plenum of the Central Committee (CC), in the Meeting of the Political Bureau, the process of the People's War and the role played by the International Communist Movement.

TITLE. Very expressive and with a slogan. Our problem is to conquer power countrywide, and that is what is said here as a guide, a goal to reach. It calls on us to build the conquest of power countrywide, to structure it based on the ideological and political construction as principal and simultaneously in organizational construction, in the midst of the class struggle of the masses and in the two-line struggle. At the same time, it emphasizes that we can only do all of this through the People's War. These are three slogans intimately united, unbreakably linked, and inseparable. We cannot build this without the People's War nor without the goal of building this for the purpose of serving the conquest of power countrywide. We could not conquer power without People's War, or without building it, and we could not wage the People's War without the goal of conquering power countrywide, nor could we wage it without the construction of the Party, the Army and the Front. The People's War is of major importance by having the construction as a base and the conquest of power as a guide, because it is part of the Program established by the Party's Congress. The three slogans are: "Develop the People's War, Build the Conquest of Power, and Conquer Power Countrywide." [also known as Develop, Build, and Conquer]

OUTLINE. This should be an outline in the strategic plan of

construction, and we believe that an outline is relevant. The Party has experience in making them. In 1978 in the VIII Plenum of the CC, the outline for the armed struggle was approved. This expressed the particularity of our People's War which should evolve in both the countryside and the city, with the countryside as the principal [scenario of the war] and the city complementary. In 1980, the Party approved the outline of the militarization of the Party by way of political and military actions, and a defined policy to complete the initiation of the armed struggle, established the organic forms needed to build the army, the detachments, the forms of struggle, and the elemental armed actions.

Today, we are presented with the need for an outline to build the three instruments. This outline is more developed than the previous ones we have had, but we consider that it should be worked on and developed so that after being approved by the CC, it will begin to be applied as a pilot plan. After a reasonable time it will be approved in a definitive form and then evolve into the strategic plan of construction. Both the pilot plan as well as the approval of final plan have as a correlation, military plans of the People's War. All of the above will carry us to a future plan for the conquest of power, which will be a military plan that specifies the People's War in its final stage, a plan that will also have its outline and a pilot plan, a plan that will address the control of the countryside, and will have a vertebral column in the New State in a much wider form. It will also contain the insurrections for the conquest of power in the cities, from the small, to the medium, to the large: the capital. Consequently, the principal thing this session should deal with, is this outline for the strategic plan of construction, which does not contradict the primacy of the People's War.

QUOTATIONS

1. May document pg. 113.

There are many who talk about the “obsolescence of Marxism,” which is nothing more than the putrefaction of revisionism which impedes the march of humanity. Chairman Mao, applying contradiction, taught us that the “new” is always imposed and replaces the “old.” This is a universal law. It is eternal like matter (no matter how many detours we run into.) This means that the profound conviction of Communists is in accordance with the process of development of matter. Mao also taught that the “new” is born in the midst of hardships and opens its path amiidst very difficult struggles. At the end it imposes itself. This is how it has been, is, and how it will be.

2. May document, p. 105.

The march of matter and humanity has given, as part of this material process, the ideology of the proletariat, that is the greatest ideology, because the proletariat is the last class in history, and the most complete ideology which cannot be prevented from developing. It is also good to emphasize that it is an ideology and system that differs from any other ideology and system, because today it is denied. They are the upholders of the obsolete irrationality of the XVIII Century. We Communists are radical transformers, developers and practitioners. We carry forward the most rational processes like the dictatorship of the proletariat, socialism, the goal of communism, and an immense historic process that will complete the long work of humanity, towards the realm of liberty.

3. May document, pg. 105.

Humanity has a course, and a nonlinear development with specifications and a specific nature. It is this way, because this is part of contradiction, it is the particular. Historical reality shows that we have had a process since primitive communism, slavery, feudalism, capitalism and socialism, and that we have Communism as the goal. This is the historical path of the class struggle. They are modes of production established independently at the will of anyone, as the product of the development of humanity, the process of the struggles of humans to meet their needs. The tortuous paths of today are nothing more than the expression of what was before. In history, there is no new and different system which has imposed itself all at once; it has always done so through a struggle that was first laid down,

consolidated, and then imposed upon. In our case, upon creating the Communist revolution, the revolution led by the proletariat, having democratic or socialist or cultural revolutionary forms, we make the only true revolution of history.

Marx taught us that all revolutions before ours have been the substitution of one group of exploiters by another. Only the Communist revolution substitutes the power of the exploiters with the power of the exploited, and is the one that initiates the process of the dictatorship of the proletariat and lays down the conditions that make everything based on classes disappear and make the State disappear. For this reason, it is something original, different and new. The road to arrive to Communism is complex but will be victorious. Humanity will not be able to enter easily into Communism. We will see great complexities and extremely hard struggles but we will handle them, because since 1917, we have entered the new era, the era of the world proletarian revolution, and we will see situations that have never been seen before. This is what Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao taught us. Socialism and Communism will be imposed on the Earth. There is no other goal for humanity. This is a consequence of the unstoppable process of matter and humanity.

4. May document, pg. 113.

There is much talk about peace these days, but we Communist know that as long as there is private property, classes, and imperialism, war will be a continuing danger. What is happening in the Middle East? They keep sending more troops and not only to Iraq and Kuwait are implicated there, but also both of the imperialist superpowers. They participate in a different way, but they are involved, along with many other imperialist powers, even Japan. The situation has some features of extending itself and having violent repercussions throughout the region, one of the hot spots of the world. Chairman Mao taught us that as long private property, classes and imperialism exist, the danger of war will continue. The process of these wars and their dimensions depend on the sharpening of the class struggle. We must apply this today, and keep in mind what the First Congress agreed upon about spheres of influence, and a new redistribution of the world that were accurate.

Later, the Chairman Mao taught us, we must be prepared for war, but, not when war is knocking on our doors. The problem is to focus on the principal aspect, which is revolution. Revolution is the principal historical and political tendency in the world, because the problem is that in politics, revolution is what is new, and counterrevolution is the

old, and the new imposes itself on the old. In this way, revolution will impose itself on counterrevolution. Politically, history unfolds in zigzags as part of its process, not its negation.

In the face of a counterrevolutionary offensive, man must act, Communists even more so. We must transform this offensive into a revolutionary counteroffensive; because the expression of the main political principle, depends on the transforming action of man. We Communists must make People's War a concrete reality according to the concrete conditions of each revolution. We believe that this is not sufficiently understood by the Revolutionary International Movement. Thus, we must see revolution as a historical tendency, as a political expression, and as the way man reflects upon situations. We must act to transform them, so that they act as the principal historical and political tendency.

5.

Chapter II, quotes from Chairman Mao, Sixth quote, "organizing the people in order to demolish the reactionaries is our obligation." If we do not strike at everything reactionary, it will not fall no matter how decayed it is. It is not enough that the old state is decomposing, we must destroy it. Its destruction is the prerequisite to building the new state.

6 May document, pg. 190.

Chairman Mao calls upon the Marxist- Leninist-Maoists to joint with the vanguard of the proletariat. It is indispensable to add the Maoists, because Maoism is the new, third and superior stage. It is the ideology that unites the Maoists of the world. He calls upon the people of the oppressed nations which constitute the growing mass of the world's population. He also calls upon the people of the imperialist countries, in the U.S., in the USSR as well as in other imperialist powers like Germany, Japan, and China.

Thus, he calls upon Communists and revolutionaries of the world to unite, so that the immense masses express their power over the earth. We must unite to defeat imperialism, revisionism and world reaction, which is clearly valid today. He ends with a powerful affirmation. As long as there is exploitation on the Earth there will be no new world. Therefore, our task is to destroy imperialism, revisionism, reaction, and every system of exploitation, and construct socialism. It is enough to see the social experiences that have been lived through, how they swept away centuries of exploitation in a few decades. This was not

total and complete because there was not enough time, but how was it that backward countries like China and the USSR became powers and superpowers?

Only socialism is capable of developing the forces constrained by imperialism, revisionism and world reaction. In these processes there has been (capitalist) restoration that has evolved into revisionism that is shamelessly unleashing capitalism. It is because they have abandoned Marxism, because they restored capitalism, and abandoned the construction of socialism. But revolution will arise and socialism will once again be developed. We must investigate all the things that socialism has advanced in those experiences, with the goal of gaining positive and negative experiences from the construction and development of socialism.

THREE STRATEGIES.

This outline of the Strategic Plan of Construction is headed by three strategies.

POLITICAL STRATEGY: CONQUER POWER.

A Party has as its objective the conquest of power and to follow the path to enter Communism, the greatest radical transformation that humanity will live through. The passage to Communism will not be easy or short. We must consider that the entire system of four thousand years, more or less, of private property must be swept away, and the period prior to the entry into Communism will be less, but more than decades. Every Communist Party should work with this perspective, conscious of the process. Our Party was founded to conquer power. It was reconstituted to complete this objective and initiated the armed struggle to follow a road, and this road has taken us to the nearby goal of conquering power countrywide. We have a political strategy that guide us, and it is a complex, intensified, and glorious struggle to finish off the democratic revolution and build the People's Republic of Peru. All of our work aim toward this goal.

MILITARY STRATEGY: PEOPLE'S WAR DEVELOP MOBILE WARFARE AND FORGE THE PREPARATIONS FOR INSURRECTION.

People's war is the highest military theory that history will see, no other will surpass it because the proletariat is the last class in history. This strategy of people's war is the source of our advance, of our victories, because it is a war of masses led by the Party, and based principally on the poor peasantry, which upholds the interests of the proletariat and defends the people. This war must continue developing and its nerve centers, the base areas that are spreading to higher levels, up to the conquest of power countrywide, this will demand another leap, another military plan from us. What is appropriate today is to develop mobile warfare, which we are already handling, and at the same time develop the preparations for the insurrection, which we are already doing so.

STRATEGY OF CONSTRUCTION: BUILD THE CONQUEST OF POWER COUNTRYWIDE.

For the first time we propose three strategies. Today it is indispensable to propose a strategy of construction, a consequence of the process of the Peruvian revolution and the People's War. We have dealt with the reasons for the title. Our problem now is to build this conquest and apply the principle of construction linked more closely to the three keywords: Develop, Build, and Conquer!

INTRODUCTION

1. On optimism and Party work (Peking Review 37-38/, pg. 8.)

Our point of departure is the law of the unity of opposites, the essence of our understanding, the universal law of contradiction. We must always base ourselves on that. We must apply contradiction to whatever task we begin, first taking it up with the conviction that it is possible; second, that without arduous and tenacious work, we will not complete it well. This governs the immediate goal today. To fear and not to fear is another contradiction, it is part of the human condition, it exists in the individual dimension and is natural.

But in the class struggle, this takes on a much greater dimension, the contingencies are greater and more complex and the number of problems are greater. We may even have to master nature, which is still hardly understood today. Entering into the principal part of the quote, the greater part of humanity, the proletariat and Communists, put optimism on the first level. “A strategic challenge to death, scorn for the hardships, and all the difficulties will be overcome,” is what guides and sustains Communists. The exception are the cowards and opportunists because they are not centered on the collective, on what is new, or on the perspectives of humanity. They see everything black, because the bottom of the grave is like that; but few think that way. Why be optimists? Being optimistic allows us to overcome difficulties; it is the condition to take each work seriously, allowing us to understand and investigate issues of concern. Only in this way can we see the diverse facets of things, take their essence and manage the laws that govern them, so that by applying them, we can transform the world.

With those laws we can resolve contradictions; turn true tigers into paper tigers, from democratic revolution to socialist revolution, turn what is difficult into easy. For us today the task of conquering power countrywide is a new task. There are many problems we need to understand better, but we know that we have the conditions to solve them. Furthermore, we are aware that the People’s War is a necessity and must be completed. All of this demands optimism from us, a great optimism to handle this new situation. We must recall the beginning. It was also a leap similar to today’s, and we now have experience. The difference is that today, the leap is qualitatively superior.

Hence, we must be optimists to complete our goal of conquering

power countrywide. As always, Chairman Mao forewarned us about possibilities and realities, apparent possibilities, false ones (the supposed insurrection that the PUM dreamed about), real possibilities, the conquest of power countrywide, the People's Republic of Peru and the transition from democratic revolution to socialist revolution. This is not writing in the water, it is practice that is reaching it goals. Another contradiction is that there are some hotheads whose ardor butts their understanding. Impetuosity, is good but not sufficient, we require cool heads and scientific judgement to analyze. Some say we have already conquered power but don't say how, or what plans to make. They only see the sparkling exaltation of victory but don't do anything to create it. Some only have cool heads, and from so much meditating and racking their brains, they end up being spectators.

Tomorrow they will say, "See, I told you there were no conditions!" at every minor setback we are faced with. They are the ones who wait for mistakes to show or jump up. War, then, needs both impetuosity and cool heads. Thus, we don't need sparkles that soon go out, nor cold spectators. We need to have revolutionary passion, counting on clear minds and a resolute will sustained by the optimism of conquering power countrywide. Peking Review, 27/28, pg. 8.

Errors and injustices.

Sometimes, some comrades don't see their faults and only judge the faults of others. It is very painful when one is the victim of an injustice, but Chairman Mao taught that even if they take you from one place to another, or pass you from one responsibility to another, but in these times of greatest adversity we go through, we will be able to learn better and there will be no obstacles to accomplish our tasks well. It is ridiculous to turn personal questions into questions of state, or to disavow principles because you think yourself treated unjustly. Those who think this way are centered on their own skins, putting their own merits ahead of the Party, not seeing the powerful actions of the masses but rather believing it to be their titanic individual labor.

There is no deed free of making mistakes. Unjust treatment will always occur; Communists must not become sullen because their mistakes have been criticized. Errors will occur even with a just and correct line, because of new situations, people who make mistakes in application, etc. But if the leadership analyze, discuss and correct these errors, and reasons are given to those who made them, then we advance. If a case occurs where someone has been wrongly displaced from his tasks, he is exonerated before the people, and thus, that person will be happy and will not act against the Party or the

revolution. But if the leadership is not just and correct, if the leaders maintain a wrong line, these rectifications will not be feasible. In this case, those who have the correct line must unfold a struggle to impose it. We must ask the masses to observe us, to criticize and self-criticize as many times as necessary.

Chairman Mao taught us that we must serve the class and not individuals, not ourselves, but the revolution. It is because of individualism that the affliction hurts so much, that it even dents service to the revolution that is the condition of being a Communist. Marx taught that the historical processes determined that in order to benefit humanity, we must sacrifice and grind down the individual and even classes. We can see this also among animals and plants. When all is said and done this grinding of one part serves the preservation of the entire species. What is important then is the class, the whole, not the individual. It is what Chairman Mao teaches us as the “quota”.

2. On understanding the objective world (Peking Review, 27/28, pg. 13.)

The problem requires that the entire Party reach a unification of understanding of its process; it proposes that the means of achieving this, is the rectification campaign. Today we need to develop the rectification campaign so that the entire Party understands how to develop and complete the democratic revolution, the necessity to conquer power countrywide. We are armed to achieve this goal. He [Chairman Mao] teaches us that only after two reversals and two victories could they understand the situation in China. For us today, now that we are going to conquer power countrywide, we are presented with many reversals and problems, even defeats, which is why we must be tempered for these contingencies. Don’t forget that it is we, ourselves, who are responsible for our revolution. There is no international strings from powers or superpowers and everything that happens to us, will be entirely our responsibility. We are conscious of this immediate goal. We know that we can and will achieve it.

We must make this necessity understood by the entire Party, the army and the masses throughout the country and the world. We must create public opinion as well as attack all those falsehoods and defamations until they are defeated as well as the sinister campaign they spread, which is that we are not going to conquer power. They seek to create confusion and lack of confidence in the masses and in the people’s army, in order to isolate us. Note that only after 20 years did they have a clear idea of the general political line. They say that for a long

time they acted with a large amount of blindness. The Congress [of 1988] has established the Basis of Party Unity (BUP), but we must consider, how much is mistaken, how much is due to insufficient understanding in the Party, the army, and the masses.

If we are going to conquer power countrywide, we must have political plans, defining what to do first and what to do later. Our Party needs indispensable theoretical, ideological, and political work in construction, and in the People' s War. We need to synthesize all our experience so that we can use this to arm the Party, the army and the masses. As Maoists, we will achieve this.

3. The ideological and political line decides everything (use the full version of the quote).

It tells us that the ideological-political line allows us to find men, the contingent we need, militants and arms to conquer power. We have a line that is just and proven, endorsed by the Congress and by almost 11 years of the People's War. If the line is incorrect, everything will be lost; the ideological-political is the key thread in the network. If we deviate from it all the network will unravel. The basis to resolve all the new problems is our ideological-political line.

In the May document, pg. 108. It is the realization of politics in command. The revolutionary organic forms serve the political necessities as their objective. The Party is not an end in itself, it is to lead the revolution, and the masses are making it. When an organic form is no longer in accordance with the needs of the struggle, it should be changed. The organic forms change according to the necessities of the revolution. Some are obsolete and should be changed, others are insufficient and should be developed and improved, while others may express their goodness. Today, these problems present themselves as a necessity and even more so, if we are in the building of the conquest of power countrywide.

We must be very clear in this process, as there will be comrades who will say that what we were doing before was wrong, when it was not that way. It is a failure to see that the very development of the revolution demands changes, new modalities. These positions express a lack of confidence in the revolution. In the line they enclose a loss of perspective. We also think that in general people tend to repeat what is known, and there is a certain resistance to change. This also must be overcome in order to take on the new.

The great orientation. See the May document, pg. 108. The problem is

a correct leadership and handling of the three “magic wands” of the revolution [the United Front, People’s Army and the Party.] in an interrelated way. This is the thesis of Chairman Mao, and we should keep it in mind. These quotes on construction also make us to consider that in the current situation, in building the conquest of power countrywide requires that we realize a series of new modalities. New things also have laws. Part of this is the tenacious effort needed to impose them and above all, the need to develop a firm and astute struggle to prevent the old from reestablishing itself, since the “old’ resists and denies its own death. The struggle to impose the “new” is a necessity.

4. The proletariat, organization and the Party.

Lenin in “One Step Forward, Two Steps Back” outlined a great thesis. The proletariat is powerful, but it expresses its transforming force only when it is organized. But take note that Lenin is talking about construction, and in the context of ideological-political construction. Later on, he outlines the basis for ideological unity. What is the situation of the proletariat today? The class is not united in the country. Due to the general crisis of bureaucratic capitalism, the big bourgeoisie following the advice of its imperialist masters are trafficking with the necessities of the class. They lower their wages, and they don’t recognize their conquests, and they worsen their working conditions. Unemployment is the order of the day. They think that the proletariat will submit to this, because if they don’t sell their labor power what will they live on? It is even worse now that they are seeking the greatest surplus value possible, an even greater capitalist accumulation. Misery is gorging more and more on the class. They seek to brutally sink them, and they want to impose all the rot of capitalism on them and, therefore, use every means toward this end.

But, before everything else that the proletariat generates, when it is organized and united, it generates a Party capable of opposing all of this, a party that is similar to the army, a part of militants, “the legions of iron” as Lenin says in another part. Recall what Engels outlined about the two powers in the world, the organized power of reaction and the disorganized power of the masses, that is a power that must be organized in order to express its superiority. With such a party, with the class organized and united in its Party, no decrepit reactionary power will prevail.

Our Party, the army of the class, the organized masses led by the Communist Party can conquer power by way of the People’s War. Reaction will not prevail. We will demolish the old state and we will

destroy bureaucratic capitalism, imperialist subjection and semi feudalism. Internationally, we Communists will finish off imperialism, revisionism, and world reaction. Communism will be imposed despite all the zigzags the revolution experiences. Today, the proletariat will tighten its ranks. It will strengthen itself despite all the imperialism, all the revisionist rot, despite all the anarchism of the anarchist intellectuals who always oppose the Party and burst with tinsel and noise, as their unfounded attacks reveal.

In this way, the proletariat united in a powerful Communist Party will conquer power in the country and will follow its socialist path until Communism. In the world, it will sweep away imperialism, revisionism and world reaction. Let us reiterate, the basis for all this is the organization of the class. Marx said that "the class has the power of numbers": the organized class, then, is powerful. Lenin in "Urgent Tasks of our Movement." Once more he speaks about the Party. The Party should always interest us because it is the vanguard of the proletariat, and it is the general staff of the revolution. More than this, if in today's world the need for the Party is denied, if they change the names of the parties whose leadership they usurped in order to negate their necessity, if they abandon the symbols of Communism, we must then reaffirm ourselves in the necessity of the Party. The Party is key, because it is the indispensable leadership for the Communists. It is a Party with men and women who not only dedicate their free afternoons but also devote their entire lives. We should also note the need for a large organization, without forgetting that it is a class Party with a mass character. Don't confuse the two.

What is referred to is the need to count on a large contingent capable of fulfilling every type of task more so today, when we aim at the conquest of power countrywide. We need to aim for the specialization of the leaders, of the cadre. We apply being Communists first, and principally combatants and administrators. We must, therefore, keep this in mind, it is very important. Chairman Mao taught us the need to be red and expert, principally red. We must never tie our hands. The Party must propose activities that it can fulfill, using all the procedures that correspond to its conditions, activities that permit the greatest results, according to conditions. A Party that is well organized can lead a strike and obtain major victories; note that the precondition is that the Party be well organized. The class, the masses must fight to win victories. These struggles are feints, military exercises, preparations, maneuvers, that will prepare the masses for the decisive battles to come. This coincides with what Marx taught us about guerrilla warfare that prepares the class for its future struggle for power.

This is very useful in handling the struggle for living conditions serving the conquest of power. We are facing an enemy fortress, the old power, and from there they strafe us with machine-guns and take away our best leaders. This is the reality, hard but certain. Faced with this, what is to be done? He doesn't say dialogue, he doesn't say surrender, he doesn't say retreat; he says assault it, take it, and we will do so. What is the condition for this? We must unite all the forces of the proletariat that wake up with the force of the revolutionaries in a Communist Party, a Party that will have the broadest masses, a Party that unites all the active and honest elements that want revolution. Some will be militants, some supporters, others only friends. We must aim for the Party to be the only center of leadership and the recognized vanguard of the class. Internationally, the problem is also one of Communist Parties that maintain their character as parties of the class. We must think about the problem of the parties in Eastern Europe, wouldn't it have something to do with that peculiar process of making parties from an amalgam of parties? This is a problem.

5. On Capitulation.

This merits our attention because many are capitulating in the world and in the country. The phenomenon of the new revisionist counterrevolutionary offensive is serving the imperialists and world reactionaries, and it is rotting part that of the people, insufficiently based on principles and in the dialectical understanding of the world. It has repercussion among the intellectuals. In the 1960s, they got tired of calling themselves Marxists, or rather they got tired of dressing up as such, so now they renege and are embarrassed to have put on that mask. They are striving to be worthy of serving imperialism, revisionism and reaction. This convergence of the new revisionist counterrevolutionary offensive in collusion with imperialism dreams of the definitive destruction of Marxism.

It dreams of sweeping away all that the revolution has done, all its gains, all its heroic actions. They seek to enthrone the old once again, that wicked domination by reaction in the most sinister moment of imperialism. This has repercussions and we see capitulation and monstrous apostasies. We see this among the petty bourgeoisie, among the scabs of the working class. The MRTA, for example, is the chief hawker of capitulation in the country. They spread "peace," bourgeois democracy, the market economy, human rights, reactionary ideologies, and bourgeois culture. They capitulate in the face of imperialism. Capitulation expresses itself in two ways: capitulation in the face of native reaction and capitulation in the face of world reaction. It is always this way. Its objective is to sell out the

revolution. It is rot that needs to be rooted out with blood and fire and this requires a strategy and tactics.

In Peking Review, 37/1975, on pg. 8, “Criticize Water Margin.” Chairman Mao in the struggle against the rightist wind launches a struggle against capitulation. He takes a literary work and criticizes it, because comrades, art has a class character. He says that this novel is an example of what capitulation is. It is criticism that forms part of the efforts to apply the politics of Chairman Mao in the study of theory and on the prevention and opposition to revisionism. We must note the importance of theory: theory is a great battle front, it is an international necessity. Communists need to handle Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism. We need to apply it and defend it, because with it, we can defeat every assault against Marxism. For us it is also a necessity. It is indispensable to handle the new state, to build socialism. The May document should be studied well and thoroughly, because it shows how we see Marxism and what questions we must resolve today with its illumination. It shows how to build the new state, describes democracy and dictatorship, private property, the problem of the united front, etc.

These are real problems that present themselves today to Communists in Peru and the world. For victory, we need a contingent of Marxist theoreticians, obviously indispensable to maintain the course of the revolution and to build socialism. Chairman Mao called upon the Party to study theory. The merit of this novel is that it describes capitulation. It aims against the corrupt officials and saves the emperor. We see this in our country, for example PUM aims at [Economic] Minister Hurtado and exonerates Fujimori. This is capitulation. To practice capitulation is to practice revisionism, amnesty and enlisting. This is what the MRTA seeks, it is what the IS, IU, MAS, Minister Amat and Minister Hellfer seek. Those who capitulate, seek the offer of amnesty and recruitment, it is what they are offered, but as far as the MRTA, what does it do? It doesn’t wait, it demands it, and offers it. Combating capitulation is important because it is part of the struggle of the Party and the people in its efforts to adhere to Marxism, to combat revisionism and to persist in the revolutionary line. This is a problem more important than yesterday, because it plays into the next 50 to 100 years. In order to combat capitulation we try to carefully differentiate between the specific characteristics of the capitulators.

In the case of Del Prado his problem is to adjust to perestroika. For the MRTA and Polay, they capitulate with Castroite positions by means of arms. MAS says that Marxism is supposedly obsolete and that there

should be a replacement with social-Christian positions. Patria Roja, like the Chinese revisionists of today, proposes that Marxism is going through a combination of reforms to advance, and that the world reactionaries or bourgeoisie are trying to use them to combat socialism. Internationally, they kneel before imperialism and the many revisionists, within the country capitulate before the big bourgeoisie, the landlords, and all are against the People's War. Do not forget that there are two factions of the big bourgeoisie, and that within each faction there are also groups.

Revisionists are all those who call themselves Marxists but revise Marxism; opportunists are those who accommodate themselves with whatever faction to survive; and the bourgeoisie, are those who uphold the ideology of the bourgeoisie and defend it. We must study Marxism well to combat revisionism, imperialism, and reaction. We must apply elevation and popularization and differentiate between leaders, cadres and militants, the army and the broad masses.

In Peking Review, 9/l976. The novel is a negative example. It promotes the capitulationist line, and then what does perestroika propagate? It propagates capitulation before imperialism, the most unchecked capitalist restoration, and it promotes revisionism. For example, to oppose corrupt officials without aiming against the entire bureaucracy as a component of the old state, but only against the corrupt, is for what purpose? Moralizing to make the old order more tolerable. We have an opposite position. We aim at the recalcitrant representatives of the old state, using selective annihilation to overthrow the decrepit order. The entire novel is impregnated with the idea that the officials are bad and the emperor is good, this is its basis.

For this reason, they aim at Hurtado because they think Fujimori is good, but they try to force, and impose on him. They ask Fujimori to moralize, that he renovate his justice. On the other hand, we ask nothing of him, we try to take away his power. To oppose the corrupt officials is to be loyal to the emperor. They aim at Hurtado they defend Fujimori, if they are "moralizing" then they are defending the system. In the heart of the reactionaries there is a contradiction. Some aim to annihilate the revolution and some wish to disintegrate it from within, but both defend the system and are opposed to the revolution. They are two sides of the same coin. Confronted by the revolution the reactionaries adopt a double tactic: the armed repression and the offer of amnesty and enlistment, that is capitulation. However, to reject or accept capitulation constitutes the focus of the two-line struggle. The trilogy of the capitulationist line is:

1.To aim their attacks against officials, not the emperor;

2. Amnesty and enlistment;

and 3. Repress the revolution.

We must not confuse the limitations of those who fight with those who surrender to the enemy. In China the peasants fought but were defeated, because without proletarian leadership they could not triumph, that was their limitation. Those who are in the struggle and capitulate, who surrender before the enemy, are seeking positions, and in this way form their armed base to later divide the peasant movement. One of the characters, the capitulator, practiced revisionism disguised as revolutionary, developing counterrevolutionary activities and aimed at substituting the revolutionary line with a capitulationist line. He wasn't even a fellow traveler, but a traitor, an arch-criminal.

The philosophy of the capitulator was feudal and bourgeois. Loyalty and justice were synonyms that they used, and they acted in those names. If one has a bourgeois conception and is in the revolution, then he will capitulate. His practice, ideas, and tactics are more perverse than the violent actions against the revolution, he uses feudal ideology with words about peace, justice, equality, and democracy to put out a rope and drag the masses behind them. The philosophy of life of all exploiting classes is characterized by seeking high positions, and recruiting lackeys. In all times, capitulationists will inevitably arise within the revolutionary camp. There are old capitulators and contemporary ones, who practice class capitulation in the country and national capitulation overseas. Class capitulation is where they submit to the bourgeoisie and to imperialism. This fits like a ring on a finger to those who act this way, within and outside the country.

Peru, February 1991.

Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru

1991 - II Plenum - Fundamentals of Political Ideology

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FUNDAMENTALS OF POLITICAL IDEOLOGY (II PLENUM)

From Section I of the Document "II Plenum of the PCP."

1. Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought: In Defense of Marxism Against the Combined Offensive of Revisionism and Imperialism

a. The combined counter-revolutionary campaign of imperialism, revisionism, and world reaction against Marxism-Leninism-Maoism.

In recent years we have been combating the new revisionist counter-revolutionary offensive (1990). We have been the only Party that defined it as such. What we ought to see now is that new offensive has been developed more completely by Gorbachev, who has largely repeated the sinister action of Teng (China). We have seen the direct participation of the Soviet Union and its subsequent repercusions, in collusion and struggle with Yankee imperialism, on the uncontrolled wave of capitalism in Eastern Europe. The participation of Gorbachev in that sinister counter-revolutionary plan is undeniable. A manifest proof of his services rendered to imperialism is seen in his nomination for the Nobel peace prize.

At the same time, we have also denounced the new and extended attack of imperialism against Marxism, which proclaims one more time its collapse. We have seen how on the ideological plane, in a form most wild and excessive, the problem has been explained as primarily a struggle between two imperialist superpowers.

We believe that, in summary, we ought to arrive at a conclusion: a combined counter-revolutionary campaign of imperialism, revisionism, and world reaction against Marxism-Leninism-Maoism is being developed. This is the central question that we must deal with. This campaign develops by means of collusion and struggle, but predominantly the collusion among the three enemies which in unison attack and try to wipe Marxism off the face of the earth. Once again, we state that this campaign will be defeated. It is destined to failure. It is no more than the prologue to a new development of Marxism. Sooner or later Marxism will triumph.

b. From the General Decay to the Collapse of Revisionism: Soviet Union, China, Albania.

This is our perspective: in the Soviet Union, quickly and without restraint, a market economy, privatizations, the free market, and finally a complete, uncontrolled capitalist system develop. The law that first the political power is usurped in order to change the social relations for exploitation, is being fulfilled. Then steps are taken toward a system of parliamentary representation, multiple parties, and other bourgeois principles, and consequently capitalist economic modes of production are adopted, such as the approval of a plan for developing a market economy. A period of stabilization is planned, to face the very difficult crisis through which they are undergoing. Non-government property is increased, of the monopolies, especially the imperialist monopolies, and of the non-State industries within the Soviet Union. Private ownership of land is granted. Non-State ownership of housing is extended. Lastly, the convertibility of the ruble is instituted. All of this is to the benefit of the grand bourgeois class of the Soviet Union. The measures to wipe out the balance that remains of traditions and traditional forms are evident. The revisionist party, for example, is each day more limited, and has to contend with bourgeois and openly nationalist parties. The revisionist armed forces have eliminated the political control of the Party. The Constitution has suffered numerous changes, and of the old socialist Constitution of Comrade Stalin, now not even a shadow remains. Education has entered the slide of privatization. The church is used shamelessly to restore capitalism, and to spread its ultra-reactionary ideology.

Attacks against the glorious tradition of the Bolshevik Party are witnessed, attacks on Lenin himself, which take a hypocritical form, and present themselves with false values, now that his own party -now revisionist-- in his congress, has opened the door to attack him with the statement that Lenin was no more than one of the many thinkers in the socialist process. Also there exists a serious national problem: understandably, if socialism is abandoned, if the party is abandoned, if the dictatorship of the proletariat is abandoned, all those measures have results, and the slide toward nationalism continues.

All this happens during an extreme economic crisis, and a bitter struggle among factions within revisionism itself, in which splinter groups contend to defend their positions, old and new, fascistic and bourgeois-democratic factions. Thus, everything moves from the general decomposition of revisionism to its collapse, promoted by imperialism, and directed by Gorbachev, from the time he began the reactionary policy of perestroika in 1985. The path of revisionism is clearly one of total decay, and it takes little time to arrive at its collapse.

If we turn to revisionism in China, again we find intense struggles, as for example the events in Tiananmin Square. In this situation, one faction, which wished to control the centralized government apparatus, and use it to manage a return to capitalism, defeated the more reactionary bourgeois-democratic faction. We see here that the fascistic revisionists had learned a lesson by observing the Soviet Union; they managed to prevent their own displacement from power.

Thus, such a faction (led by Teng) struggled against the movement called liberal-bourgeois, Zhao Ziyang and Hu Yaobang having been the leaders of the latter faction. We have analyzed above how revisionism first passes through a stage essentially fascistic, but this tend to dissolve as the restoration of capitalism continues to move toward bourgeois-democratic modes -- which are those which historically created the conditions for the development of capitalism -- as in the Soviet Union, which now has arrived at bourgeois-democratic modes, which puts it more in accordance with the capitalist and imperialist process as it is understood in the West. By contrast, China has developed in the fascistic mode for about 15 years, but this continues to be undermined. As the capitalist and imperialist system develops, the pressure to conform to bourgeois-democratic modes continues. It is clear that both factions are revisionist, each with its own agenda.

Thus, the second path of revisionism also leads to the decay of revisionism itself, but at a slower rate than in the Soviet Union.

Albania is a third example of revisionism. At the 9th Session of the Party in 1979, we heard the statements by Hoxha against Chairman Mao, then deceased, and Ramis Alia. And we can follow the development of the revisionist path, though here it is restrained by the lessons gained in observing what was taking place in the Soviet Union, China, and Eastern Europe. We see relations with the United Nations developed, and concessions made to guarantee "human rights." Defectors are permitted to flee the country by first taking refuge in foreign embassies, as had been taking place in Hungary and East Germany. Foreign investment is accepted, and profits flow to foreign countries.

We also see political changes and elections, and schools named for Mother Theresa, from which campaigns against atheism are launched. It is another revisionist path. We keep in mind the good reputation it has had, but it also is in decay. The rate obviously is not the same, but the direction is the same. Here the decay is just beginning to accelerate.

Thus, we have various degrees of the rush toward the restoration of capitalism and bourgeois-democratic modes. Vietnam, for example, with a mainly agricultural economy, today is applying the principle of private ownership of land, developing products for export, developing relations with the U.S., after the dominance of the Soviet Union there. Today, they bow before the International Monetary Fund (IMF).

The process of the restoration of capitalism [in Vietnam] is faster than in Albania, but the path is basically the same.

In short, contemporary revisionism moves from general decay toward collapse, though the process takes different forms on the three different Paths.

c. Support, Defend, and Apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, especially Maoism! International Communist Movement (ICM). International Revolutionary Movement: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, world proletarian revolution, and relentlessly combating revisionism, as the basis of unity; the New Declaration. The role of the PCP and the conquest of power.

The combined campaign, and revisionism which moves toward collapse, demand that we reaffirm our commitment to this ideology. Support, defend, and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism on all levels. Especially apply it, because that is the best way to support and defend it. Then the problem is principally Maoism, because it is the new, third, and superior stage of Marxism. Do not follow, therefore, any other ideology. All the communists of the Earth must support it, or they are not true communists. It is of great historical importance.

It is within this context that we must consider the ICM. The regrouping of communists is an ever greater necessity. Coordinating all the disparate communists, who may now be speaking as communists individually, as organizations, or as communist parties, should be our goal, in order to defend Marxism and the ideology of the proletariat, and to fight for the world proletarian revolution, holding high the flag of communism. The coordination and development of communist parties is an urgent task. There is no reason why all cannot be united in the Party.

There is no necessary quality which the Party lacks. Remember the glorious example of Marx and Engels, who began as just two. The Bolsheviks began with just a few members; the Chinese Communist

Party also. Too much time is wasted discussing the obstacles which stand in the way of the formation of parties. This is meaningless to those who know what it means to belong to the Party. The problem is to understand the correct ideology, and for the party to discipline itself and spread the correct ideology. Then the movement will develop naturally through time. Also communist parties must give attention to their militarization, based on correct principles, in order to develop the People's War, because through arms the world can be transformed, as was done in the Soviet Union and China.

Beside the need to regroup in the International Communist Movement, we must look at the situation of the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement (RIM). It moves forward on its path (1990), through difficulties, but so it is with anything new. The PCP is part of the RIM, as it must be. Our Party supports the RIM, using our influence on it, and struggling steadily to transform the country by means of the People's War. It is necessary to do more. The revolution requires it. We have not done all we can for the development of the RIM. We must take a more active role, participate more directly, and support it ideologically. We must unite and coordinate ourselves better for three things: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, service to the world proletarian revolution, and relentless struggle against revisionism. This can be a good basis of unity for a better and more developed structure for the RIM. We must communicate with other communist groups, and try to unite with them on the basis of correct ideology. We must strive to persuade them of the correctness of our ideology: Marxism-Leninism Maoism, especially Maoism.

Also, there should be a New Declaration. The committee should establish fundamentals, perhaps only in outline. The important thing is to present a Declaration of basic principles, which would give maximum flexibility to parties.

The roll of the PCP is to take control of the entire country. The PCP has increasing influence, and must develop the People's War. It is by developing our own power in Perú that we do our most essential part in the RIM. The World Proletarian Revolution means to develop the People's War in each country. Success in Perú will alter the balance of the class struggle throughout the world. A successful campaign here will greatly strengthen communism, the ICM, RIM, and the World Proletarian Revolution (WPR). In short, we must support parties and revolutions throughout the world, but our primary responsibility, and the way we can help international communism most of all, is to succeed in Perú.

2. Revolution and Counter-revolution on the Planetary Level. Revolution as the Principal Process of History.

a. Contradictions and the primary contradiction.

Facts confirm that the primary contradiction in the world is oppressed nations against superpowers and imperialist powers. In the document of May ["Elections No! People's War Yes!"] we again insisted on this. This contradiction is and will be the perspective, whatever may be the circumstances. Other less essential conflicts may arise and temporarily suspend the basic conflict, but these less essential conflicts pass, and the struggle of the oppressed against imperialism continues.

Our understanding of this problem has developed through time. Lenin placed Marxism-Leninism at the service of the World Proletarian Revolution. Comrade Stalin stressed that the Soviet Union was a link between advanced and developing countries. Chairman Mao demonstrated the increasing importance of the people's revolution in oppressed nations, in revolutionary movements directed by communist parties conducting the People's War. In the 60's, 70's, and 80's, revolution spread throughout Asia, Africa, and Latin America. These places are hotbeds of revolution. Since the end of World War II, the process has not ceased for a single moment. The phenomenon of Eastern Europe does not contradict the importance of oppressed nations. Although these countries are in Europe, they have been semi-colonies of the Soviet Union, against which they were unable to develop revolutions without falling under the influence of Western imperialism, and into revisionist decay, which created opportunities for the unscrupulous bourgeois and uncontrolled capitalism. Thus they passed from the hands of one oppressor to another.

While the Chinese Communist Party insisted that Asia, Africa, and Latin America were the important battlefields of revolution, the Soviet Communist Party did not agree, because the Soviets saw the primary struggle as between socialism and capitalism, while the Chinese saw the primary struggle as between oppressed nations and imperialism. So the primary struggle was not yet defined, and the two communist superpowers argued over how it should be defined.

In 1967, Lin Piao presented the proclamation: May the People's War Triumph! with the knowledge of the Central Committee, stating that

the primary contradiction in the world is oppressed nations versus imperialism. At that moment, the struggle against revisionism had already begun, and successfully. The Chinese Communist Party (CCP) continued to develop its positions. This was the great cultural revolution.

Later, the communists began to regroup over the problem, and there were different opinions. But for some, the primary struggle remained that against imperialism, so that for them, the People's War throughout the world remained the goal.

The Communist Party of Perú (PCP) accepted the position that the primary struggle in the world today is of oppressed nations against imperialism.

The parties in oppressed nations agreed that this is the primary struggle. But parties in developed capitalist countries did not agree, and argued against the idea.

We believe that we have made progress, because the trend has been toward most parties agreeing with the idea we hold. They see the importance of the oppressed nations, and better understand the role these nations play. They see that the problem is not that which was earlier expressed, i.e., that there are democratic revolutions, which are less advanced, and socialist revolutions, which are more advanced. The reality is that in the oppressed nations there have been developed democratic revolutions of a new type. They are revolutions directed by the proletariat through their parties. We see successful revolution in the example of China, which was first democratic, then socialist, and then developed the great proletarian cultural revolution.

b. Superpowers and imperialist powers: Collusion and struggle.

Each day the collusion and collision among imperialist powers and superpowers develop further, as recent events as in the Persian Gulf demonstrate. There is collusion between the two superpowers the US and the Soviet Union (1990), and also among the superpowers and the great powers Germany and France, and we see support by Third World countries such as Egypt, Syria, Argentina, and Honduras. This is part of the world counter-revolutionary offensive. Does this resemble the Holy Alliance? We think so, because their defeat of Napoleon was followed by the crushing of revolutions and the oppression of nations.

Today, there are great collusions on the planetary level, but they take

place amidst a quiet, growing, bitter struggle in a commercial world, of contention among superpowers and great powers, because Germany and Japan would like to gain strength to create world hegemony of their own. There is collusion among the great powers, but there is also competition. This competition is not confined to the economic sphere, but spills over into other areas in conflict. There is contention over the specific and diverse interests of each of the superpowers, the great powers, and the oppressed nations. Obviously these struggles are not to the benefit of the peoples of these countries, but of the classes of exploiters. This collusion and struggle stimulates the international class struggle, resembling winds that can result in a great conflagration.

Areas of domination, and the new repartition of the world.

Maps. All of Europe and Asia contain great concentrations of masses of people and traditional-historical centers of humanity. The Middle East. America and Oceania developed later. America is an isolated continent. Oceania is much smaller than the others. The Asian continent includes such countries as the Soviet Union, with an area of 8.7 million square miles. China is another country of great importance. It is an enclave which reaches the heart of Asia and has peripheral parts. Another continent is Europe, extending to the Urals, and the axis here is Germany. The African continent is immense, and includes many countries. The poverty is great, and the plunder by the superpowers and great powers is also great.

Japan, with 130 million inhabitants (1990) and little land, is a great economic center, which interacts with all the Orient, establishing a region of Asiatic trade and prosperity. In World War II, Japan invaded China, Korea, Thailand, Laos, Burma, the Philippines, etc.

Today, it is said that their sphere of influence reaches as far as the Middle East. But they are not able to take control of all of Asia and the Pacific rim, because this is seen by the U.S. as one of the US's regions of hegemony. Nonetheless, Japan's base is Asia, its great region the Pacific, and its dream even greater: world domination. Japan's leaders face problems: in order to maintain low production costs, in order to flood the world with Japanese products, they come into conflict with the proletariat, by trying to shorten vacation time, for example. They have decided that they must have more global political influence, and that they must control banking in Asia. Now they are unable to guarantee the protection of their economic power without a powerful military, and so they are developing their armed forces in preparation

for major conflicts. They face problems with the so-called Asian tigers, some of which want to become leaders, such as South Korea, which is struggling against Japanese economic control. They exploit their own people, and they also face their historical atrocities against the nations they have oppressed: they have expressed their apologies to Korea, China, etc. The necessity to strengthen their armed forces meets with the resistance of their people, but their militarization is of course a key element of power.

Extending their domination conflicts with U.S. interests in Latin America, and each day the commercial war with the U.S. grows in force. Ninety percent (90%) of the petroleum they consume is from the Middle East, and now there is the Gulf war. And so there are conflicts with the interests of the superpowers, of the great powers, with those of the countries which dispute in the region of Asia, with the interests of their own people, and with the interests of the nations they oppressed during World War II. Therefore, the struggle for world hegemony, and even to secure domination of the Orient, will be very difficult.

Germany and the so-called European Union.

Today the Germans are united -- 80 million inhabitants, located in the heart of Europe. Their area of influence is all of Europe. In World War II, they invaded and threatened all the countries of Europe, reaching the vital points of the Soviet Union, and also North Africa. Their territories encompassed Europe, and much of the Soviet Union, Africa, and the Middle East. They created a geopolitics; their theory was that if one controlled Europe, the so-called "world island," one controlled the world.

The so-called European Union is but the expansionism of German imperialism, which through 45 years struggled to establish the dreamed of "Reich." The "Reich" whose modern impulse came from the 18th Century, was concretized in the 19th Century, and took a leading part in the two world wars. German imperialism developed from a fusion of grand bourgeois with landholders and the Junkers -- the old military aristocracy of Prussia. In peculiar conditions, they sought the domination of the world -- they had arrived late at the repartition of the world. Defeated in World War II, today they began their "unification," and East Germany is becoming a poor, oppressed society. German imperialism is beginning to develop its expansion, its famous "march to the East," which is only its expansionism. Now the old dream of annexation of all of Europe for the Aryan race, for Germany,

finds expression. Fascist ideas emerge, the dream to unite with Austria, to recover territories from Poland, to expand to the Soviet Union, to dominate over France and all of Europe. These expansionist fervors are raised through the so-called "European Union" --"Europe of all the nations."

Lenin dreamed that European unity included socialism as an indispensable condition. Any other unity today is simply imperialist unity under German hegemony to dominate the world. For this reason we cannot applaud it; rather, we must unmask and denounce it. This talk of "European unity" has repercussions in the thought of Peruvian reaction, the celebrated "El Comercio" (main bourgeois papaer in Perú), for example. Internationally it is said that the superior culture of the earth, the European, is catching up with the U.S., etc.

But we should see that also in German imperialism this unification is not going to be easy. They have a series of serious problems to face, and their fervor for world hegemony conflicts with reality. The expansion to East Germany involves a disruption of the economic process of socialist Germany, the undermining of its agriculture, high unemployment, a reserve army to lower salaries throughout Europe, especially in Germany. They must invest $700 million in the next 10 years. Therefore, they are going to reduce their foreign investments. But they think this will increase their basic strength. This includes the need to strengthen their armed forces, and to promote militarism, patriotism, and racism. Also it has been arisen rivalries, and historical grudges against France, Poland, etc, etc. These problems which we see today in Europe redrawing borders as they were before World War II, and they are stimulating nationalism. So their transition to superpower is not going to go as easily as they dream. Thus these things create a situation which destroys the equilibrium derived from World War II.

The Soviet Union and Eastern Europe.

This region extends from Finland to the Pacific. The immense land mass is a world power whose dreams go out to all seas. Apart from the problems already seen, there is developing a nationalist movement which aims at the disintegration of the Union (1990). This immense empire has begun to tear itself apart. Also in Eastern Europe, the same process controls Rumania, Hungary, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, East Germany. There, uncontrolled capitalism and bourgeois-democratic tendencies have developed under the influence of imperialist pressure and revisionist decay. But there ought to be seen

the participation of Gorbachev especially, colluding with US imperialism, with Bush. We see the participation of the Soviet Union and the US. Gorbachev has found that these processes succeed more easily in Eastern Europe, and this serves as an example for his own Soviet Union, and strengthen his positions, which were weakened by the attacks of the "conservative" faction, a faction with fascistic ideas and values.

So all this imperialist domination of the Soviet Union in Eastern Europe has begun to break apart. The Warsaw Pact has fallen to pieces. Thus the problem is of a new equilibrium, a new confrontation, and a new distribution of forces. This is the situation, brought about by imperialist pressure and revisionist decay. Sadly there is no working class or people's movement. It is a change from one imperialist hand into another.

China and its dreams of power.

In 4.48 million square miles there are 1.1 billion inhabitants (1990). The chinese people have long borders. They are on the Pacific. Their old rival is Japan. They dream of being a great power. They also have problems. The fascistic faction is in power. They have begun to restore a senile capitalist system, which requires the destruction of a very productive socialist system, leading to various harms to the people -- their exploitation and oppression. Also there is inflation, unemployment. What we do not find is national division. Also, the rulers dream that they may use the people to serve imperialism, as cannon fodder, and as a market to enrich the rulers and help China become a great power in the 21st Century. The problems resulting from the events in Tiananmin Square have led to certain restrictions; nonetheless, Japan continues to invest in China, and has great economic plans there. Again an agreement exists for the sake of imperialism, and its objective is that the two countries work together in order to maximize the potentials of both.

The US and Latin America, their great area.

The initiative of Bush for Latin America was to unite Mexico with the US and Canada, and from this axis to dominate the Caribbean, extend into South America, gain more and more complete control of Central America, and so prepare for the future in the Pacific rim. Great changes are being attempted. Latin America presents serious problems, as the 80's were a dark period, and the 90's may be worse. The U.S. needs to strengthen its economy in order to maintain

competition with Germany and Japan, and so less money is invested in the people; education and health care deteriorate, as well as scientific work. There are serious problems with the Latino and black minorities. Nonetheless, contention is much less than in the Soviet Union.

And so the contention between the superpowers is again very clear, and if the U.S. benefits from the problems of the Soviet Union, this is limited; today the more important struggle is commercial competition with Japan, Germany, and France. In the summit of the Seven we see rancorous struggle. Germany and Japan are gaining strength, and Japan invests according to its own agenda in China, while Germany does likewise in the Soviet Union. The U.S. military presence in Europe and Japan consumes billions. The dollar is in a process of devaluation in relation to the yen and the German mark (1990). The U.S. deficit creates problems in the world economy. Bush has proposed a program to reduce the deficit, but it would involve great social cost, cut benefits to workers, and reduce capital for investment. But the U.S. Congress has opposed it (1990), refusing to approve such a budget.

All these questions demonstrate that collusions and struggles are developing, which have to do with areas of domination, and a new repartition of the world. Again the powers involved are the same as those of World War II. Germany and Japan have arisen as great economic powers, and demand the new repartition. So that we can foresee a new repartition of the world, and this can only come by means of war.

We have seen areas of domination and spheres of influence, as the superpowers and great powers struggle for world domination. The great powers want to displace the superpowers, but in order to do so they must themselves become superpowers, and this they are striving to do.

c. The Third World. Asia, Africa, and Latin America: oppressed nations. Regions of conflict and repartition. The problem of the Persian Gulf. The primary contradiction and local, regional, and world wars. Recognizing revolution as the principal tendency.

Eighty five percent (85%) of the world's population will be in the oppressed nations by the year 2000. The numbers of the oppressed, the percentage, the injustice this implies, the great weight of the

burden on the many for the sake of the few -- all this creates tremendous potential for revolution. These regions, with the exception of the so-called tigers of Asia (1990), are underdeveloped regions. Also they are regions of conflict. The superpowers and great powers invest in them, and want to control them, because they are economies in subjection. They are regions of conflict and repartition. Again plunder is under dispute.

There is no peace nor tranquility. In the world today, collusion and struggle arise over areas of domination and the new repartition of the world. The offensive by the exploiter develops, and conditions become more explosive throughout the world. Especially the Third World is plundered. Asia, Africa, and Latin America are becoming like pots boiling over, like erupting volcanoes. The counter-revolutionary offensive develops with the help of opportunists and revisionists, who aim at dialogue, elections, agreements under the control of the United Nations; and so, long processes of revolutionary struggle are seen like that, as in Angola, Nicaragua, Guatemala, El Salvador, South Africa, etc.

And so, we see that, against the great masses who struggle incessantly, comes a revisionist counter-revolutionary offensive based in collusion and struggle, and serves those who struggle to dominate the various regions in the repartition of the world. And the sinister collusion benefits the opportunists and revisionists, who in one way or another are allies with the imperialist Powers.

The Persian Gulf.

Located in Asia, traditionally the land of the five seas, it is an area of contradictions, of conflicts. We expect this to continue through the year 2000.

Involved here are Egypt, Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates, Qatar, Kuwait, Iran, Iraq, Israel, Jordan, Syria, Turkey, the Soviet Union, etc. Also the U.S. and Europe, which cooperate here for the sake of its petroleum riches, and Japan, ninety percent (90%) of its petroleum energy capacity being dependent on this region.

As a historical background, we must note that the most bitter conflict in this region is that between Israel and Palestine, a great struggle, with the Arab world supporting the Palestinian people. But in the late 70's, another important conflict developed between Iran and Iraq. Iran under the subjugation of the Shah had been a bastion of the U.S. This was smashed, and a Medieval theocratic system came to power,

managed by the Muslim priesthood, Islam thus coming into conflict with the superpowers the U.S. and the Soviet Union, and with the so-called third Satan, Hussein of Iraq. The U.S. had lost its bastion in the Middle East. Israel is very small in comparison to its influence. Therefore, the U.S. supported Iraq in its war against Iran. The war lasted 10 years, cost millions of lives, and included the use of chemical weapons. It involved religious ideology. The role of the fundamentalists, of the ayatollahs, was central. Khomeini had arisen as the leader able to unite them. And so the center of struggle in the region shifted to Iran-Iraq. Combined with the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan, where the Soviets desired to gain access to the Indian Ocean, this was a dangerous situation for the U.S. The play was for control of the Middle East.

When the war ended, the problem of who would lead the Arab world arose -- who would control the region? In this context we see the invasion of Kuwait by Iraq, claiming that historically Kuwait belongs to Iraq. Nonetheless, it is a war of Iraqi expansionism, and has to do with who will lead the Arab world.

How has imperialism responded? Using troops, using the U.N., in collusion with the Soviet Union -- which has many convergent interests with the imperialists, whatever the differences -- the U.S. began an invasion of the Middle East. They speak of Iraq, but the basic problem is the whole Middle East, the question of petroleum, the strategic situation, and the struggles of the superpowers and imperialist powers. It is a problem of how to guarantee the control of the whole region. Petroleum involves the energy interests of Japan and Europe, and the economic interests of the U.S. And so, we see the confluence of great powers and superpowers, because the Soviet Union also has interests in the region, and a war near its frontiers can have repercussions in its own Muslim regions (1990), more so in these times when it is experiencing its own disintegration.

But in addition, we see that there are regimes of old feudal systems, of old aristocracies, royal families such as in Jordan. We see that all of these oil-producing countries and others see their positions threatened, their interests at risk. Egypt, for example, helps the U.S., and is part of the forces of occupation (1991), so that the U.S. will cancel some of its debt. Syria helps the U.S. because it has its own disputes with Iraq, and because it hopes to recover the Golan Heights with the help of U.S. influence on Israel, and because it hopes to gain influence in Lebanon in alliance with the U.S. Israel sees itself as gaining strength, and thinks that these struggles could resolve its problems. Palestine also plays for a resolution of the situation in its

own favor. Arafat seeks to recover territories and cooperates with the U.S. Lebanon wishes that the resolution of the conflict will somehow help it to end the occupation of its land, and strengthen its government.

And so we see the very complex interests of superpowers, world powers, oppressed nations, rotten regimes that may fall, all coming together, and the interests of the Arab people exploited by imperialism and by their own native regimes. The superpowers, the great powers, and their lackeys raise their voices in self-righteousness, but the Arab people are disregarded, including in Iraq.

Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, the United Arab Emirates, the different participants have their own interests. The U.S. has stationed 200 thousand men (1991), and waits. The US does not want to waste time. It is agreed to strangle Iraq economically. The superpowers and great powers realize that war will be dangerous for them. It may cost billions of dollars, and perhaps 20 or 30 thousand lives. Most seriously, the Arab people might rise up against imperialism in a major struggle. The U.S. wants to make a rapid strike. They want quick and decisive action. They don't want a long war.

France would like to maintain its influence in the Middle East, especially in Lebanon. The French have proposed a comprehensive diplomatic solution for major problems of the Middle East, which involves Iraqi withdrawal from Kuwait, agreement on a redrawing of the border between Iraq and Kuwait, and a solution of the Palestinian problem. In the Lebanese civil war, France supported the Christian faction led by Gen. Michel Aoun, and when Aoun's compound was attacked by the Muslims, the Christians sought refuge in the French embassy.

Japan supports the U.S., and at times attempts direct involvement. The Japanese also have interests other than those of the U.S. Similarly Germany, concentrated on its expansionism, has, like Japan, given millions of dollars in aid in the region, but has not openly disagreed with the U.S.

What way out is there for Saddam Hussein? He could appeal to Islam, and support Palestine, to encourage the nationalist spirit of Arabs. The fundamentalists are few, but are a force capable of taking up arms and fighting. The can carry out terrorist acts in Europe and the U.S. They can sabotage oil wells, including in Saudi Arabia. These things have their limits. A war with the U.S. may happen. The imperialists may want to reduce Saddam's power as much as possible. Or they may try

to institute "democratic change," i.e., a puppet government.

Or they may try to resolve all the problems of the Middle East. Anything less will be only steps toward an ultimate solution.

What might the Arab people do? Struggle for liberation from imperialism, especially that of the U.S. This will be a long struggle. Their are lacking in political direction, but the Arabs are experienced in major struggles. They can develop leadership and direction.

The interests of the superpowers and great powers are at risk. The alliance offers the Soviet Union guarantees and dollars. Germany, France, and Japan seek guarantees of control of oil, and await the opportune moment, and hope for the future, as they act in the shadow of the U.S., which leads the alliance.

What can the Arab countries do? Use conflicts among the superpowers and great powers to improve their own positions, when opportunities arise.

These situations lead one to conclude that wars which occur are not confined to hot-spots, but are wars of superpowers and great powers in collusion and struggle, against oppressed nations, to subjugate them by blood and fire, and perhaps genocide; this is the scheme. This shows that the primary struggle is one of oppressed nations against superpowers and imperialist powers. There may be wars of imperialist plunder, including the primary struggle. And these could pass momentarily to become secondary, if the imperialists begin to fight among themselves. But this can only be transitory, because as the plunder and repartition of the world continues, and the population of oppressed nations grows, and poverty increases, the revolutionary potential of the masses will increase to the point where people will prefer to die fighting, rather than starve. This will be the basis for antimperialist struggles, wars of national liberation, and of resistance to aggression, and revolutions in general. In such circumstances, how will the imperialists respond? With cruel wars to repartition the world and define hegemony. These then are the basic questions which can be seen in the Gulf war.

We uphold the slogan: "Yankees out of the Middle East!" We support the Arab people! We think this is in accordance with the objective situation. Saddam has invaded Kuwait in order to benefit the classes and groups that rule in his country, Iraq. Nonetheless, given the circumstances, especially the aggression of the alliance in which the U.S. leads other imperialist countries and the reactionary Arab

regimes, Saddam presents the possibility that the situation could lead to a war of resistance. In that case he could bring about an important change, and become the leader of a just war, defending his country from imperialist aggression, especially Yankee aggression. These circumstances could develop to the point where the people themselves could develop a viable resistance. In that case only, the people could act openly. We know that today there is Iraqi aggression against Kuwait. But it is not productive to condemn either it or Saddam. This would serve imperialism. We think also that in the Arab world it could reinforce the domination of imperialism. If the people do not take today the role assigned to them -- to be the victims of a great massacre -- if they reject this, they will become a great caldron boiling over. They will rise up, now that this historical process has demonstrated the capacity to fight. Saddam? His position is difficult. If he were removed by the imperialists, he would be replaced by lackeys of the imperialists. In which case these lackeys would become targets for revolution. But meanwhile they would strengthen imperialism. So, "Yankees out of the Middle East!" expresses our position, and explains why we openly support Saddam and Iraq.

Therefore, the Gulf situation has many implications, allowing one to see the primary struggle today in perspective, and its relation with local and regional wars, and even the danger of world war. And so we seethe-characteristics of the anti-imperialist wars, wars of resistance, wars of national liberation, and revolutions in the ope pressed nations. All this magnifies the primary struggle, and leads us to reaffirm that the oppressed nations are the basis of revolution as the primary movement in the world. We insist that this movement must be seen as a historical movement, as a political movement, and understanding it will help communists to recognize more clearly those actions which are necessary to transform society. We reaffirm, in summary, in agreement with the pronouncements of the Chinese Communist Party, that the oppressed nations are the basis of revolution as the primary movement of history.

3. The three tasks of the counter-revolution, and its perspective.

a. Message, program, and stabilization plan. Character of the government (Message by Alberto Fujimori on July 28, 1990).

We raise substantive questions, without forgetting that much of what is said is generalizations and demagogic declarations, as with every program of a reactionary government. But if we want to understand their positions, we will listen to their false declarations, as each new beginning will be, which we are accustomed to, and listen to each new change of the reactionary authorities.

I. Theme and Application.

Notice that he begins by giving thanks to God, and ends with: "May God enlighten the people, and enlighten me." On the one hand, he expresses his ideology and adhesion to Catholicism, an ancient and profoundly reactionary ideology. But on the other, politically it is but demagoguery, playing upon the religiosity of the people, and charging God with responsibility for his errors. Beside which he seeks the support of the Catholic church, with which now he has conflicts.

"A president who is like yourselves." This is deceit and hypocrisy, because he is not representative of the people. He is opposed to the people, and is going to exploit them more.

Theme: honesty as a norm of life, and emblem of the ancient Peruvian civilization. He also invokes liberal former President Fernando Belaunde Terry, and identifies himself with the values of that gray head, in order to wrap himself in nationalism. The first part of his theme is to combat immorality, and begin a "crusade for morality." This is not new; Morales Bermudez promoted a campaign against immorality. The struggle against immorality is an ancient system. This is simply its politicization, in order to traffic in the good faith of the masses, by disturbing their consciences. He proposes a committee against corruption, made up of people selected by him, and answerable only to him.

Respect freedom of information. In essence, it is for the exploiters and their lackeys, intended to create counter-revolutionary, pro-imperialist

public opinion.

Technology. It is imperialism which presents technology as a new revolution. Revisionism supports this idea. They try to replace the class struggle with a supposed technological revolution. Science has developed high technology. These scientific and technological developments are products of the transformative action of the proletariat and the people. But the financial oligarchy, the grand bourgeois, imperialism appropriate them. They are their private property, of the monopolies and instruments of exploitation. In the shadow of this has developed a layer of scum of technocrats, who craftily try, making noises aimed at the working class, and especially at petit bourgeois intellectuals, to substitute a false revolution, with a different path, without the class struggle. However, only with real revolution can science and technology fulfill their potential. Because only with revolution will their full productivity be realized, and their benefits reach the workers and the poor.

Work. He expresses a bourgeois conceptualization. The economists of the 18th Century stated that work is the source of wealth. Marx made this more clear. Work, he explained, generates surplus value, and the accumulation of surplus value generates capitalism, and consequently, relations of capitalist exploitation. Fujimori uses the term "work" to deceive the petit bourgeoisie, who try to protect their work, and he tries to extend the deception to the working class. But he goes further, and upholds a "culture based upon work." This erases the character of class. It seeks to make acceptable the idea that, based upon work, a new society can be created, without exploitation -- something else, generated from imperialism and reaction. He says: "Work is a creative force." Simply to work will create a prosperous society? Who will direct this society? Prosperity will be only for the class that rules. Behind this concept of work are hidden the relations of exploitation. The song of a "new culture of work" turns out to be a strictly bourgeois-reactionary conception, intended to preserve, enrich, and strengthen imperialism. For example, he says: "We invoke international solidarity." To accept this at face value is to believe that imperialism and oppressed nations such as Perú can be in solidarity, when the relationship is one of subjugation. And for many years we have seen that the participation of imperialism in the country has been to act against the People's War. Imperialism acts to exploit us, and to try to annihilate the People's War. He continues: "Through decades...to lift ourselves out of underdevelopment." This is the orientation of imperialism, which, in recent years, has demanded that, because of insufficient amounts of capital, the subjugated state should institute internal austerity, so that capital may be accumulated, by

squeezing it from the people, by squeezing the working class and the people even more than before. This path has its roots in semi-feudalism, bureaucratic capitalism, and imperialism. But for Fujimori, a faithful lackey, there is no imperialism. The problem of unequal and unjust distribution of wealth is simply a matter of imperialism plundering the people, and of Fujimori plundering his own people. His "solutions" are ways of increasing the blood-sucking.

The bourgeois roots of this new culture of work are also exposed when he says that it will create conditions for an orderly market. Through this shallow concept, he seeks to launch a market economy. As the government said in its proposal of May, before the elections, the problem is to create markets of diverse types, to develop markets especially in agriculture (revealing the semi-feudal foundation). Fujimori says that his culture of work will permit better distribution of wealth, and avoid concentrations, and perhaps monopolies. But we have already seen that the ruling class targets only the state monopolies: Enci, Ecasa, Petro-Peru.

He does not discuss the social economics of the market, when he talks about the market economy. Well, we must deal with this very basic theory, in the country and in the world. In the Economic and Financial Dictionary, by Bernard and Colli, the market is defined as the place where goods, services, and capital are bought, sold, or liquidated, a place of confrontation of supply, and demand. The theory which is used to justify the necessity of the market is economic liberalism, a position supported openly by Vargas Llosa, by the bourgeois merchants and imperialism. It is defined thus: the economic doctrine which affirms that the best economic system is that which guarantees the free play of the individual initiatives of economic agents. But not of governments. They should permit individual interests and the interests of society in general to come together through self-regulation and self-determined norms. In the market, then, free individual initiatives come together, each seeking the highest benefit with the least effort. And here the interests of each comes to coincide with the interests of all, through the action of natural laws. It is free play that operates in the market, and the government should not interfere. It is the free coming together of interests, each seeking his own interest, and as the interest of each and the interest of all come together in the market, they develop the interest of all with the interest of each. When disequilibrium occurs, there are natural laws which will operate to restore equilibrium.

Well, the bourgeois-reactionary theory of work is a superficial illusion, a fetishism which sees the surface relations of goods and their

exchange, but does not see their source, how these goods and this wealth are created. The source is not the merchants. It is the work force which generates all that develops in the economy -- that doesn't interest the market economists. We must remember what Marx said: work, the exchange of goods and services, the liquidation of goods and services -- these things do not come together for the good of all. Because it is the relations of exploitation which have their own laws. This is the position of Marxist economics. The bourgeois position, the theory of the market points to buying, selling, and liquidation of goods and services, in order to draw attention away from the relations of exploitation which exist prior to the exchange.

All this shows that, that which today is said about market economy, free trade, freedom of association, human rights, is the liberalism of the 18th Century revived.

What does the Peruvian Constitution say about this problem? Article 115 says: "Private enterprise is free. It is exercised in a social market economy. The State stimulates and regulates its activity to harmonize it with the interests of society." This is the economic system of Peruvian society; it is in the Constitution.

A representative of the mercantile bourgeois, Chirinos Soto comments on this article, and quotes Garcia Pérez as saying that enterprise is not free if it is restricted; and that if private free enterprise is not exercised in a market economy, it is neither private nor free. Here is the great promoter of nationalist, democratic, and popular revolution, demanding a market economy!

The major theorist of the market economy, W. Ropke, says that the essence of the system of market economy is that it can only operate in a competitive system opposed to all collectivist systems, more clearly, opposed to all socialist systems. It is, then, its antithesis. He says also that it is the best system to defend private property, because in the market economy, competence can be demonstrated, and so it offers better conditions to guarantee property, as he says, to defend it from attack.

From all this we can derive that these are forms which permit the development of capitalism, giving it every advantage, leading to monopolies.

Reagan, who in his times beat the drum proclaiming this theory, said that all the anti-monopoly laws should be repealed, because the existence of these laws in the U.S. limits the competitiveness of U.S.

businesses in relation to the Japanese and Germans, who don't have these restrictions.

Therefore, we can conclude that the system of market economy permits the development of capitalism. It also permits the development of the imperialist form of capitalism. Imperialism on the one hand restricts competition; on the other it opens the market at the world level. This is its contradiction. Monopoly fixes prices. When markets first develop, they compete with one another. That is to say, competition exists in pre-monopoly capitalism. Imperialism is not against monopolies; it is only against government monopolies. Chirinos Soto himself says that the modern State intervenes to guarantee the market economy. The government does not leave the market economy to its own devices. It intervenes to protect it. Laws of the State function for this purpose. So the market economists are against government monopolies, but they accept government actions which serve the market economy. In reality, we see that monopolies are often unrestricted in the U.S. as well as in Germany and Japan.

Chirinos Soto claims that the enemies of private enterprise say that it produces for the sake of wealth, not to satisfy needs, and that to say this is nonsense. But his claim is nonsense, because the production generated by capitalism is not to satisfy needs. It seeks to produce what is most demanded. It seeks to produce what will sell better. This permits more production, and the employment of more workers, to produce more surplus value. This is not for love of the consumer; it is a means of obtaining more surplus value. And so, to say that this system permits better prices and higher quality is pure lies.

Chirinos Soto is a liberal, and has been since the 50's, and his ideas are the same ones that are followed by Fujimori, who is also basically a liberal. The problem is that the current conditions in Perú do not allow him to express these ideas openly. Therefore, he instead advocates using the State to stimulate the market, as was stated in the government document of May. But this is just rhetoric. Because we can see that the ideas expressed in this Message, and in the Program presented in May, are not what actually guide Fujimori's actions today. In reality, he follows the thought of Roca and the Cambio 90 group. He has said, for example, that the market is a plebiscite of consumers -- a perfectly bourgeois idea!

Erhardt, author of the "German miracle" of 1948, a Christian democrat patron of Bedoya, says that there are three questions which make up the theory of the market economy:

1. keep inflation in check,

2. stimulate production on all levels, and

3. maintain the laws of the market economy.

But what do we see happening in Perú today? There is no inflation. Instead, there is recession; there is no consumption, because most people can't afford to buy anything; there is deflation.

A representative of the bourgeois bureaucracy, Alberto Ruiz Eldredge, in his book, "The Constitution Explained," says that it was the United Left (IU), which proposed the social market economy, and he defends the principles that guided what happened in Germany in 1948. Today also much is said about imitating the German example of those times, the "German miracle." But we do not see its specific conditions. Germany was defeated in World War II. The military powers of occupation applied a system of organized distribution of consumer goods, which the State itself guaranteed. And the Marshall Plan contributed a tremendous amount of capital, to counter and arrest the action of socialism in Europe. Having left a fascist regime, the "Principles of the New Order" were applied: personal liberty, social justice, and economic efficiency. The German theories of the market economy state that it is necessary to see all the components of social production as a unity, for example, the cultural, ethical, judicial, and economic spheres. From this comes what today is called ethics. It is said that in Europe before the so-called fall of socialism, what socialist society had lacked was ethics. But this is nothing new. It was seen in the old revisionism of the 2nd International, of Kautsky, who stated that Marxism has no ethical philosophy, nothing corresponding to Kant, who said that man in his actions is guided by ethics, and seeks the common good. The judicial component is the idea that through the laws one can change class relations and the situation of the people. This resembles the practices of Hernando de Soto: the law of the rural register, administrative simplification, the proceedings for the recognition of micro and small businesses, the informal hearings, the dispositions for the producers of coca, etc. As for the economic component, obviously what is sought is to impose the imperialist system. The cultural component is not what one usually thinks of as culture; instead it resembles Fujimori's culture of work. Of the four components, ethics is stressed. "Ethics" is used to disguise the relations of exploitation.

The social market economy system of German imperialism includes some basic ideas: Do not impede competition among monopolies, but

regulate the monopolies. The objective? To diminish the conflicts among them, and with the countries they exploit. Create a system of social security, including a series of social benefits, as a complement to economic plans, in order to pacify the struggle of the working class, which at this time is a magnificent economic resource. A policy of price stabilization, to fight inflation, seeking to diminish the possibility of a crisis. A basic idea is the combination of a policy of competition with a policy of compensation. They are all means to pacifying the class struggle.

Therefore, the social market economy is the system of German imperialism, socially oriented to diminish the class struggle, and promote reconciliation among classes. So the United Left, by including Article 115 in the constitution, was encouraging the most forceful capitalist development possible. Forgetting that Perú is not Germany, they sought to develop bureaucratic capitalism.

In Perú, what is discussed today? Though the theory is the social market economy, what they defend and want to apply today is the pure market economy, without the social component, because this is what U.S. imperialism is most interested in establishing, by means of the CEPAL, which speaks of "economic transformation with equality." The term "social" is sometimes used, but without content. And "equality" is equivalent to "justice," and is oriented toward "ethics" and "morality." This is the path that is being followed in Perú; it is the way of Fujimori, grand bourgeois lackey of imperialism, especially Yankee imperialism.

The petit bourgeois intellectuals, who serve imperialism, respond to these ideas, and elucidate and elaborate upon them with many words. They criticize verbally, but they actually help imperialism, and are always proposing ways to lessen the class struggle. An example is the English historian Toynbee, who suggested that the proletariat be raised to the level of "middle income," an amalgamation of classes, the creation of a social safety net, the application of social justice, and economic productivity, in order to exercise the revolution. As we have seen, the new culture of work serves to enrich imperialist exploitation, to propel the market economy, and targets state monopolies. This last is made clear in a paragraph of the Message in which he proposes a projected anti-monopoly law.

Linked to this new culture of work is also the so-called "full participation." It comes from fascist government practice, in essence, using the organizations of the masses, controlling them through the worker aristocracy -- the union bosses, as guilds which serve to sustain

the old State. He has proposed a law of popular participation, for the channelization of public opinion, which is nothing but the "guild socialism," which Lenin denounced. It is a false socialism; it is revisionism. It calls for the formation of a social machine to apply the system -- the same we saw with Velasco, with Garcia, and now with Fujimori.

In accordance with this new culture of work is administrative simplification, which is not new; it comes from Garcia Pérez. In his time, tariff laws were adjusted, supposedly to stimulate the exportation of the products of medium and small landholders, but instead, the exports of large businesses were stimulated. Since part of Fujimori's plan (1990) is for Perú to reinsert itself into the international financial community, the new culture of work cannot but help fetter the country to the world imperialist system. This is to seek the development of Peru under the subjugation of imperialism, especially Yankee, and of its instruments the IMF, the World Bank, and GATT. He wants to resolve old problems, and resolve the debt, primarily to encourage foreign investment.

In summary, all this shows that, as a consequence of this new culture of work -- and the work may be very exhausting, we will be able to develop exports, and we may be more prosperous, but if so, it will be under the wing of imperialism, through the international financial community, which demands that the debt be resolved, and gives the best possible conditions for foreign investment. This is the basis of his propagandistic theme. Everything that it contains, through demagogic words, promotes subjugation to imperialism, to reinvigorate bureaucratic capitalism under imperialism.

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May directives for Metropolitan Lima

INTRODUCTION

The Third Campaign of the Plan to Impulse the Development of Base Areas ("impulse") is taking place at a high level, and with a great impact. It is providing solid bases toward its completion, and laying down a solid basis for a great future plan for the People's War. In Lima the major sabotage against the Institute of Liberty and Democracy (ILD) was very good, of great political content and took place at a very opportune moment, just hours before the signing of the U.S.-Peru treaty against the People's War. This treaty, which is disguised as a "war on drugs," targets and uses the People's War so they implement their so- called "reinsertion." This action clearly expressed how the PCP condemns the aggression perpetrated by imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism. It also shows our complete opposition to revisionist positions of those elected or armed like the MRTA, who at no time condemned it, much less denounced, the treaty as an imperialist aggression against the People's War. This is evident in their official communiques published by the Daily "Cambio" and the interviews of their leaders in official reactionary magazines such as "Caretas."

The attack against ILD has a great impact in the country and abroad, because it promotes anti-imperialist feelings in the Peruvian people and the need to defend our nation that is being developed now. It even has an impact in part, on the big Peruvian bourgeoisie, which has strong contradictions with the mercenary of Yankee imperialism, Fujimori. After highlighting the above actions, we extend our greetings to the Party in Lima, for a good start of the Third Campaign of the Plan to Impulse the Development of Base Areas.

AGENDA

I. REPORT ON THE TASKS ASSIGNED BY THE NATIONAL LEADERSHIP AND THE APPLICATION OF THE THIRD CAMPAIGN.

II. ABOUT THE FIVE PROBLEMS:

1. The XI Anniversary: Documents of the Second Plenum and other documents.

2. Initiate the celebration of the V Anniversary of the Day of Heroism, yearly Campaign throughout the country; objectives agreed upon (in the Second Plenum of the Central Committee); possibilities of a central publication and statements of other organisms; poster; denouncing the demagogue and genocidal Garcia Perez; mass actions in diverse small sectors; what is reaction up to in the Shining Trenches of Combat. And above all, what is reaction doing during the months prior to the first year in Government of the most shameless lackey of Yankee imperialism (Fujimori)? (THIS IS THE MAIN POINT.)

I. REPORT ON THE TASKS ASSIGNED BY THE NATIONAL LEADERSHIP AND APPLICATION OF THE THIRD CAMPAIGN

ON JUSTICE BY THE MASSES.

Promote and ensure that the masses arm themselves, get organized and administer justice by themselves, as they are the Base Force of the revolution. The Party must lead and teach them how to do it. In addition, since they are fighting tirelessly, the masses create many forms of organization and struggle. We must lead and elevate their potential to struggle for the revolution to higher levels.

ON “CIVIC ACTIONS” IN THE CITIES BY THE REACTIONARY ARMED FORCES.

Oppose the army’s “distribution” or “civic actions.” The masses must get organized to handle the food and medical attention that they are rightfully entitled to get. Therefore, they should manage and distribute it themselves. The rule to apply this policy is simple: the first served should be the poorest of the poor, then the poor in general, the little ones, the middle ones, and least of all, the rich. Thus, the people understand that they must appropriate these

products, since the handouts given to them are not gifts by the government, nor by imperialism, but are some by-products of the Revolution, and part of the rights benefitting them. The masses rightfully demand for more and better services, and must refuse to do any counterrevolutionary work in return, such as cleaning the walls from PCP writings, or snitching in exchange for these handouts. The walls are the pages whereon the people express their ideas, since they have nowhere else to write on, neither radio, nor TV, nor newspapers. This is because the entire media is in the hands of their exploiters.

When have they allowed the poor to express themselves? The only ones they allow to speak in the media are the opportunists, the revisionists, the pastiches, the lackeys, the workers' aristocracy, and the bogus leaders of the masses. Educate the masses about the political objective of these actions by the State: they are part of its low intensity warfare, aimed against the People's War, and at containing the explosiveness of the masses. Teach the people that these crumbs, which they have wrested away with their ceaseless struggle, are not going to solve their problems, and that only the Revolution can truly address the rights of the people, and the Revolution is made with the People's War.

Educate them on the State's economic objectives, and teach them that the essence of these hand outs is to minimally compensate the monstrous cut in wages, and how and why this is done by the reactionaries in times of crisis. This has been already taught to us by Marx (reproduce his quotations or those of the party documents.) Denounce and unmask how imperialism and reaction use that compensation of salary to buy consciences and try to tie the people to their ideological, political and economic plans. The oppressors and the exploiters want to use the masses to support fly-by-night ideologies and reactionary idealism. To this end, they traffic with the people's religious fervor. This is done in order to sell them the ideology of an old backward, hypocritical and false Catholic religion, which historically has always been against progress, and science.

Didn't the Church organize and support armies, crusades, thousands of intrigues leading to mass slaughters, conquests and oppression of people? The Inquisition was used here in these lands and its tortures were savage. Did Pope Pius XII ever condemn Hitler's Fascism and his genocides in World War II? With regard to Protestantism and its proliferating sects, aren't they developing plans of penetration of imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism? The Catholic Church not only does the same but also uses these compensatory crumbs to help revisionists and opportunists continue manipulating and galloping

over the shoulders of the masses.

Politically, they want to convince the masses of the need to preserve the Old State, which gives them “freedom” and “democracy,” when in reality the masses experience repression and death on a daily basis, add their hunger and misery. The “freedom” they talk about is freedom for the powerful now ruling, and not for the downtrodden. The “democracy” they preach is simply the dictatorship of the rich ruling classes of the Old State: the big bourgeoisie and the landlords, and both of these classes are accountable to Yankee imperialism. This is the “democracy” that the cynical and mercenary Fujimori steps daily on, undermining the State’s supposedly demo-bourgeois order, and expressing fascist ideas and positions.

Again, reaction is launching the old treacherous slogan of “sacrifice today for a better tomorrow,” and as usual, “in defense of freedom and democracy,” covering up new capitalist accumulation based on the largest feasible surplus value. The result is the increase of exploitation and oppression in which they are sinking us. Furthermore, for example during the Drug Agreement, what poor coca growing peasants express their ideas? Oh, of course! Some of them might have been called in to “express their views” but no one would pay attention to them. This is because here only those in power listen to each other, all decisions are made among reactionaries. But above all, they obey anything that their imperialist masters order them to do.

When did they have any interest in solving the problems of the people? Never, and today even less. Other examples of their “freedom and democracy” are the decrees against the working class or the marketing of lands, which is just despoiling the peasants off what little land they had.

Another example occurs when the masses get out on the streets to demand their rights. Aren’t they then repressed, arrested, disappeared and murdered? This happens at the minor sign of political opposition, which is more brutal against those who profess Marxism. Aren’t they trying to annihilate us? The genocide of the Shining Trench of Combat on June 19, 1986 must be remembered. The genocides committed by Fujimori too. Show facts and concrete examples of struggles to teach the masses. Allow them to express their opinions, their legitimate grievances and demands freely.

Economically, with the so-called “aid” and “survival organizations” (Glass of Milk, Kitchen Soups, etc.) they are trying to compensate for

the brutal reduction in wages, so that the workers and laborers who live in situations of hunger and extreme poverty, are forced to work for meager wages that are not even enough to recover their labor power. And for what? To apply the so called “neoliberal revolution,” which is an obsolete economic concept imposed by imperialism to promote its “market economy” and “sustainable growth, “A Yankee imperialist thesis applied through CEPAL (and the IMF), which are only plans for more dependency and exploitation.

For this reason, they want to lower inflation by applying deflation, generating recession and reducing the fiscal deficit. All of this is done by squeezing the working class like a lemon, cutting wages, generating more and more unemployment, increasing the cost of living, reducing the people’s purchasing capacity, and imposing crippling taxes on those below. In summary, all the recipes of the IMF, the International Development Bank and the World Bank have the goal of demanding the “accumulation of wealth,” which is nothing more than the imposition of more draconian measures against the people, to accumulate new capital through increased surplus value, and consequently provide better guarantees to foreign investments.

They dream that in 1992 they may get some, since the loans serve to pay the foreign debt. That is what the international finance system calls “reinsertion.” Hence, their stabilization plan enslaves the people and the class even more. That’s why the people must not let themselves be tied down. Their only way out is to struggle to wrest away more conquests. They must advance toward the conquest of Power by means of the People’s War, demolish this Old State, and then build the People’s Republic of Peru, under the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru.

Summarizing, the economic plan of the reactionaries has the following characteristics:

1. It is part of the low intensity war,

2. It tries to compensate the cut of wages with philanthropy (short term handouts); and

3. It uses “bourgeois philanthropy” trying to tie the masses into their neoliberal plans, the market economy, the ideology, politics and economics of imperialism (mainly Yankee imperialism.) The above plans are implemented by the pro-imperialist mercenary Fujimori, sustained by the genocidal armed forces and police, and supported by the Church, principally the Catholic Church, and all the defenders of

the Old State, revisionism and opportunism of the so-called United Left (IU), the Socialist Left (IS) or their offspring, and the collaboration of armed revisionism such as MRTA.

We must unmask the reactionary programs and plans, understand well their essence and purpose, destroy them, and organize the masses to carry on the struggle and wrest away conquests (from the oppressors). We must also empower their struggles with armed actions so that the reactionaries are unmasked, undermined, and their plans are blown up through the air. The Party leads, the masses do the rest. We must blow up the sinister plans of Peruvian reaction, imperialism and revisionism, who are tying the masses down to vile exploitation, and are trying to annihilate the People's War.

ON THE STRIKE AT THE CENTRAL HIGHWAY INDUSTRIES (CARRETERA CENTRAL, LIMA APRIL 29-30, 1991)

First question, what are the facts? What happened? The report states that a female official ordered a worker to clean the sanitary latrines. The worker was a technician from another section who was not under her supervision. This comrade refused to carry out her orders. The petty official insisted on humiliating him in front of his co-workers, threatened to fire him on the spot, and apply the new anti worker decree. This provoked a cardiac arrest from which he died. The petty official did not even allow his fellow workers to get close to the body laying on the floor. It was an unforeseen situation.

How does a Communist act in such circumstances? One thing is to be a Communist and another one is to be an activist. He, (another comrade being criticized) was a Communist, and his duty was superior. Therefore, his duty was to place himself at the head of the protest of his fellow workers, and to coordinate the planning of the struggle with the activists. If the workers decided to stop work, they were right in proposing a two-day work stoppage throughout the Central Highway. They could not let that murder of a worker by a Company official remain quiet. What was the mistake of the comrade leading the strike?

He did not communicate forthwith on this incident to his Party cell, and therefore did not empower additional means to strengthen the struggle. We can't criticize him for not counterpoising the Party to Front, because as a communist, he leads the struggle and promotes the response of the masses. Besides, the strike was successful and

mobilized the masses. Another mistake he made was not to call the workers to strike in the name of the Central Highway Struggle Committee. But what gets complicated is that they (inadvertently) agitated for “free trade unions.” What does that mean? Let’s analyze well so as not to err. The so called “free trade unions” follow the false concept that political parties must not lead workers’ unions, which is contrary, opposed to Marxism. Was that his idea? On the other hand, the regime just promulgated “Supreme Decree 016,” by which 20 workers associated are enough to form a union; so that in a factory with 100 workers, five unions could be organized.

Were they against that disposition? It would be good to scratch the bottom of those criteria exposed and analyzed in the midst of the two-line struggle, in a Rectification Campaign aiming to educate the new militants. A lesson we must take out of this is: Never counterpoise Party to masses. The Party is the highest social organization of the working class and defends the interests of its class, the proletariat, and other classes that constitute the people. The Party is the Highest Command of the revolution, the Party is an indispensable tool to lead the revolution, Lenin said: “Give me a Communist Party, and I will transform Russia.” Therefore, he conceived the Party as a lever (palanca). President Mao taught us: “Trust the Party and trust the masses.” We reaffirm those truths.

One thing is the obligation of militants, another is that of activists, and yet another is that of the masses. As an example, the comrade erred in not notifying the Party, and applying the Party line to the slogans used in the strike. This is corrected internally and by persuasion, by education, by analyzing what those ideas entail, by looking up the experiences of the Party, the teachings of Marxism, and by distinguishing us from the criteria spread by reaction and revisionism on the subject. We must never counterpoise the Party to the masses or the Party to the Front, because they are two distinct parts of a contradiction. The Party leads the revolution and the masses make history.

A geographically limited strike is not bad, and that event was very good for agitation. The event was correct. But if he had communicated his leaders on time, the party would have made the strike more powerful with marches, and would have made that reactionary woman accountable for her action. Furthermore, the struggle would have given impetus, the class interest defended, and the Party’s position on the anti proletarian and anti popular government’s decree, spread. This is part of linking the struggle for economic demands to the struggle for Power.

Finally, we always must salute the combativity of the masses, how they struggle despite the difficult conditions in which they are subjected to. Our position is different from the PUM's (Partido Unificado Mariateguista), which is opposed to stoppages and strikes ostensibly for the sake of organizing its "wave of strikes" (the wave of strikes is a set of continuous and simultaneous work stoppages and strikes in various sectors of the workers, peasants, laborers, of the people; these intensify specially during an insurrection and are prepared events; to us now it means the march toward the revolutionary crisis and preparing the insurrection.) But, what does PUM do to that end? Today, we see the public employees fighting more than industrial workers because they are being hit harder by the crisis and government measures. But industrial workers are fighting as usual. We must apply our principles (see pages 323-324 of the document of the Preparatory Session of the Second Plenum of the Central Committee.) To carry out strikes is still the main form of an economic struggle, as Lenin taught, and prepare for greater struggles to come. Marx said that the struggle for better wages is guerrilla warfare and President Mao taught us that we must fight the workers' sellers, capitulators before reaction and traitors to the workers' movement. We must push forward strikes, prepare them well, with reason, advantage and limit. Educate the class and the masses that the strike has a limit, yet by the use of this indispensable instrument conquests are won. The strike is right and must be defended, strike days should be paid, not to allow lifting it as a condition to enter into direct negotiations.

Negotiations are reached by pressuring with persistence, and sharpening the struggle. Not like some say now, "stop struggling and let's talk." Today everything is dialogue to reaction and revisionism; we must fight against it. In every struggle the time comes to dialogue, but at the negotiating table you can only win what you have already won at the battlefield; that is a fundamental military and political criteria.

The strike, then, must be handled firmly and astutely, not only by teaching the class how it's a good and necessary tool, but also by teaching its limitations. With the strike, you do not conquer Power, nor break the vicious circle in which this old capitalist system (today in its imperialist phase) subjects the class. The proletariat and the working people have to struggle using all necessary means, especially the main form of economic struggle: the strike. If not, they will not wrest away living wages from their exploiters, nor improve working conditions, neither gain the respect for the 8-hour workday. Always keep in mind that what has been conquered can be lost as a result of

capitalism's cyclical economic crises. Therefore, what corresponds is to break that vicious circle, to destroy the capitalist system, which in Peru is at its bureaucratic stage, under the control of imperialism and subjected to semifeudalism. Hence, the need to link the vindicating economic struggle with the struggle for Power can only be achieved by conquering Power, exercising and defending it. Only then we will be able to change the old system, and create and develop a new one: socialism, with the dictatorship of the proletariat and communism as the final goal. This will be achieved going through the first stage: the democratic revolution, the joint class dictatorship, the People's Republic of Peru with the People's War, will be achieved. There is no other way to accomplish this objective.

In the country, we have seen how the nurses struggle for more than fifty days. This is a stern strike, which doesn't slow down and it continues the fight without any major support. They are brutally repressed, arrested, and threatened that the strike will be declared illegal unless they return to work within 72 hours. However, the deadline expired and the threats were not carried out. Why have not they, being crushed? They were not crushed because the masses trust the strength of their struggle. They march, they mobilize, they take the streets and main squares of the city giving no room to the maneuvers of reaction. They use the tribunes of public opinion to denounce, they agitate in the neighborhoods, they organize pot lucks, and they get on the passenger buses to spread propaganda.

That's how they refrained the reactionaries' repressive action. And what has the General Central of Workers (CGTP) done? or the State's Employees Union (CITE)? They did nothing to support the masses, and most of the strikers are nurses and medical technologists. Internally, there are factions in every struggle, that's how it is in every Front. But the most steadfast sector is imposing itself, and it is made up of women who are giving an example of combat. What are the prospects of this struggle?

1. It's good because it hits the stabilization plan and protests take place on the streets.

2. If the strike persists, it will wrest away something. The main thing is not to be broken organically, to persist on mobilizing, marching, keeping on the strike, and they will gain some economic, social and political benefits (the support of the Party to this struggle is very helpful: It fortifies, stimulates and supports them, while armed actions press and weakens the exploiters further.)

3. But, the little they manage to wrest away will not be enough to cover their needs. The family basket (monthly income needed to survive) will continue to be very expensive compared to their wages. The reduction in their purchase capacity will again confront increases in the cost of living due to inflation.

4. How will that impact others? Industrial workers, laborers, and the people will be in better condition to develop their political conscience, and to understand that they are the ones transforming society, and that only by organizing themselves will they will be able to conquer Power with the People's War, and break the vicious circle. In addition, they show how within bureaucratic capitalism, they will never be able to achieve what is called a "just" wage. This is because the essence of capitalism is exploitation, and accumulation of capital through the purchase of labor power. Thus, they can show how the strike educates the masses. To this end, read and reproduce "Wage, Price and Profit," by Marx; "Long Live the Strike!" by Lenin; and "The Workers' Seller . . . " by the Chinese comrades; and propagate them among the strikers at a solidarity price.

Later on, since Peruvian society is in a critical situation, with so much unemployment in the cities, and above all, in Lima where 70% of the proletariat is without a job. We must apply other forms of struggles as well, taking advantage for instance, of the workers' quitting times to create revolutionary awareness (agitation), and spread concrete facts like the killing of that worker at the Textile Union. We must promote debates, for example, on the need to struggle and get organized with the unemployed since nobody struggles for them, and in Lima, organize with the underemployed. These people reach 95% of the Economic Active Population according to the National Institute of Statistics -INEI- (unemployed 10%, underemployed 85%, fully employed 5%.) We must form groups of workers to air their grievances, paint graffiti, and sign denunciations in a study group.

Start with live, current, red-hot facts to promote the need for work stoppages, and propose them as a discussion theme: What difficulties can be expected and what other creative forms of struggle can be used? Disseminate the thesis of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought on the proletariat, share the Party experiences. Is a strike convenient or not? Let the masses participate. Organize marches at the workplace during quitting times, and wait for the right time to post banners and posters, then do graffiti, expressing grievances and propaganda. Agitate and organize according to a plan, and promote marches. At first, organize a small and short march around the plant, then a larger one with the participation of other plants or factories.

Thus, it can be expanded up to a march of an entire industrial zone, supported by the neighborhoods, which are always close by the industries, such as the Central Highway. Call the TV and newspapers and the workers themselves will expose their situation. The implementation of this plan requires the incorporation of more activists, fighters or comrades at the plants; put into practice the role of being a "soldier-spy," worker by day militia by night. Wherever the fulfilment of these acts at the plant generates repression or risk, they should be exempted from such tasks at their plants. Organize a Struggle Committee amidst this struggle. Fight the false leaders ideologically, unmask their revisionism, and their role as "firefighters" and aim at overthrowing them and penetrate more and more of these workers into organizations, or neighborhoods plagued with workers' aristocracy, to fight industrial or trade union bureaucracy.

Let's think of the following relationship: GRAFFITI AND BANNERS – EXPRESSION OF GRIEVANCES – RALLY – STOPPAGE – STRIKE – PEOPLE'S WAR. (INSURRECTION). WHAT FOR? TO PREPARE FOR THE GREATEST ACTIONS TO COME!

Let art fulfill its role as an instrument of class, let the masses take over the stage, let actors and actresses represent them, that the masses see themselves represented there. Let daily life be enacted, "the artist and his time" is not merely a phrase, sowing is done that way too. It's part of propaganda. Let graffiti drawings and writings be generalized in the workplace, neighborhoods, schools, universities, centers of street vendors, or workers in general. Let graffiti be in big bold letters on the walls, because only there can the people really see and express their democracy. The walls are the sheets of books where the people write their prose, their poems, their poems, their literary works to air their demands, their struggles and the songs of the Revolution. This is the only way to conquer Power: the glorious People's War.

And let's not care if the masses make spelling mistakes. They will learn later on. Let them write on the walls how they participate in the war. Let them criticize what is wrong. Let them fight imperialism, Peruvian reaction and revisionism. For instance, what does the General Worker's Federation (CGTP) do for the proletariat? They no longer even like to use the word "proletariat," They have betrayed the class completely. Instead, they repeat the way fascist dictator Velasco used the term "laborers" or simply "workers" (trabajadores). A wage-earning worker can never equal an employer even if both do work; one exploits, the other is exploited; one is a bourgeois or landowner, the other is a proletarian or part of the people. Let there be talk of classes and of class struggles, of dictatorship of the proletariat, of joint

dictatorship. Let them express how the CGTP has betrayed the principles of the class, and how it is an instrument to harm their interests, which does not represent the class and must be destroyed and replaced by a truly class conscious body, and one that struggle under the ideology of the class: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. Disown those false leaders and bosses, who capitulate before imperialism, reaction and revisionism. We must struggle against revisionist CGTP and for a class-conscious worker's central led by the proletariat.

Let the youth, in graffiti, compare the phrases of the opportunist and revisionists with those of the imperialists and reactionaries. For instance, the known phrase by bourgeois philosopher Maritaine, "youth is barbarism," with those of Enrique Bernales "the response of university students against President Fujimori is barbaric"; (on Fujimori's visit to San Marcos University when he was thoroughly repudiated by students and faculty), and counterpose them with those of President Mao: "The youth is the sun that dawns."

Women too must write graffiti: Under the law, women workers have the right to have cradles for their children at the factories they work. What employer abides by that law? Does the State force any enterprise to obey that law? No. The mothers stretch the wages in order to feed their children, and many times themselves remain with an empty stomach for lack of food. Reject work for free. Actually, family work is being used to promote mini enterprises in which all must labor: Children, parents or other relatives work 12 or 14 hours a day, selling their products at a miserable price, and what social and health benefits do they receive? None. Let them denounce and condemn those types of exploitative family work.

The expression of grievances must be encouraged at all manufacturing centers, neighborhoods, community centers, mothers' clubs, street vendor markets, merchants, artisans, etc. The people have the right to expose their situations of exploitation so all can hear it. Let the masses speak up with deep class conscientiousness, instead of those sell outs and treacherous false leaders. At the market, a bench or wooden box is sufficient to agitate. The elderly must also speak on how the situation becomes worse with each successive government, and how long this deterioration will continue? The elderly have heard before from the exploiters the same empty chatter: "Sacrifice today so things will be better tomorrow." Thus, with the graffiti, the masses express true people's democracy in writing, and verbally with the expression of grievances.

Marches and rallies are good and make the reactionaries tremble. When workers march, they give tone to the struggle. It is a good example the way construction workers march with sticks, rocks, burning tires and agitating the people with revolutionary slogans. The same thing is done by miners, textile workers, teachers, women, youth, state employees and ambulatory workers. The people must march against the exorbitant price hikes on kerosene, water, light, gas, etc. and against the grievous taxes imposed on them. The merchants, must protest the fines, coercive penalty payments, etc. In some marches, they merely agitate with slogans; in others rocks are thrown at exploitative or repressive institutions. In other marches, groups are formed to block passages of troops with anything they can find, such as tree trunks, rocks, tires, garbage, traffic shacks, paving stones and anything else that the masses can find to support their initiative.

This type of march can be applied at the workplace exit, at quitting times, and that way wages are not affected: In times of crisis the masses see themselves economically overwhelmed and fear losing what little they earn; yet they still want to struggle and indeed are struggling. Marching during non working hours is efficient. Why aren't marches done again from the Old House of San Marcos, from University Square, now surrounded by a steel bar fence? Let us provide Lima again with its tradition of the struggle, why should those places be like museums? Let us march in the industrial neighborhoods, in the young towns, at Lima's main spots, in Miraflores, San Isidro, at Manco Capac Square, blocking highways, avenues, such as the "big ditch" in Lima (El Sanj'on), etc. Apply at the marches BLOCKADES, SACKING, RALLIES.

The mobilization is a more developed form of marching, in quality and quantity, and so it must be well prepared. PCP detachments and militia must teach the masses how to repel aggression. It is completely false that in Peru there is unity between the Army and the people. The opposite is true: the people reject, hate and repudiate the genocidal armed forces. We must rescue those arrested by the police. Aiming against armored trucks (it's a political stupidity to call them "Little Pinochets," these are vehicles used to break up demonstrations, it's repressive and not a little puppet with a growing nose nor a harmless Pinochet, that's what TV announcers spread in order to defuse the wrath of the masses). Attack the vehicles transporting people who were arrested, block them with other cars or trucks, overturn them. We should be already dynamiting the armored military trucks. Will the Army then intervene? That's a given. It has already been decided, and soon we'll have them on the streets of Lima anyway. They should not be feared either, but loudly denounced as they really are:

genocidal, murderers, rapists, butchers, shameless traitors to their patrons Grau, Bolognesi, Qui¤ones, brave when confronting unarmed masses, but scary like rabbits when facing the guerrillas. What morale do they have when fighting the People's War? None. Their desertions grow. Their officers force the soldiers to be their servants and to eat dogs. What can they do against a march of one thousand people just from one neighborhood? They just use brutal repression. Their regulations say that to break up a demonstration, they should first shoot to the air, However, it is a norm that they shoot to kill from the onset, not even to the feet. Could they kill 10, 100? It's difficult but possible. The masses would react still more explosively, since blood does not drown the revolution but irrigates it, and internationally, a good-by (adios) to "respect for human rights!" The Peruvian situation is going to get worse and the masses will have to apply even more developed forms of struggle. They do not fear to pay the price paid for a true change of system. These are not longer the 1930s, nor the 1960s, but they are the 1990s, and there is a Communist Party leading the people in a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought People's War. The Party is assuming its role of leading them, preparing them for days to come, to conquer Power. We are going from a revolutionary situation in development, to a revolutionary crisis, which is coming anyway. That is today's tendency. The slogan of today is "Fight and Resist for the People's War!" and it is a very good one.

The strike, whether localized or general, is another form that must be applied. The armed strike is a military form of struggle, which allows the masses to participate widely in the People's War, it propagandizes, agitates, mobilizes. In this strike the masses express themselves in their protest, their repudiation of the Old State, the government, the genocidal armed forces and police. It allows the blocking of vital parts of the city, preparing the future insurrection. It manages the four forms of guerrilla action: agitation and propaganda, sabotage, selective annihilation, and guerrilla combat; and all the appropriate procedures. Local, zonal or regional strikes can be organized. With respect to the common work stoppage, it's a form of an economic struggle that is generating conditions for a superior form of economic struggle: the strike.

Strikes are, we reiterate, the main form of economic struggle. In essence, they are "guerrilla warfare" fighting for wage increases. Marx said that strikes vindicate demands of part of the class (e.g., a plant or productive sector) as such is an economic struggle. But those strikes developed by the general interests of the class (e.g., general wage hikes, in defense of unions, against the economic policy, etc.) are

political struggles. Furthermore, we must not forget that nowadays every class struggle is political, and part of the struggle for power. So when revisionists and opportunists attack the strike movement calling it as merely a vindicating struggle, they (as usual) attack the class and defend the bourgeoisie. Therefore, in these times the struggle for better wages is eminently political because Fujimori's government plan is to impose the lowest possible wages ("salaries" are also "wages" that's the terminology we must use, on the hand it denounces the exploitation, and on the other the proletariat link its struggle with other nonindustrial workers). Yes, struggling for better wages is economic, but the crux of the government's economic plan is to achieve stabilization for the "reinsertion." And to do so increases the surplus value and cut wages. That's why we must smash it because it goes against the class and the people. Their phrase "Sacrifice today to have it better tomorrow" is mendacity.

Thus, the key of this struggle, the strike, or localized or general work stoppages, is the surplus value, the wages. Its political essence is to overthrow this old order because it generates hunger and exploitation. The greatest political vindication of all is the conquest of Power. This guerrilla war prepares for grand moments. It is bonded with the final struggle for the conquest of Power and the main form of a political struggle, the People's War.

In the midst of all these struggles, various kinds of apparatuses are built and organized, and obviously the clandestine Party manages them all, and ideology unites them all. An existing Struggle Committee can be consolidated, or new ones formed in various areas to support the Revolutionary Movement in Defense of the People (MRDP), which makes possible a new and greater leap in the incorporation of the masses to the People's War. Finally, do not fear reaction's bloody response.

That is part of implementing the Party's mass line in the cities, in and for the people's War following the following directive: base, neighborhoods and young towns. The proletariat is the leader and its militarization is being developed.

ON THE SIXTH FORM OF POWER AND THE SEEDS OF POWER IN THE CITY. =

About three years ago, at Lima's MRDP meeting, we discussed the names of organic forms, which will manage the new forms of struggle that will link the workers' struggle with the struggle in the young

towns and other neighborhoods (barrial): People's Committee, People's Struggle Committee or simply Struggle Committee. We saw how the People's Committee was not convenient because it could be confused with the People's Committee we organize only in the countryside due to the character of the democratic Revolution. Later on, we discussed how to go on finding forms of Power in the city, because, if we are going to conquer Power in the whole country, we must organize the cities to control them from the underground, and manage everything until the time comes for the final insurrection. We concluded that a Struggle Committee was convenient. However, this is to undermine the Old State in the cities and have the masses follow an organized direction. It is a germinal base that allows the management of Power. The issue is to create means of united action under the leadership of the Party or joint actions united organically with the exercise of authority. We can conceive it as another form of struggle in the people's Power, along with the other five forms, as an additional form of war only in the city. Then the Struggle Committee would be a 6th form of Power and the first germinal form in the city.

The Struggle Committee would have 3 mile stones. The 88th meeting of the MRDP is to apply the Second Session of the Congress: Struggle Committee to coordinate workers and masses in the neighborhoods and young towns, assuming functions; Preparatory Session of the Second Plenum of the Central Committee October-November 1990: Struggle Committee to provide unity, organization and authority; and today, in 1991, the Struggle Committee as we said before the sixth form and first germinal form in the city. Why so today? Because of the development of material reality, These are the facts. The growth of our mass work in and for the People's War has generated it that way.

The main thing is to apply the principles and not to lose direction. Ideas come from practice. We would not have achieved that much by only storming our brains in 1988, nor would we have accomplished it how we have today. At the time it was correct to discuss it, and that is how we delineated the general road. Now the moment has come and reality shows us how to build it. It is the sixth and first form of power in the city, a model to organize germinal forms of the New Power in the cities. We insist that it is not the form of Power we created in the countryside, but a different form. Let's keep in mind its direction and purpose:

First Struggle Committee: TO COORDINATE WORKERS AND NEIGHBORHOOD MASSES (YOUNG TOWNS).

Second Struggle Committee: UNITY – ORGANIZATION – AUTHORITY

Third Struggle Committee: SIXTH FORM AND FIRST GERMINAL FORM IN THE CITY. IT IS NOT THE NEW POWER AS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. TO PREVENT AND OPPOSE IT BE CONSIDERED IN THE SAME WAY AS IN THE COUNTRYSIDE. TO CONSIDER IT AS GERMINAL FORM, A NEW AND SIXTH FORM ARISING IN THE CITY LINKED TO PREPARING THE INSURRECTION AND IN FUNCTION TO THE CONQUEST OF POWER COUNTRYWIDE. AN ACCOMPLISHMENT OF CONSTRUCTING THE CONQUEST OF POWER, IN THE CITY, IT IS NOT A COMPLEMENT OF THE ACTION THE OLD STATE TRIES TO DO. QUITE THE CONTRARY, IT AIMS AT NEGATING IT, UNDERMINING IT AND, IN RESPECTIVE, DESTROYING IT TO FORM THE NEW POWER.

With regard to the situation of takeovers of . . . the issue is how to develop it and how to defend it. The key is to spread and ingrain the ideology of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought in children, youth and adults. Forge the Party, the People's Guerrilla Army, Generated Organisms and Struggle Committees; to promote collective work; to write graffiti, people's democracy. To have a people's defense plan because the masses are going to be hit, infiltrated or undermined with reaction's "civic action" plan and repression. To use the legality, not reddening, clear slogans and support them with concrete actions.

ON INFILTRATION AND ENTRISM

Always keep a high vigilance but even higher today, because we are in more developed, therefore more complex, political moment. We are at strategic equilibrium and both sides in the war. They (the enemy) and us, are preparing for a definitive situation.

Always, investigate fully any signs of infiltration or entrism, specifically from MRTA and reaction. We must develop a political-ideological unmasking campaign against MRTA's revisionism, based on what the document of the Plenary Session of the II Plenum of the Central Committee says, and what was set forth at the Political Bureau July 1990's meeting. Publish flyers, do group discussions, promote debates, emphasize the latter since they always run away from it, they can't stand a political-ideological attack. What has they answered to the publication of the document "Elections No, People's War Yes!" Nothing. They babble based on bourgeoises' papers headlines and editorials, repeating the old tale of reaction:"Division exists in Sendero . . . " And do they ever prove anything? No, they remain as parasitical as ever, fulfilling their role of "dividing tasks" to annihilate us, as active and armed complements of Peruvian reaction and of social-

imperialism. It is besides ironical that they are not only wrong on us, but are very likely split, it suffices to read that pamphlet “Cambio” they are allowing to distribute freely. Even Lima’s TV Channel 5 is at their disposal, and it wouldn’t be surprising if ever Lima’s TV 4 soon is placed at their disposal too.

ON ACTIONS IN LIMA. With respect to actions of the ongoing Third Campaign in Lima, as well as in the entire country, these increase in quantity and quality. The political objectives of these actions are higher and on the rise, including the fighting capacity of the people’s militias and detachments. A problem we notice is conservatism of the d.e.’s. The percentage of growth is low compared to the People’s Guerrilla Army. And why is that? Because of the erroneous criterion of “lack of sophisticated weapons.” They must apply the agreement of the Central Committee about “Building Three Bases and Three Guides” and worry about capturing more developed weapons. In addition, the new d.e.’s now being formed will wrest them away and that will be part of their own forging.

We ask ourselves, are something like that happening with the main forces throughout the People’s Guerrilla Army? Is conservatism showing up there to?

We emphasize about the need to increase the actions by the d.e.’s, coordinated acts, and synchronization of forces. A good example is how on the day of the April blackout in Lima (which was politically very timely) there were 200 actions against imperialism, among then actions against the embassies of the countries, which will be in the economic “Support Group”.

The 80 armed sabotages to the banks, precisely on the eve of the promulgation of the Law of Banks. It was expressed in the complexity of the actions, handling of double plans, fulfilling acts pending in the process of People’s War in Lima such as “Arms for the Revolution! , Money for the people!” It supports mass struggles, with armed actions we provide success and political perspective to their vindicating actions, which is strategic because it advances preparations for the insurrection.

There are limitations in the annihilation of live enemy forces, police and Armed forces, high bureaucracy and financial oligarchy. We insist: we do not hit the plain street cops, but those specialized in counterinsurgency actions -those with blood in their hands. We apply the norm of selective annihilation: First to the Armed Forces (Army, Navy, Air Force); to Police Forces specialized in counterinsurgency

actions; to genocidal(s), the torturers, to all who have a debt of blood; then to the (paramilitary) rondas, reaction now aims at organizing rondas also in the cities. Apply differentiation:

First target against the most recalcitrant; flyers must be spread explaining why the specific action is being carried out by leaving signs, paint walls. Differentiate between the “black heads” (leaders of rondas who willingly and willfully commit crimes against the people), and the masses who are pressured or coerced by the armed forces into the paramilitary rondas (who must be respected and educated to defend themselves.) Apply double politics, penetrate them, undermine them until they rebel. For the pressured masses, make them understand they are being used against their own interest, how reaction traffics with their unemployment, their hunger, their needs so as to use them as cannon fodder for lack of soldiers and police.

Hit the high bureaucracy and financial oligarchy; the bureaucrats and representatives of the Old State, their institutions and explain clearly why it is done. In the city of Acari, for example, we executed the Mayor because he was a despot and corrupt hated by the masses, and acted after we received 40 written petitions from them explaining the reasons for revolutionary justice. The letters described what the masses wanted, and he only got three bullets because we do not apply cruelty or humiliations. People’s justice is swift but fair. We do not seek to create suffering. But in Lima, El Comercio, Expreso, La Republica, what did these sewers publish on this action? That an elected representative of the people, beloved by all, had been dynamited, etc.

Specially let selective annihilation actions help two objectives: To disintegrate the enemy forces and to develop the United Front. Explaining in a clear and simple manner the causes help the Front, and not explaining undermines it. To help develop the Front, the targets must be selected very well, and in Lima the targets must be very high. We are near the celebration of the Fifth Anniversary of the Day of Heroism, select the genocidal(s) well, and wherever they are we must apply their well-deserved punishment. What to do if they know we prepare something? They cannot know where, whom, or when. We must prepare more and better actions.

ON THE JUNE 27 ARMED STRIKE IN LIMA.

Another issue we must address is the forthcoming armed strike. We are in agreement with it. Prepare it well. There are good conditions

for its success, but take into account the following:

1. Propaganda on “the strike was a victory of the people or the reaction” is part of the process of the strike.

2. Apply what we have set forth on work with the masses (PCP mass line).

3. Link the strike to the celebration of the fifth Anniversary of the Day of Heroism. Take into account and be prepared because reaction and the Government will move everything to defeat the strike, in collusion and collision obviously. The success of the armed strike will depend on how well it is conceived, prepared and implemented! The achievement of a new victory with the armed strike is necessary, and it is up to us to develop and lead it; the rest, the masses will do!

May, June and July will bring hard battles. The Government needs successes to present them on July, LET’S DEFEAT THEM! On these months reaction gambles with the whole “stabilization” and must show some “victories” by July 28: LET’S DEFEAT THEM! In conclusion, the Third Campaign to Impulse the Development of Support Bases is ample and overwhelming. From the onset, it sets forth solid bases for the new plan.

II. ON FIVE PROBLEMS.

1. On the XI Anniversary of the People’s War: The document of the Second Plenum and others; apply the new form we have initiated.

2. On the Fifth Anniversary of the Day of Heroism. Yearly campaign in the entire country. Objectives (See the document Preparatory Session of II Plenum of the Central Committee, p. 260): A fighting instrument allowing us to unmask this whole farce form its roots, wholly, amply and completely, all this putrescent pieces of junk they present as a supposed `democracy.’ By exposing this rotten system, we also depict how the New Democracy is and what is the Democracy the New Power is building for the masses, how that is the only Democracy truly serving the people. It helps us to propagate and defend the interests of the class and of the people, fulfilled as people’s rights, as counterpart to the so-called `human rights,’ which is a bourgeois position. Also, it helps us to analyze the genocide, the monstrosity and barbarity it represents, and all the judicial charade that was involved. We must completely unmask those false congressional hearing and resolutions about the genocide at Lurigancho and El Fronton. Finally, it helps us to unmask completely that genocidal demagogue Garcia Perez, the

infamous officials who consented to the genocide, those who supported it and defend it, the false `dissenters' and the political trafficking they do around the genocide, too late, after they called it a `provocation,' then a killing, and later genocide, looking for water they can take to their reactionary mills.

Expose also, as a sample of what the reactionary justice and system are, the parliamentary maneuvers about the genocide, as it is aired nowadays. We must cause all that to come out public always paying attention the problem of the contradictions in the reactionary camp, those arising in political organizations like United Left and others; to clarify responsibilities and unmask.

This campaign will serve the masses and the people to understand that the Party led that heroic action, that the Party is the legitimate defender of the rights of the people. The Party must serve to support and strengthen the daily struggle of the comrades, fighters and friends in the Shining Combat Trenches, who never bent nor will ever bend their knees. Let the glorious Day of Heroism be celebrated as it corresponds. All that will help the conquest of Power in the country and will serve communists and revolutionaries worldwide.

ON GENOCIDE (pages 362 and 363, Document of the Second Plenum.)

In the concrete program (of the Party), see about how to handle the rights and duties, and how to use legal situations to unmask reaction, to defend the rights of the people, to create favorable public opinion in the country and abroad. It would be also convenient to see how reaction has manipulated the matter of the genocide. Concretely, study the genocide and see there how the accusation against Garcia Perez has evolved.

GENOCIDE. Flores Polo in his juridical dictionary defines it as a crime with no name. Reputedly, it was Lemkin, a Polish criminal law attorney (penologist), the first to use the term in its present meaning: a mass slaughter with the deliberate purpose of totally or partially destroying a human group. Technically, it is some kind of continuous crime. The Convention on Genocide, approved by the U.N.'s Third General Assembly has been in force since January 12, 1951. According to the international criminal law, it is a common offense.

The above definition is very brief, but gives us an idea. Study this problem, consult texts, books on genocide, such as texts on the process at Nuremberg, when the Nazis were charged with that crime and

sentenced to death. Also how this problem has been dealt in Perú, how it has been treated as part of the accusation against Alan Garcia, it serves our purposes, it is one more element of judgement to expose how the possibility of a trial on this grievous crime is denied in Perú. Get the documents of the Parliamentary Commission. There are several testimonies by the general commanders themselves. The crime of genocide was not stipulated in the Penal Code, but the accusation against Garcia Perez was for homicide. See also the trial in the Second Judicial Zone of the police about Lurigancho, as well as about El Fronton and any others there may be.

The matter of the genocide must be studied well, pointing facts and data to formulate a denunciation. If the crime of genocide is not legislated nor litigated in Perú, do it in Costa Rica, there the problem would be if the countries making up the Inter American Court adhere to the U.N. Declaration or if, being the U.N. who approved the Genocide Convention, it automatically applies. In that case think of Geneva. See also about the need of a small group studying this problem so as to file the denunciation and follow its course thereafter. For instance, get a lawyer from abroad to handle the matter, then use it for propaganda increasing volume and sound effects, think about newspapers in the United States and Europe, taking care not to vitiate what is being proposed. All that would help to form public opinion. It is a fighting weapon we must use well. It must be part of the celebration of the V Anniversary of the Day of Heroism. Keep in mind the document, “Glory to the Day of Heroism!” it may be used now to write a pamphlet and raise awareness on the campaign of the First Anniversary.

See also the notes of the December 1990 meeting of the Political Bureau:

“GENOCIDE. FIFTH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DAY OF HEROISM. SLOGANS: GLORY TO THE HEROES OF THE PEOPLE; FOR THE RIGHTS OF THE PEOPLE; THE PEOPLE WILL PUNISH THE GUILTY ONES. GENOCIDE IN THE TRENCHES, including the legal process, its current situation, analysis and conclusions. Annual Campaign for the Fifth Anniversary.”

Counterpoise their so-called “human rights” (DDHH) with the people’s rights (DDPP). Take as an example the Day of Heroism, it is a key historical fact to disembowel their “human rights” and at the same time that false bourgeois democracy, all its putrefaction. Fight for a New State, only the revolution can guarantee the rights of the people freely and permanently, the rights wrested away with their blood, and

the bourgeoisie puts them on the Constitution, or Magna Carta as they call it. But since those from above continue to rule, these rights are not respected and remain mere words written on paper, they are something like burned paper, useless to the people, good only to the exploiters. For them, yes, there are constitutional protections.

To expand the analysis on the genocide, the Communist Party of Peru will develop a document, in addition to the pronouncements of several organizations: lawyers, of relatives of prisoners, of political prisoners, of the generated organizations, of struggle committees, trade unions, industrial unions, neighborhoods and young towns, students, etc. The Party's People's Assistance Committee (Socorro Popular) must analyze everything reaction publishes in that regard, for instance Sunday articles of El Comercio of Lima, from April 21, 1991. Prepare a poster and postcard, mass events, well protected open celebrations, public celebrations, art, music, dance, theater, painting, sculpture, embroidery, poetry, multiple ideas the masses create and express the people's character of the art. The comrades should strive to advance popular art, like those famous works in stone, fish bones and extraordinary tapestries left by the heroes of El Fronton, Lurigancho and El Callao. Reproduce their music, the cassette of 1984 in El Callao, the last one from El Fronton with huaynos sung using new lyrics, the last one from Lurigancho (the one denouncing a Lima radio station, "The People Talks . . . ").

Form a Commission presided by xxx and supported by yyy, to write a well-prepared document based on facts and in law. Attend the Costa Rican Commission of Human Rights and its Tribunal, to have access to the tribunal one must go through any State or the Inter American Human Rights Committee (or Human Rights Commission), so we should appeal to this Commission first. We should study all possible materials on this: Report of the Ames Commission, Piquera's Report on the paramilitary, etc. In a Report by the majority of a Congressional Commission, senator Biaggi said that if there was an offense, it was not by Garcia Perez but by the Attorney General (fiscal) Elejalde, that opinion is very important because it is coming even from an APRA member. The positions aired in the accusation against Garcia Perez, presented before the house of representatives on July 29, 1990 (all of them) must be objectively analyzed, so we can base our accusation on their own words, that way they will have no basis to accuse us of being subjective or showing prejudice, leave no room to any of their objections. It is fundamental that our accusations are accurate and undisputed. We have plenty of evidence. The issue is to use it from our class position.

It is very good that they provide us with documents of the constitutional accusation:

The first document, intervention by R. Letts in the House of Representatives, says:

“Therefore, we call this event as the genocide in the prisons on June 18-19 of 1986.” The document proposes the case must be tried by the judiciary as a “violation of the constitutional order and the Penal Code and that the essence of the evidence is in the Order issued by former President Garcia, which violated articles first and second of the Constitution, the right to life.” It continues:“There was direct relationship between the Order issued by the President of the Republic and the leading role he played to carry it out, his leadership, presiding the Council, the initiatives he took and the large number of lives lost as a result of such Order . . . Our findings reveal there was a direct relationship between the Order and the results it followed, besides, during the handling of the execution of the Order, there were important, notorious and precise violations of the constitutional order and the Penal Code.” He adds, “the Sendero Luminoso prisoners, of the Communist Party of Perú, Sendero Luminoso, mutinied in the three Lima prisons: Lurigancho, El Fronton and the Women’s prison at El Callao. As a result of the armed intervention ordered by the President to the Joint Command of the Armed Forces, 124 prisoners were killed in the Lurigancho Industrial Pavilion, 119 in El Fronton Blue Pavilion, and two in Santa Barbara, a total of 244 prisoners were killed or murdered, as the case may be in the course of approximately 12 hours.”

Another paragraph says: “The Order given by the President to the Joint Military Command was summarized in four expressions: to act decisively, to act energetically, to act within the least possible time, and try to save the lives of the hostages . . . without mentioning a word on the lives of 350 mutinied persons. We believe that this Executive Order contained the essence of the matter . . . “

Another interesting situation is the reference to the unconstitutional dispositions and decrees they made when they put down the mutiny, and all was finalized to cover up their crime:”… It was necessary that on June 19, when the genocide was consummated by evening time, the official minutes of the Council of Ministers -Cabinet Members examined by the Ames Commission shows they approved and issued a totally unconstitutional Supreme Decree called 006-85-JUSTICE in order to create additional restricted military zones in the three prisons, and leave them under the control and jurisdiction of the Joint

Command of the Armed Forces during the time the state of emergency lasted, which was decreed on June 2, 16 days before the genocide." "… It is our viewpoint that the decree was issued not to put down the mutiny, which had already finished, and had concluded in a pile of human bodies, but to hide the evidence -tracks, fingerprints and other indicators about the operation that had been carried out, and the crimes committed. Therefore, in that sense the first and foremost responsibility also lies with the then President of the Republic, who presided the Council of Ministers and took the initiative to carry out the genocide, who had the leadership, and who of course signed the decree."

"And that decree approved by the Council of Ministers on June 19, was published in the official paper after the facts, since the Order to publish it on El Peruano was delivered on June 24 at 11:45 a.m. That is, there is no doubt that said supreme decree had no legal validity at any time on June 19, and it was agreed upon after all was consummated. Therefore, the Armed Forces entrance to the prisons was absolutely unconstitutional, absolutely illegal . . . " It goes on with a part which corroborates once more what the Party denounced right away on June 19 and a few days later about the genocide: the presence of Mantilla to withdraw the civil authorities from the prisons, and the insistence at all times from Garcia Perez to put down the mutiny and safeguard his prestige before the Socialist International at the time meeting in Lima.

"… However, on June 18 and 19, the President of the Republic was constantly pushing, urging with that personal political Force we know he has for the military to enter. He made sure that the then Vice Minister of Interior Agustin Mantilla was present at El Fronton at 14:50 of the 18th to make sure the withdrawal of the prison authorities, and the civilian judges, who were there as part of their routine functions, because he had decided they should act along with the Armed forces. That was all, absolutely illegal, and the President headed it all."

Later on it disagrees with the majority opinion, which stated that the President was ill informed by the military commands. It denounced also that five of the six official communiques emitted were falsified and signed only by Garcia Perez and not known by the Council of Ministers. If we compare all this with the Party's denunciation in that small but significant resolution, there we accused Garcia Perez of the execrable genocide, his Council of Ministers, his armed Forces and police forces, the political parties, who knew everything, and the sacrosanct Catholic Church, Garcia Perez being the main genocidal.

But in following lines, the document falls in the ambiguities inherent to those who sustain the Old State, to consider: “we believe that here we may have a case of a preter-intentional offense.” Unbelievable! What is that? Is it a genocide perpetrated by Garcia Perez and company, or is it a preter- intentional offense? It is genocide committed with premeditation, sadism and advantage, prepared as shown by the denunciations made by the political prisoners (and which show in the Acts of the Judicial Power) and by newspapers like El Nuevo Diario, which then had nothing to do with us. Also, the pattern shown by the genocides committed by Garcia Perez and his armed forces in Accomarca, Pucayacu, Umaru, Bellavista, Ayacucho and the October 4 genocide at Lurigancho, including his personal opinions stated at “social” meetings such as the following:”What would happen if we finished off all imprisoned Senderistas?”

Another interesting question, it says, “that voting in the Commission, caused that a majority headed by Romualdo Biaggi, however, to adopt the impetus of the text and accuracy of the facts contained in the opinion of the minority, presided by Rolando Ames….That this APRA majority, in this Commission, also found enough basis for the constitutional indictment (accusation), only it did not believe the culprit was Dr. Garcia Perez, but Dr. Cesar Elejalde.” It means that even the APRA hacks thought there was room for the judicial process against Garcia, since Senator Biaggi is an Aprista, and that they would like to indict (accuse) Elejalde, the Nation’s Attorney General, All that is very good.

Second document: Constitutional Accusation for the Genocide in the prisons on June 18 and 19, 1986. It says, “we request that former President Garcia be accused of punishable violation of rights consecrated by the Constitution and for punishable acts that violates the International Agreements on Human Rights signed by Peru, concerning genocide and by the National Penal Code as preter-intentional genocide, committed with cruelty and ferocity . . . ” “Abuse of Authority, an offense against the Administration of Justice and of Violence and Resistance to authority . . . ” “This Constitutional Accusation seeks to open up the way for a later criminal action against the former President of the Republic . . . “; “… it is a political decision . . . it is not then a jurisdictional decision. Therefore, it does not have the elements nor consequences of a Res Judicata. “ Notice two things here: it’s an accusation for genocide as recognized by International Agreements signed by the Republic of Perú.

And, two, it’s not Res Judicata, of course it is not because Parliament did not try it. It formulates the accusation and defines whether or not

there is merit for the Judicial Power to try the matter. Pay attention to the signatures, those are persons not just from so-called United Left, and that helps to substantiate our accusation, signing it too, are Rojas Tafur, Letts Colmenares, Baca Luna and Quintanilla, E. Calmell del Solar, Aurelio Loret de Mola, Rafael Rey, M. Roggero, the four last ones from the Movement Libertad. Chapter II, point two, states that the President informed the Council of Ministers, Joint Command of the Armed Forces, and Peace Commission on issues that artificially magnified the facts ending up with "which will not be tolerated" and that for the Commission that is the evidence that "this line of action provides evidence of the intent to artificially magnified the facts." In point three, "It is evident that . . . the President executes actions during the events guided by certain invariable criteria, which are, to assume personally and strictly control of the situation and the reestablishing of order, not considering –and even knowingly exceeding– the breach in the legal and constitutional order, and the fracture of individual rights and guarantees, to achieve resolution of the problem using instruments legally and professionally inadequate such as the Armed Forces, and of means absolute out of proportion to the objectives; to guarantee a later cover of immunity for the acts of the Armed Forces and National Police . . . "; "… the message of June 21 … greets the action of the Armed Forces and declares that a precedent has been set on how a democratic government invested of authority must act." Very good!

This allows to defeat that "preter-intentional" escape route. They say, "… Therefore, the agreement of attempting to dissuade through the Peace Commission is not convincing, and the latter is only charged with going to El Fronton, but decides to go on its own to the other two prisons." It's good because it counterpoises what Garcia says about first having tried persuasion by sending the Peace commission to the prisons. Point five says that Garcia knowingly and deliverately trespassed the lawful juridical order, part of this is the presence of Mantilla at El Fronton.

Here, what interests us is to see the note attached to the document, in which the opinion of general Ismael Araujo, chief of the Second Military Region is: "There were many consultations on the precipitation with which Garcia urged general Monzon, President of the Joint Command of the Armed Forces, whom he phoned often," "how about it? ," "When are you going to act? ," "At what time are you starting it? ," "But what are you waiting for to start the thing?"

The note also says that general Monzon, questioned if militarily the mutinies were such a danger that warranted speed over dissuasion,

which could have reduced the number of dead, he answered, “to us it was an order from the Supreme Chief of the Armed Forces -the President and we had to obey it.” In point 10 they state that the issuance of Supreme Decree 066-85-JUSTICE had the purpose of covering up evidence of what happened. Point 13 says Garcia condemned the so-called excesses at Lurigancho, but not the slaughter of El Fronton. It’s good because nobody says anything about El Fronton, and there the Navy of Peru acted. In Chapter III they clearly describe how the Armed Forces “obeyed order . . . with swiftness and violence,” but they exonerate themselves by saying they obeyed an order from their Supreme chief.

Why wasn’t the order questioned? Aren’t they the ones charged with ensuring the compliance with the Constitution? Point three refers to the idea Garcia defended during the process as “having helped to show the country how the authority of the government had been imposed” and “congratulated the Joint Command for such speedy compliance.” Point four calls it the “engine of the operative,” it says the action culminated with “the demolition of El Fronton and the destruction of the Industrial Pavilion at Lurigancho.” Point five is very good, it deals with the matter of intentional infraction, and its differences with unintentional, with negligence and it’s based on article 100 of the Penal Code.

Point six refers to the denial made by the General Commander of the Navy, vice-admiral Victor Nicolini del Castillo, the General Commander of the Air Force, lieutenant general FAP Luis Abram Cavallerino and the General Commander of the Army General Guillermo Monzon Arrunategui, on the assertion that the government had just learned about the facts on June 21 from the report by the Joint Command of the Armed Forces: “… he was informed of everything since he gave the terms of the order -a bloody and atrocious operation.” “… he ordered `to reestablish order in the prisons with the maximum energy allowed by Law, preserving if possible the lives of the hostages and rescuing the principle of authority‘ (Act of the Council of Ministers June 18, 1986).” It says that General Monzon specified, “this military action is a combat action inserted in the `counterinsurgency strategy,’ subtracted from the humanitarian right in war and, contrary to the Geneva Convention, it is legitimate violent reprisal with genocidal intent, extrajudicial executions and the disallowance of the human rights by the subversives and presumed subversives.”

Point seven mentions the articles violated, and indicates that conclusion 22 of the opinion of the majority of the Commission is a

mask of the crime committed disallowing the sacred bounds of the human person, of the Public Ministry and the Judiciary. Point eight identifies the names of those responsible for the genocide ordered by Garcia, for instance Abel Salinas, Luis Gonzalez Posada, Jorge Flores Torres (Minister of War), Julio Daniel Pacheco (Minister of the Navy), Jose Guerra Lorenzetti (Minister of Aeronautics). Here too, it is defined as “execrable genocide.” Chapter IV established two forms of reasoning, here we can expose that charge of “preter-intentional” offense, destroy it.

Chapter V sets legal responsibilities and that “the conduct of Garcia can be specified as of an author of a crime against human life and health“; “guilty of the crime of Violence and Resistance to Authority (article 321 of the Penal Code . . . aggravated by the second paragraph which increases the punishment because he was a public official.” But we saw before how Peru has subscribed an International Pact which mentions genocide and we must apply besides of the violations of articles 332, 337, etc., of the Peruvian Constitution. For example the Motion at the end speaks only about a massacre.

The 3rd Document: On the Special Commission Finding a Constitutional Accusation, formed on September 25, 1990 by Pedro Alvaro Calderón, P. Ceteriano, E. Calmell del Solar, from the Movement Libertad.Here it states that Garcia attended to make his defense: the wording is, “already the Ames Commission addressed it and was rejected by parliament.” He acknowledged a crime was committed but not his but of the Republican Guard. Garcia claimed that violence was not applied, but the first thing tried was persuasion when the Peace Commission and the Nation’s Attorney General before the Armed Forces acted. But this is contradicted by Cabieses himself, who presided over the Peace Commission, who said they went to two of the three prisons on their own, and the Attorney General said, “it looks like there was a battle here“; besides, Garcia had already been instigating the genocide.

The military themselves denounced that he insisted and insisted, called repeatedly to find out if it had been put down, but Garcia recognizes that he gave the order. He invokes that Lima was under a State of Emergency. About the sudden burial of the prisoners of war by the Armed Forces, before dawn, in several cemeteries in the Department of Lima, he replied that it was necessary for the public order and security, for public health reasons.

However, Luis Alberto Sanchez himself told foreign reporters the bodies would be handed over to their families and would be given “a

Christian burial." Garcia also adduces that the prisons were "restricted areas," but there is no such legal term. It is very interesting to see how in his speech he blames everybody trying to save himself. It is useful to learn about the character of this individual, and how he is capable of anything as long as he saves his skin.

Salinas too made his own plead of "innocence," he must be unmasked. Zimmerman says that it was a planned and premeditated crime. Mantilla claims he knows nothing. Cabieses says Mantilla made an "exhortation" at El Fronton, and that they were not allowed in Lurigancho. Furthermore, they went to this prison and to the women's prison and they went on their own. Clearly we see how the "Peace Commission" was used by Garcia, but the "useful fools" allowed themselves to be used. Therefore, they consented to the genocide. Did any of them condemn the premeditated plan? Did they demand that Garcia revoke that order? Or Did they move heaven and earth trying to save the lives of the prisoners? They cannot be acquitted, but they must be differentiated in degree of responsibility from Garcia Perez, the Council of Ministers, and the Armed Forces.

Document three details what Garcia used to say at Presidential breakfasts and lunches, "and what would happen if we get rid of all the Senderistas in prison? Nothing," we would say "they were a demonic organization." If that's what he thought, then what "persuasion" is he talking about? A crude farce to cover himself up, we must show the intent he had. For instance, he used to say that "the prisons were free territories" and that "no one knew what Sendero Luminoso was doing there."

The armed force commanders state that it was not in their competence to act, but that of the police. The document also says, and it is very useful, that the motive the mutineers had was to enforce compliance with the Consent Agreement they reached with the prison authorities in June, but this date is wrong: The actual Consent Agreement was by both parties (the Government and the prisoners) on 16 July 1985. The Chief Directors of the Republican Guard, Martinez Lira says that he and his troops presented themselves at Lurigancho following a request by General Monzon, "with whom he had communicated through a phone call he received from the President himself."

He says that "his presence had the purpose of substituting the lack of a written order demanded by Colonel Narciso Azabache. But in no way, it was his attribution to give orders because General Rabanal was present there. Therefore, due to his situation he was there merely as an administrative and not an operative officer." "He couldn't

understand the acts of Colonel Cabezas who worked as Commander of the Organic Counterinsurgency Regiment, a Permanent Reserve Unit of the Supreme Command serving the requirements in emergency zones." Martinez Lira says that when he learned about the execution of 124 prisoners in Lurigancho, he reported about it to general Monzon, and the latter congratulated him in his name and in the name of the President of the Republic.

Then, he said that Salinas (Minister of Interior) called him to remind him, "leave for us a few prisoners alive." His opinion is also important, "the bloodshed could well have been avoided if other means had been tried, such as cutting off drinking water supply, electricity, etc., which was not done." He denounces that on June 13, 1985, there was a surprise emergency meeting at the Government Palace to "brainwash them" and they were told "about subversion, how bad the problem was looking, the need to finish off terrorism and that President Garcia didn't want any more prisoners in the jails," that vice-minister Mantilla, the Joint Command of the Armed Forces, the Supreme Directors of the Investigative Police (PIP), and of the Civil Guard, the chiefs of the National Intelligence Service (SIN)and Army Intelligence Service (SIE), among others, were there; that it was Garcia who spoke and also a PIP Commander spoke.

We must transcribe and analyze the military texts about subversion, doctrine, guerrilla warfare, urban warfare. There is where they describe what steps, and what weapons they can use to fight disturbances, and then compare each of these elements with what happened during the genocide. Also, read the Magazine "Oiga" of that date (June 13, 1986.) Garcia attended the Commission a second time, and said he had not said what Zimmerman claimed he had said.

We can quote Zimmerman and ask him who else was at that breakfast; the Minister of Justice (Gonzales Posada) may had been one of them. There's also the matter of "res judicata" (tried matter), and they destroyed it. Well, for us, use it and go deeper. Garcia knows, as the lawyer he is that there is no room for "res judicata." He is a demagogue. He steps over the rights of others, and violates blatantly the Constitution. We insist that in penal law, the qualifications of the individual (character, etc.) are very important. It is very important to define the main crime: Genocide, no need to get ourselves entangled in various offenses since that hides the main one. Prior to the events, Garcia said there was a more acute environment of violence, as the papers reported. See Expreso, for example. He said that the Senderista leadership was concentrated in El Fronton, and that it was liberated territory.

He twisted the facts in the Council of Ministers itself. It is important to show how in the opinion of those present, Garcia wanted to brainwash them. Later on, show that what we did was a complete success, a victory product of a plan for a specific demand, the compliance of 10 points we were demanding. We demanded that the condition of special prisoners we wrested away, as a step in the struggle to be recognized as political prisoners and then as prisoners of war, be complied with.

This document records it and was an act ratified by the APRA Government on October 31, 1985, signed by Apristas in the Government such as Aquezolo, Aurea Saenz; and on October 4, 1985, there had already been an Aprista annihilation of 30 Lurigancho political prisoners. This proves that the genocide was planned and premeditated and we so denounced it. We even filed actions of protection, and judge Paz de la Barra had just signed it on the day the events took place.

It says that prisoners were unhappy because that Act was not comply with by the prison authorities. On the other hand, see our actions from the transfers of prisoners from their points of origin to Lima; their concentration in El Fronton, in British Pavilion, the January 15 struggle (death of Comrade Mauricia), the July 13, 1985 joint struggle to wrest away the Consent Agreement (el Acta), which was finalized, their willful noncompliance, up to the denouncement of the genocide, the series of judicial petitions we filed in Court, such as the action for protection three months before the facts, signed by Judge Paz de la Barra on the same day of the events. The attitude of judicial authorities and of the Public Ministry until the genocide was consummated. Let it be clear that our denunciations were not being heard because there was prejudice. Since the times of Belaunde, we were given the label of “terrorists.” The words of Vice-admiral G. Cafferata speak for itself: “they are `subhuman’,” (insert the source and date.) In addition, we must transcribe the petitions and motions filed before the judges on behalf of the prisoners.

OTHER MATTERS

In order to acquit themselves from the genocide, the military blames everything on Garcia, and has no choice to release issues that are useful to us. Nicolini says the purpose was to do us propaganda, Flores Torres says it was for publicity, but then there is no connection between these answers and the facts. Abram Cavallerino says he didn’t know that there was a civil war in the country, etc., as Garcia said:”The national order is disturbed.” We must go to a law dictionary,

such as the one of Cabanillas', to define whether it is public order or national order. The fact is that the prisoners did not compromise the national security, and therefore, there was no justification to hand the matter over to the armed forces (for their annihilation). Analyze articles 21 and 22 of Law Decree (DL) 217; article four section "J" of DL 117; article 23 of DL 330. Who can determine that the armed forces enter a prison?

That should have been handled as an `internal order' problem. Show how in Peru the State of Emergency is the routine, and not an exception, use what we studied at the Second Plenum, the international documents, the meeting with Siracusa. Unmask and denounce Garcia's petition to lift his own immunity, which was just another one of his poses, of his show offs, of his demagoguery. Let's denounce those who did not attend the vote (in Congress) because they acted as accomplices trying to cover up the genocidal demagogue, and of the execrable and vile genocide itself, committed against communists, fighters and revolutionary masses led by and identified with the Communist Party of Perú.

There are rumors that these cowards were bribed: investigate and prove. Gerardo Lopez, of Cambio 90, did not attend. State the facts and document the evidence. Besides, let's show the collusion between APRA with this government (Fujimori.) In general, base the denunciations with solid and incriminating evidence based on law and facts. 1. clear facts 2. publish documents and 3. political situation of yesterday and today: both seek to annihilate the People's War. The process of the denunciation we filed (which they did not accept here,) go through the motions in Costa Rica, take into account the parliamentary accusation, it must be shown clearly that here there is no chance to litigate in Perú, and appeal to the Commission of Human Rights in Costa Rica is necessary. Spread the information in the United States and in Europe, the political situations there provide some margin to do this, but not security. We should not be certain they will admit it either, but even if they reject the denunciation, we must use it to denounce the genocide before the people in our country and abroad.

HOW TO CARRY OUT THE CAMPAIGN IN PERU?

Our focus is the People's War, and aim for a great celebration of the Day of Heroism! (The campaign here will last an entire year). Mention rights of the people: denounce the rotten nature of the old order, its old "democracy," its Old State and its "human rights." Support the struggles for economic demands by the masses in function of

conquering Power; link it with the great process of People's War and explosiveness of the masses. Denounce how the Fujimori regime spread hunger on the proletariat and workers in general, it takes the lands of the peasants away, and all who protest are persecuted, repressed, jailed, murdered. Denounce the genocide perpetrated in the Shining Trenches of Combat on June 1986, as part of the genocide against the entire people committed by Belaunde, Garcia and now Fujimori.

That is because the People's War is a continuation of the political struggles of the masses by other means. Mobilize the masses as much as possible for the campaign, linking it to their daily struggles: use clear and concise slogans. Plan the beginning of the campaign, special political situation in May, June and July. Unmask and fight their "human rights." Raise the subject of the rights of the people; let there be ideological and political struggles;

Let our denunciation and acts be stunning ideologically and politically developed and useful to unite the people, aimed at building the United Front of the Revolution. Develop the campaign at all levels: Party, People's Army, New Power, masses. Appeal to international organizations: Jurists; Amnesty International, Red Cross, etc., provide them documentation. To develop and implement the plan, all organisms working in that front must develop and submit documents.

WHAT IS REACTION UP TO?

Be alert, in May, June, July their situation will be difficult, and they need to hit us and hit the people. They need to show "successes" in their first year in government. They will seek to contain the explosiveness of the masses and as usual boasting on their "final blow" on the People's War. They will enhance their "intelligence," but they need to hit us since in reality they have no "new strategy." We must prevent and frustrate the blow they seek, so they cannot hit the people with impunity, and denounce them.

Denounce also the genocide this government (Fujimori) is perpetrating, the most pro-imperialist yet, mercenary of Yankee imperialism, acting in collusion with revisionism and opportunism to contain the people's struggle, and annihilate the People's War, which today enters the strategic equilibrium. It is a genocide managed and led by Yankee imperialism, availed by the Fujimori regime, the armed forces and police, revisionism and all of reaction, so as to apply their plan, fetter the struggle of the masses, and annihilate the People's War.

Actions must be well prepared, bold, and develop fully "Combat and Resist," be ready to pay whatever quota (cost of war) is necessary, and toil so losses will be the minimum possible, developing adequately the plans. Another matter, it's almost three years since the death of Comrade Cesar and five years of Comrade Vasquez. Both of them were lawyers who tirelessly defended prisoners, and who give up their lives for a just cause. Let us remember them, and denounce the vile and sadist manner of the crime against the first one, and the disappearance of the other by police forces (DIRCOTE).

They are two heroes of the people. Denounce the rape of women; the students who were blown up; the mass slaughters of peasants; the armed forces' policy of: "steal everything, burn everything and kill everybody." This regime, even less than the former ones, can claim to be defending or upholding "human rights." The Fujimori regime is more discredited than the two prior ones, and has lost credibility in less time. It is our task to show the masses how they violate blatantly the rights and demo-bourgeois freedoms, and express openly fascist positions. Especially now, that mercenary of imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism, the cunning and sneaky murderer Fujimori.

May, 1991

PCP-CENTRAL COMMITTEE

1991 - On the rectification campaign based on the study of the document "Elections, No! People's War, Yes!"

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On the Rectification Campaign Based on the Study of the Document Elections, No! People's War, Yes!

Following is a speech given by PCP Chairman Gonzalo at an August 1991 meeting held in Peru in conjunction with the PCP's rectification campaign. - AWTW

I. How to Study. Pay Attention to Analysis and Synthesis.

Pay attention to analysis and to synthesis. They make up the two aspects of a contradiction, and of the two, synthesis is the principal aspect. Analysis allows us to separate things into their component elements in order to understand them better, but this is only one aspect, and the process of knowledge can never be reduced to analysis alone; it requires the other aspect, synthesis. Synthesis is what allows us to grasp the essence of knowledge. Without synthesis there can be no leap. Synthesis is principal; it is the aspect of a contradiction that leads to its resolution and allows us to grasp the objective law it embodies.

This is an ideological question, part and parcel of the application of dialectical materialism, the Marxist theory of knowledge. In contrast, bourgeois idealist ideology isolates analysis from synthesis. According to the proletariat's ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, these are two aspects of a single entity and synthesis is principal because it gives rise to a higher level of knowledge, a qualitative change, a leap.

There are two classic examples of this. One is the example of a clock. In order to understand how it works you have to dismantle it. That allows you to understand its components and their functions. But if you cannot put it together again all you have is a pile of parts. Even if these parts were classified into groups you still would not have a clock.

The other example is the development of natural science since the fifteenth century, which demonstrates in historical terms where the lack of synthesis leads. The tremendous development of sciences such as mathematics, astronomy, physics, etc, brought about an increased understanding of various aspects of nature, but this process also brought about the fracturing of science analytically, its division into different fields, and led to metaphysical theories. Even the eighteenth century, with its great scientific, materialist advances, produced metaphysical knowledge. Nevertheless, this process of fracturing and dividing knowledge into different fields laid the basis for a leap. It laid the foundation first for Hegel's idealist dialectics and later Marx's materialist dialectics. All this breaking apart of things meant there had to be a synthesis, a great condensation, and it prepared fertile ground for the development of dialectical materialism by Marx and Engels, principally Marx. The achievement of this historic milestone, the

proletariat's world outlook, Marxist philosophy, dialectical materialism, was the result of a powerful process of synthesis. The same is true of the achievement represented by the recognition of contradiction as the essence of the proletariat's outlook, a leap of inexhaustible historical importance.

Both examples show the need for synthesis, for a leap. So pay special attention to analysis and synthesis, principally synthesis.

A problem has manifested itself in the course of the various contributions to the discussion. Taking things apart leads to a lot of talk about "quotations", and in the discussion people talked about "quotations from the document" or "reading quotations from Marx" or "grasping the quotations from the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution". People fall into enumerating isolated quotations instead of applying them to current problems. Thus the failure to grasp the question of synthesis leads to another problem, a failure to grasp the proletariat's ideology as an integral whole, as Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Even the way some people express themselves reveals this problem. One of the speeches only made two mentions of "Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism", whereas the document refers to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism again and again, from beginning to end. Another mentions "humanity's only science", which is true, but this science has a name - Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, and its creative application here, in this country, is Gonzalo Thought.

We have to get beyond merely grasping the facts. When a problem arises we have to find out what causes it. This is an ideological question. In the contradiction between the proletariat and the bourgeoisie as it presents itself in the ideological sphere, there is resistance, expressed as the predominance of bourgeois ideology over proletarian ideology at a particular moment in time. This phenomenon is part and parcel of the struggle between the two ideologies, a struggle which arises even more with new people who are still being trained. Hence bourgeois ideology must be destroyed in order to construct proletarian ideology. There can be no construction without destruction. The dead weight of tradition, old ideas and ideological deviations is heavy; these things do not die out peacefully. Therefore transforming oneself requires enormous efforts. Human beings are practical, not contemplative, especially when they are striving to transform reality in the service of the proletariat and the people. This is why they can overcome that old, outworn ideology and take up the ideology of the proletariat, the only ideology that can enable them to understand and change the world in the interests of the class and the oppressed peoples.

In study, the point is that there is a contradiction between analysis and synthesis, which gives rise to a leap in terms of knowledge. If this contradiction is not handled correctly it will lead to problems in the overall handling of proletarian ideology. This is the root cause, in this sphere, of the failure to take the stand of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, as the universal truth and outlook that unites the world's communists, and Gonzalo Thought as specifically principal for communists here, for the Peruvian revolution in particular. The stand that seeks to use isolated quotations to analyse the international situation, the political situation in the country, the Party and its three magic weapons, or mass work, etc, is based on a failure to understand Marxism as an integral whole. In study, the failure to go beyond analysis and apply synthesis as the principal thing, the failure to make a leap, is a manifestation of bourgeois ideology. Our stand is that Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, is the guide and centre, the axis around which everything revolves; it is what allows us to understand things, deduce the laws that govern them and thus transform nature, society and ideas.

The conclusion to be drawn is that remaining at the level of analysis leads to metaphysics. Synthesis leads to materialist dialectics; in the study of the document it brings us to Marxism, Marxism brings us to Leninism and Leninism to Maoism. Of these three one is principal: Maoism. Moreover, Maoism leads us to Gonzalo Thought which is the universal truth specifically applied to the concrete reality of Peruvian society and the concrete conditions of today's class struggle. Synthesis allows us to understand the document and its Marxist character, to understand how the Party evaluates Marxism today on the basis of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought thesis that Maoism is a new, third and higher stage.

All of us, communists, fighters and masses, must train ourselves in the ideology of the proletariat, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought.

II. The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution. The Celebration of its 25th Anniversary.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was Chairman Mao's greatest achievement and represents an enormous contribution to the world proletarian revolution. It resolved what had been a pending question regarding socialism: the continuation of the revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat in its unstoppable march towards communism. The question has been definitively settled and now we communists have the answer: we shall continue the revolution under the conditions of socialist society by means of proletarian cultural revolutions. The essence of the problem, seen in perspective, is to change people's souls, to transform their ideology, so that they personify Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism. Only in this way can we prevent the restoration of capitalism and march forward to communism.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution is a basic issue for Maoism. If we don't thoroughly grasp that Maoism is a new, third and higher stage we won't understand anything - it's that simple - because as we know very well, today to be a Marxist means being a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, principally Maoist. The theory of the Cultural Revolution is rooted in Marx himself, since it was he who pointed out that the transition from capitalism to communism would require permanent revolution throughout a period of proletarian dictatorship. He conceived of this indispensable and necessary revolution as a series of successive great leaps. It is also rooted in Lenin, who envisaged and encouraged a cultural revolution. But it was Chairman Mao who answered this great unresolved question of how to continue the revolution and carried it out in practice, who led it and developed it as the greatest political event humanity has ever seen. The problem was unresolved, though many great struggles took place, until 1966 when the Chinese proletariat and people found the way, under the personal leadership of Chairman Mao at the head of the glorious Communist Party of China. This was an earth-shaking event.

For us this is even more vitally important today, since the so-called "defeat of socialism" that has been so loudly proclaimed is linked to the question of how socialism develops and how the dictatorship of the proletariat is defended. What has failed is revisionism, not socialism. Revisionism continued along the evil road of capitalist restoration until it sank so deep into the rot that it finally went under. From Khrushchev to the infamous Gorbachev in the USSR, and in

China from the rise of Deng Xiao-ping in 1976 until today, the revisionists usurped the dictatorship of the proletariat, restored capitalism and destroyed socialism. Revisionism refers to the political leadership of capitalist restoration, to the negative aspect of the process of restoration and counter-restoration which the class must go through until it seizes power once and for all.

The Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution represents the most encouraging and highest point in this world-wide process of struggle between revolution and counter-revolution, between restoration and counter-restoration, in the development of socialism. The fact that it lasted only until 1976 when Deng Xiao-ping's counter-revolutionary revisionist coup d'etat restored capitalism in no way negates the Cultural Revolution nor its necessity. In fact, this restoration confirms what Chairman Mao himself said, that in the struggle between capitalism and socialism, in the life-and-death struggle between restoration and counter-restoration, the question of who will win out has not yet been decided, and that the class struggle will continue until final victory, until communism.

Between 1966 and 1976 the Cultural Revolution was a practical, concrete reality. That is incontestable. The whole world saw it. So now proletarian cultural revolution is a settled question. In 1848 Marx said that political power must be seized by means of violence. Though he did not live to see it happen nor did he carry it out in practice, he gave us the solution: the proletariat had to seize power through revolutionary violence and exercise the dictatorship of the proletariat. In the same way Chairman Mao provided the solution to continuing the socialist revolution under the dictatorship of the proletariat - and furthermore, he did carry it out in practice. Because we have had this experience we know what to do.

Without underestimating the importance of the Paris Commune in 1871 as the first milestone in the process of the seizure of political power by the proletariat, we should recall that Marx himself foresaw that it was doomed to failure because there was no Communist Party to lead it. Nevertheless, he said it was impermissible to allow the morale of the proletariat to be undermined, no matter how many leaders might fall, and he supported and defended the Commune. Despite its importance as the first milestone, the Paris Commune cannot be compared to the carrying out of the Cultural Revolution, which is a milestone of a far higher quality. Furthermore, while the former lasted only about two months the latter spanned more than ten years, and under the leadership of Chairman Mao and the Communist Party of China it brought hundreds of millions of people into motion.

Between these two milestones there is the October Revolution led by Lenin, the creator of the first dictatorship of the proletariat and the world's first socialist country, and the Chinese Democratic Revolution, also led by Chairman Mao, which achieved victory in 1949. Of these four great and glorious milestones in the seizure of political power and the building of socialism, in the establishment and defence of the dictatorship of the proletariat, under the class leadership of the international proletariat, the highest and most developed milestone to date is the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The general political line of our Party, the Communist Party of Peru, holds that in its march to communism the Peruvian revolution must pass through three revolutions - the democratic revolution, the socialist revolution and not one but several cultural revolutions - and that all of these, from the first, constitute one single, uninterrupted march towards communism. We must thoroughly grasp this point exactly because today, 25 years after the Cultural Revolution, we can see in it our future, and even more so because it was in the course of the Cultural Revolution that Maoism lit up the world and became a new, third and higher stage of Marxism: Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Let us celebrate the 25th anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution!

The document Elections, No! People's War, Yes! examines the principles laid down by Chairman Mao for that glorious revolution, and thus places before us the central issues in celebrating the 25th anniversary of the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution.

The opinions that have been expressed here have referred to the Cultural Revolution and its essence - to transform people's souls - but we should understand it in terms of what's been laid out here. We should get in the habit of studying in order to apply, in order to draw practical conclusions regarding current political problems. This leads us to our third subject.

III. The Political Situation

The political practice of the proletariat is to take documents, political line and Party directives and apply them to the current political situation. We study with an eye to applying it, to resolving burning problems. Otherwise we would fall into bookishness and parroting - a bourgeois, idealist and metaphysical method.

Thus we should analyse the current class struggle in light of the four sections of this document. We should take a look from every angle at the ideas that are before us now and that the Central Committee must settle.

In the first part, "Crucial Elections for the Reactionaries", what is the document getting at? It lays out the international and national context. Regarding the international class struggle, we hold that today we are witnessing a counter-revolutionary general offensive. Looking back at the Party's positions, in 1985, when Gorbachev initiated his Perestroika, we put forward that there was "a new counter-revolutionary offensive headed principally by Gorbachev and Deng Xiao-ping". Later, in May 1990, in the document we are presently studying, we referred to "an offensive against Marxism which has been intensifying and converging with the offensive unleashed by the imperialists who are once again trumpeting the supposed obsolescence of Marxism'. Thus there is both contention and collusion - and in this case principally collusion - in a sinister onslaught against Marxism-Leninism-Maoism." To summarize, a convergent offensive by imperialism and revisionism, in collusion and contention. Events since then have confirmed that this analysis was and continues to be correct. But wouldn't it be relevant to conclude that we are witnessing a counter-revolutionary general offensive? Why do we say this? Because everyone is attacking revolution, democratic revolution and socialist revolution, attacking revolutionary violence, people's war, attacking the Communist Party, attacking socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, attacking the goal, communism. They claim that facts have demonstrated that socialism is no longer valid, that it no longer exists, that it has failed. But we must remind them that in the 1950s there was a socialist camp, that the victory of the Chinese revolution brought about a shift in the correlation of forces in the world, and that never has any system been able to bring about such a rapid and profound transformation of a rotten capitalist and feudalist base as happened in the USSR and China.

Socialism unfolded in the USSR under Lenin and Comrade Stalin until the revisionist Khrushchev usurped political power; the situation was similar in China, where socialism lasted until 1976 when Deng unleashed a counter-revolutionary coup d'etat following the death of Chairman Mao. If we count from 1848, when the fundamentals of socialism were first laid out by Marx and Engels (just two people) in the immortal Communist Manifesto, or from 1917, when socialism was first realized in practice, we can see that socialism is still young, it has only existed for a short time. Today it continues to exist as an experience, it is alive in the world's communists and revolutionaries. It exists as an ideology, as a body of politics, as a theory and a practice, and it also lives in us, the communists and revolutionaries of Peru.

Thus we are talking about a counter-revolutionary general offensive aimed at thwarting revolution as the main historical and political trend in today's world. Who is attacking revolution? Both the imperialists and the revisionists. But of the two, Yankee imperialism is principal - they are heading up this offensive, in an attempt to establish themselves as the sole hegemonic superpower in their contention with the other superpower, Russia, and the other imperialist powers. This offensive is being unfolded principally by Yankee imperialism, the principal hegemonistic power. It is a general offensive for two reasons: because it is being unleashed everywhere by the world's imperialists, revisionists and reactionaries, and because it is occurring in every sphere: the ideological, political and economic spheres, though it is centred on politics.

We must grapple with this very seriously, analyse it and grasp it well, just as we should with every question. The point is to understand reality in order to ascertain the laws that govern it, and to use these laws to transform reality in the interests of the world's proletariat and peoples.

Here we should note that this is not the final offensive. This is an important distinction. It is a counter-revolutionary general offensive. Generally speaking, a final offensive refers to the last part of the strategic offensive of a revolution. Revolution goes through three stages, in political and military terms, and of course politics guide military matters and is the principal of the two. These stages are the strategic defensive, strategic equilibrium and the strategic offensive. We hold that we are witnessing the strategic offensive of the world revolution - we do not say that the final offensive is taking place today. Furthermore, we view the strategic offensive of the world revolution as a protracted process - not something brief - consisting of twists and turns and even setbacks. What we are referring to here is

not revolution but counter-revolution, a counter-revolutionary general offensive aimed at thwarting the development of the world proletarian revolution.

Another point that must be noted is that despite all their bombast, their economic assaults, their unfounded mud-slinging and wild attacks, they are doomed to defeat. Since we know that revolution can run up against restoration and even be reversed, the fact that we are facing a counter-revolutionary general offensive should not surprise us. Instead we should analyse it so as to deal with it and defeat it. Attacks on Marxism have always heralded its further development and advance. Let us recall what we put forward in 1979: fifteen billion years of matter in motion - the part of this process we know about - have given rise to the irresistible march to communism. This is the reality, so let us grasp this law and apply it. Our goal of communism is not some idea unrelated to this material process; it is a part of it. Communism arises from this process and constitutes its future; it is part and parcel of the unfolding of this material process and is an expression of matter's irrepressible motion. No other class has a future like the proletariat. The bourgeoisie was a revolutionary class once but it became historically obsolete. It is lashing out wildly like any cornered beast, seeking to make its own inevitable destruction more costly. It knows it is finished, that it is an unburied corpse, but even at the foot of its open grave it resists burial at the hands of the proletariat. The final monster, imperialism, ill-begotten child of the bourgeoisie and oppressor of the world's peoples, must be swept off the face of the earth together with revisionism and world reaction. It falls to us, the proletariat and the people, to bury it. From the historical viewpoint, this task is necessary and it falls to us to carry it out. We must be absolutely convinced that we shall smash the bourgeoisie and bury imperialism along with all its partners and flunkies.

In the first part of the document, where it takes up the political situation in Peru, it refers to the question of "legitimization". In several meetings since the Congress we have analysed this concept put forward by Yankee imperialism in the context of their thesis of "low-intensity warfare". This is an important question for us and we need to ask what they have achieved. The answer is they have achieved nothing. Fujimori has not gained the slightest legitimacy from the elections, not only because of the reactionary and comical character of elections in Peru but also because he didn't get many votes. Instead, these elections put his legitimacy into question, since the number of people who abstained (27%) was greater than the number who voted for him (24.6%) in the first round and far below the 50% plus one

required by the Constitution. In the second round, even with the help of the APRA party, the United Left and the Socialist Left, the best he could do was a plurality. His actions have hurt this "legitimacy" even more. Everything he has done has been directed against the people, which is natural since he is a representative of the big bourgeoisie, principally the compradors, and of the landlords as a whole, and is the most obsequiously pro-Yankee imperialist president the country has ever seen and the most rabid enemy of the people's war - in short, a genocidal national traitor.

He has been de-legitimized and thoroughly unmasked at a dizzying pace. The people feel that there is no right nor reason for so much evil, for so much oppression, and the people's war strengthens this understanding. The systematic violations of the people's human rights, Fujimori's genocidal policies following in the footsteps of Belaunde and Garcia - the facts cannot be covered up because the people have experienced them personally. The reappearance of mass graves; the slaughter of the sons and daughters of the people; the cowardly murder of the fighters and their families, with absolute impunity; the take-no-prisoners policy in this war - these things cannot be hidden from the people because it is the people who have endured them. The monstrous crimes committed against the families and the masses who marched on the Fifth Anniversary of the Day of Heroism in the public plazas and the shantytowns of Lima, armed only with banners and slogans - how can they cover up the massacre at San Gabriel? Can they deny that Fujimori offered his congratulations to the soldiers who committed it? The protests that occurred when a university student and two poor youth were killed for carrying knapsacks - can they be disregarded and the murderers once again be shielded? The genocide committed against tribal communities, the genocidal Armed Forces' use of peasants as cannonfodder, the free hand given to the paramilitary ronderos to commit all sorts of crimes - how can all this legitimize the Fujimori government? The brutal wage cuts, the total neglect of the people's education and health care by the "cholera government", the systematic denial of the people's rights and the gains won by the proletariat and people, the continuous and growing repression against the masses, the introduction of land-mortgages and usury and the current concentration of land ownership principally through expropriating the poor peasants, the starvation of millions of people cast into the starkest poverty, the profound economic recession that has reduced the income of the Peruvian masses to levels unseen for decades, the destruction of national resources and the wholesale auctioning off of the country to imperialism, etc, etc - can all this legitimize the Fujimori government? On the contrary, the Fujimori

government has become utterly exposed in less than a year.

In summation, in studying the first part of this document we should consider: 1) The vicious counter-revolutionary general offensive. 2) The growing de-legitimization of the Fujimori government and the rotten Peruvian state.

In the second part, "The Political Crisis Deepens and the Contradictions Escalate", we should focus on the process of bureaucrat capitalism. Our Party's thesis of bureaucrat capitalism is that it is the mode, the form, that capitalism assumes in backward semi-feudal and semi-colonial countries such as ours. This process is linked to the country's historical development. In eighteenth-century Peru capitalism developed only in the most embryonic way. This process picked up speed in the mid-nineteenth century, when the country was subjugated by British imperialism and suffered the consequences of the war with Chile.

After 1895 bureaucrat capitalism underwent three periods: 1) From 1895 to 1945, centred in the 1920s. This is the period of the development of bureaucrat capitalism. 2) From 1945 to 1980, centred in the 1960s and 1970s (following the 1968 corporatist, fascist coup by Velasco). This is the period of the deepening of bureaucrat capitalism. The Party put forward that the fascist coup was meant to fulfill three objectives: First, deepen bureaucrat capitalism; second, restructure Peruvian society; and third, prevent a revolution in Peru. Obviously they were not able to completely succeed in any of their objectives, although they laid a certain basis. The most devastating proof of their failure was the initiation of the armed struggle in 1980. Thus began the third period, the destruction of bureaucrat capital, which continues today.

Bureaucrat capitalism was critically ill from birth. Today it has entered a general crisis and is approaching its doom. But if one examines the development of bureaucrat capitalism one can see that within the various periods there are subperiods. For example, within the first period there was a prologue, a preparatory phase. Then in the 1920s there was another phase, which laid the foundations for bureaucrat capitalism's development, only to be followed by a collapse. When the level of development that had been sought could not be achieved, that drove the country into crisis and led to a greater decline. Historical facts show this to be the case. During the second period, the period of the deepening of bureaucrat capitalism, once again there was a preparatory phase or prologue, a phase of building up the basis for development, and finally another crisis leading to an

even worse collapse.

In the third period, the destruction of bureaucrat capitalism, which began in 1980, yet again there has been a prologue, a long and muddled phase of preparing conditions, extending into the nineties. Today they are laying the foundations for carrying out neo-liberal policies, and blabber about how they are carrying out a "revolution", but just as in bureaucrat capitalism's two previous periods, this phase of building up foundations during the third period will inevitably lead to another crisis, which will in turn give rise to an even more disastrous collapse. In order to differentiate between the second and third periods, we should emphasize that the state served as the main economic lever during the second period, while today they seek to have non-state enterprises play this role. History shows that this building up of a foundation does bring some results, but that it also leads to deeper crisis. All this demonstrates that today, in its third period, bureaucrat capitalism is in the midst of a general crisis in the ideological, political and economic spheres. This situation has been becoming increasingly critical since 1974, and there is no way they can overcome it. The state is falling apart politically: the president governs by decree, abusing the powers granted by Article 211, Paragraph 20, of their Constitution. The parliament cannot fulfill its assigned function as a legislative body, and the judiciary, ridiculed even by Fujimori and cut off from all funding, is increasingly at the mercy of the president's beck and call. Furthermore, the laws themselves, such as the recent new penal code, are becoming increasingly fascistic. Every day is witness to new signs of fascism and fascistic positions. In the ideological sphere, they - like their imperialist masters - are staggering under the burden of an increasingly rotten and future-less ideology. Their only remaining option is to raise the banner of the eighteenth and early nineteenth century, liberalism. That banner was already a tattered rag by the time of the First World War and today is long outmoded. These people are stubborn, but they have no future, while socialism has already proved that it has a brilliant future. Capitalism is a corpse and like many corpses it needs burying.

Thus, ideologically, politically and economically they are sinking into a deeper and deeper general crisis and are being demolished by people's war day by day.

The government faces an increasingly difficult situation, the most complicated and difficult situation Peru has ever known. They cannot handle it. Whatever measures they may adopt will lead to only the most fleeting improvement and complete bankruptcy. The main

instrument of their destruction is the people's war based on the class struggle of the masses of people.

It is important to indicate bureaucrat capitalism's three periods and the specific character of each, especially the last period. This is what permits us to understand that they can never succeed in carrying out the three tasks faced by the Peruvian reactionaries and their imperialist masters, principally Yankee imperialism: to kick-start bureaucrat capitalism, restructure the state and wipe out the people's war. These tasks are historically and politically impossible. Even the reactionaries in Peru are saying that the Fujimori government is accomplishing nothing, that it is simply stumbling from failure to failure. This is only a part of the truth, because the problems that it increasingly faces are inevitable - they are the concrete reality of the bureaucrat road of the exploiters, the big bourgeoisie and big landowners and imperialism. They are the embodiment of a law, the law that the development of bureaucrat capitalism ripens the conditions for revolution, and the revolution, with the development of people's war, accelerates and grows more powerful, bringing the country-wide seizure of political power closer.

This second part of the document also takes up the special local elections. There has already been a lot of the usual prattle about them, as the kept hens of the press start their predictable clucking, but they cannot hide reality: today the Armed Forces not only vote, they directly appoint local officials. As their Cangallo document says, they will continue to do so. The truth is coming out. They used to brag about what they called the triumph of democracy but today they have to admit that there are over 400 districts where there are no local officials whatsoever. So much for their democracy. Furthermore, even though they cannot provide protection for candidates standing for local office they refuse to allow these candidates to withdraw. This is what happened with the United Left candidates in Ayacucho. In Junin, they have put forward the ringleaders of their paramilitary forces as candidates.

Therefore, for this rotten system elections are no more than a means to continue exploiting and oppressing the people. That is why the Party's tactic of boycotting elections is good. It develops the tendency of the people to turn against elections and serves the people's war.

The third part of the document, "The Boycott Develops the People's Tendency to Turn against Elections and Serves the Development of the People's War", centres on the advances that refute the slanders hurled against us in 1989, and emphasizes the evaluation made by the

Second Plenum of the Central Committee: that in 1989 the People's War won a big victory with the establishment of Open People's Committees, and in 1990 it achieved strategic equilibrium. All it took was a simple phrase - Hail the strategic equilibrium! - and the reactionaries and revisionists began to tremble and gnash their teeth. Almost all of them have shouted themselves hoarse trying to deny it. They have even unleashed bloody and pointless military operations against us, venting their fury on the masses, as always, trying to "prove" that there is no strategic equilibrium. Why are they in such a mortal panic? Because the old order is about to die and be buried. The Party has always made good on its word. We have always done what we said we would. We said we were going to initiate the armed struggle and we did in 1980. Today we are embarking on the seizure of power country-wide; we have proclaimed strategic equilibrium and defined it concretely, and given it greater emphasis than ever before: "Strategic equilibrium and the preparation of the counter-offensive means, for the enemy, striving to recapture their lost positions in order to save their system; for us it means preparing for the strategic offensive by organizing the seizure of state power." We have to grasp this well in order to deal with it increasingly well in practice. We have to thoroughly examine the question of strategic equilibrium, not only in terms of Chairman Mao's teachings but also in terms of the specific form it will take here in our country.

Furthermore, we should see how the Third Campaign to Advance in the Development of Base Areas, a part of the overall Great Plan for Developing Base Areas to Seize Political Power, is a product of the whole process of eleven years of people's war. The importance of the Third Campaign is that it successfully concludes the Plan to Advance and is therefore the link to a new plan. In short, the completion of this Third Campaign in May, June and July has been magnificent. Never before has the People's War, principally in the countryside and complementarily in the cities, penetrated so deeply nor risen to such heights. All of us, at all levels, should feel a great joy at having served whole-heartedly in such a far-reaching task. A few bricks and then a few more bricks all joined together make a solid wall. Let traitors try and negate it; if they do so, it is because of their class interests and in order to fill their own pockets, no matter how badly the Peruvian reactionaries and the imperialists pay them. We are very well acquainted with the reality we have personally experienced and created. So we in the Party, the People's Guerrilla Army, the New Political Power and the masses understand the great achievements of this heroic People's War.

Is the people's war having an impact? There is clear evidence that it is.

For example, for the first time now there is debate in the U.S. Senate about the people's war in Peru. The reverberations of the people's war are reaching into the very lair of world reaction. This is not the main sign, but it is an important one. Meanwhile, in Peru, some people are building ultra-modern castles in the air. They include the genocidal national traitor Fujimori; the butchers General Malca, Minister of the Interior, and General Torres Aciego, Minister of Defence; dyed-in-the-wool pro-Yankee elements like Minister of Economics Boloña; groveling social climbers such as Bernales, Tapia, Gonzales, etc. These people, all obsequious flunkies for imperialism and the exploiting classes, are begging for imperialist "aid" - mainly from the U.S. - and imagine that it will lead to the defeat of the people's war. They try and use the very advances of the people's war as an argument for why the imperialists should "re-admit Peru into the world financial community" and defend the ultra-reactionary Peruvian state.

In the U.S., the opening moves for next year's elections are taking place, and Bush is going all-out to be re-elected. In the Middle East he won some raggedy success, a victory that was good enough though everyone knows that he did not fulfill his goals. We put it this way because committing a cowardly and bullying assault against a people cannot be considered much of an achievement, especially today when every struggle of the peoples of the world for their liberation is a component part of the world revolution (we are fully conscious of Saddam Hussein's class limitations). Still, this was Yankee imperialism's "victory". Moreover, they embarked on the war in the Gulf in order to give their economy a boost, but it did not turn out as they expected and they are continuing to suffer serious economic difficulties in relation to the other imperialist powers. This does not, however, mean that they are no longer an imperialist superpower. Further, Bush declared a war on drugs, and here, again, he is running up against the people, because just as his attempts to deal with their economic problems by raising taxes and reducing spending on social programmes have given rise to resistance by the people of the U.S., so also his war against drugs is bringing him up against the poorest and most exploited masses, especially the oppressed minorities, and again he has had little success. This war on drugs is closely linked to the fight against the people's war in Peru and the class struggle in the Andean region, and this has its repercussions in U.S. political affairs. Thus we must conclude that this matter will not be over in September, when in order for U.S. aid to be "unfrozen" the Peruvian government must comply with an "anti-drug" treaty stipulating, among other things, its respect for human rights - which this government systematically violates. The people's war in Peru has become an

electoral issue, and we find it very interesting that its repercussions are being felt in their Congress. In addition, this is a contributing factor to the struggle being waged by our comrades of the Revolutionary Communist Party, USA and the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and unites us further, as does the carrying out of a common campaign against imperialism, principally Yankee imperialism, under the slogan Yankee Go Home! This is another example of the achievements and impact of the Third Campaign.

The fourth part of the document, "Elections, No! People's War, Yes!" is the main one. Here we lay out our criteria for how to evaluate Marxism today. We examine the basic theses of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, in four fields, and reaffirm our principles. There is even an exposition of how we understand it as an integral whole, taking up, in ascending order and proportionally, the contributions made by Marx, the greater contributions made by Lenin, and the much greater contributions made by Chairman Mao, which also shows the development of Maoism as a new, third and higher stage.

A first and most timely conclusion to be drawn: In order to develop the world proletarian revolution, demolish imperialism and international reaction, and smash revisionism, it is decisive to uphold, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. This is the heart of the matter. In the 1960s Maoism was called our most powerful weapon, our atomic bomb, an unbeatable weapon. Today we should be even more aware of Maoism's historic importance, its invincibility, that Marxism is all-powerful because it is true. This is the decisive factor, on which everything else depends and from which everything else flows. If we were to stray from Maoism the revolution would suffer, but they would never be able to stop the revolution because Marxism-Leninism-Maoism would assert itself anew to take the lead. What we need principally is Maoism and we need to raise its banner very high, higher and higher; this means that we have to defend it and not just uphold it - we raise banners to defend them - but the principal thing is to apply it.

Why should we uphold, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism? In order to advance the world proletarian revolution. Revolution is the main trend in the world today. There is no future for humanity without the complete and total victory of the revolution, in other words, communism. Therefore the question is how to advance the world revolution, and that means carrying it out, making revolution. As has been pointed out, the question is not how many of us there are but how determined we are to do it. In 1848

there was just Marx and Engels. Today, 143 years later, there are millions of us around the world. Then we had nothing; today we have two glorious and tremendously rich historical experiences, experiences that live on in the proletariat and peoples, in us, and once again we must emphasize that the restoration of capitalism does not negate the fact that revolution is the main trend. The reactionaries may dream of refuting this fact, but in vain, because the world proletarian revolution is advancing and we are part of that advance. It is true that this advance comes at a price that must be paid in blood, but what does not? Without the blood shed by communists and revolutionaries around the world we would not be here.

We need Maoism to demolish imperialism and international reaction and sweep them off the face of the earth. No matter how much rubbish they throw at us, in the end we will bury them and all their debris along with them. There is no way to stop this great historical housecleaning.

We also need Maoism to smash revisionism. Imperialism and revisionism will go down the drain together but you can't fight imperialism without fighting revisionism.

We reaffirm Maoism's decisive importance. We are absolutely convinced, untroubled by the slightest doubt, much less paralyzed. We - the communists, the class, the revolutionaries - are optimists, and nothing can stop us.

All this brings us to the slogan Beat Back the Counter-revolutionary General Offensive!. This must be our watchword.

We should also draw a second conclusion: We must concretize a task we have already agreed upon: Create public opinion and unleash deep-going ideological work among the masses. Let's carry out this task resolutely and immediately. Marxism teaches the importance of agitation and propaganda. Marx's words have flowered all over the world, in almost every language. Lenin taught that no matter how much time may pass between the sowing and reaping, propaganda always bears magnificent fruit. Chairman Mao said that both sides, the reaction and the revolution, need to create public opinion: they need to create public opinion against revolution in order to perpetuate exploitation, while we need to create public opinion in order to use revolutionary violence to seize and defend political power. Without winning public opinion for the revolution we cannot seize power.

We have a glorious ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally

Maoism, the most powerful weapon in the world today. We have its creative application, Gonzalo Thought. So let's arm minds - arm more and more minds and do it more and more thoroughly. Win over people's minds and their hands will be armed. It is not for nothing that our Party has always had a reputation for being strong on politics, because politics is nothing but the concrete application of ideology in the struggle to seize political power. Today our ideology is under attack from all sides and in every sphere, and these attacks will mount. But they are afraid to confront us directly - in a straight-on ideological debate with Marxism they could only lose. The bourgeoisie's critique does not go beyond wild assertions and baseless epithets. What do they have to counterpose to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism? The new bourgeois ideologues are ephemeral. For example, Fukuyama, whose star seemed to shine so brightly for a little while and then flickered and went out like a match. He denied that there is any development in history and proclaimed the death of ideology. Actually, he especially proclaimed the death of the ideology of the proletariat and excluded the ideology of the bourgeoisie from this fate because imperialism had supposedly prevailed as an economic and political system. But history and ideology continue to do battle, driven by the class struggle; his ravings have smashed up against history and the battles have continued between the ideologies of different classes, whether it be Arab fundamentalists, with their religion; neo-liberals, neo-positivists and fascists, with their various forms of bourgeois ideology; or us, the communists, including in the people's war led by the Communist Party of Peru, with our scientific ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism. Thus once again the bourgeoisie's ranting and pseudo-theories blow away like smoke in the wind.

Lately they have been going back to Joseph de Maistre, which is truly ludicrous. Even Uslar Pietri, whose work was awarded a prize by the King of Spain, says de Maistre was the enemy of everything progressive, which of course he was since he was a die-hard Papist fanatic. By wrapping itself in the cloak of its most backward "theoreticians" all the bourgeoisie is doing is reinfecting itself with its own pustulance. Lacking any fresh blood with which to reinvigorate their rotten corpse, the bourgeoisie and reaction in general can only fill their veins with more and more poisonous pus.

How should we respond to their ideological attacks? We must thoroughly expose them, rip off their fraudulent and stinking cover, and confront them with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, applied to concrete reality. Marxism is the only scientifically true ideology. It can move mountains, change the world and set it right-side up. Idealism can only stand reality on its head. Marx said

that philosophy had been enchained, snatched away from the masses, entangled in words and cobwebs to hide it from the masses. We should liberate philosophy and give it back to the masses. We have to wield our philosophy by mobilizing the masses. Creating public opinion is a matter of mobilizing the masses - let them be agitators and propagandists. Let's launch a mass movement to educate the masses in Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, and in Gonzalo Thought. The necessity for this has been a basic Marxist teaching since the beginning, and the Great Proletarian Cultural Revolution was a living and glorious example of mobilizing the masses with Marxist-Leninist-Maoist ideology in order to continue building socialism under the dictatorship of the proletariat, to persist in revolution and not allow its fruits to be snatched away, to defend the revolution. Mobilize the masses in an immense and profound theoretical, ideological movement, with the ideas of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. Liberate them from this feudal, bourgeois, pro-imperialist muck that makes them see the world upside-down. Let philosophy out of the desk drawer, liberate it from the hands of book worshippers and phoney academic institutions and take it to the masses, to the day-to-day class struggle, to the people. They have been robbed of their soul - reclaim it and give it back to them so that they no longer let themselves be fooled. Philosophy and science do not belong to the erudite but to the masses. Today the masses are becoming increasingly dialectical but this must be made conscious, so that they consciously employ the laws of dialectics and apply the law of contradiction with a full understanding of what it means and apply it to nature, society and ideas. The masses are capable of this achievement because they are the makers of history and the creators of everything. Furthermore, all knowledge arises from practice - above all, human beings change things, in their daily social practice, and it is through this process of changing things that they learn and understand. This understanding acquired in practice is again returned to practice, giving rise to further changes, to development, advance and transformations, but since everything bears the stamp of one class or another, this practice, this knowledge, these transformations will also have a class character - for or against the proletariat and the people. The source of all knowledge is practice, the transforming historical action of the masses, of humanity. At any given time in history it is through social practice that the masses arm their minds with the ideas corresponding to that time and therefore arm their hands to realize the tasks assigned by history. Study is an indispensable complement to this process. People enter into action within a particular class context and in the interests of a particular class, and this gives rise to ideas, to ideology. Their organized action

leads to social transformation, an advance for the majority of people. Engels teaches us to hammer home ideas with actions. We in the Party have been applying this approach since the 1970s, and we should persist in it.

How, then, can we arm the masses with the ideology and practice of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought? The masses become ideologically armed by dealing with the concrete problems they face in the ideological, political and economic spheres, on the basis of our work of raising their level and of popularization. As part of evaluating the experience of the rectification campaign launched by the First Plenum of the Central Committee, we should take up the question of raising standards and popularization. In this we should distinguish between leadership and cadre on the one hand and basic Party members on the other, and among different levels of Party organization, that is, the Party's membership, the People's Guerrilla Army and the mass organizations generated by the Party, as well as among the different mass organizations fighting alongside us.

Among the advantages at its disposal the reaction has many means of information. Its highly developed mass media system includes newspapers, magazines, radio and television stations, etc. We don't have all that but we can count on an unbeatable resource - the fact that the masses are the makers of history. Knowledge arises from practice and practice is what the masses do. We've said that the masses must be trained as agitators and propagandists; it is they who fight and resist, they know how to do all that because they have always done it and therefore they can do this as well. What should be our method? The spoken word. The oral method is readily at hand and it allows us to go lower and deeper among the masses. It allows a more flexible approach since it can be adapted to the particular audience - peasants, workers, students, intellectuals, soldiers, shopkeepers, etc. It is more flexible and tactical, within, of course, the context of an overall strategy. We should also employ the printed word, using clear and simple language, and fight with the pen as well as with the sword. We should use graphics, which are especially good, for example, for illiterate peasants. We should use all the modern methods we can get our hands on, without forgetting that the spoken word is the principal method because it is the most accessible to the masses of people.

To reiterate, since we serve the masses and wield the spoken word - which doesn't cost a penny, we have all the tactical means we need. For example, we should encourage people to express their grievances. All you need is that a group of people recount their experiences with

increasing oppression and exploitation. If just one person starts another will follow and soon they will all feel the explosive strength of their anger. This spurs people on and moves them to take action against the causes of exploitation and against the oppressors. We should encourage different groups of people in many different places to express their grievances so that their words join together like a raging hurricane. One person alone is weak but many people joined together make up a mighty force. Another form of written mass propaganda is dazibaos. Chairman Mao taught that these wall writings are very effective for democracy. The masses don't even need paper - they can write on the walls with chalk, coal or paint if they have any, using big letters to write simple phrases to say what their demands are, what forms of struggle to use, which experiences are positive and which are negative, how they evaluate their leaders. This is an expression of mass democracy. It is the complete opposite of phoney bourgeois democracy, which is so highly touted but democratic only for the rulers and exploiters and not for the people. When the masses think and act they have an inexhaustible strength and can make contributions in every field: politics, military affairs, economics, the arts and sciences. Let's keep developing people's democracy; let the masses discuss plans and evaluate their implementation as the soldiers do in the People's Guerrilla Army - this will lead to a better understanding, greater unity and more powerful action. Let the masses show their abilities as agitators and propagandists in the midst of democracy.

A great mass ideological movement needs the leadership of the Party, because the Party is the most conscious element, as long as it grasps, wields and applies Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, the laws that govern revolution and politics, in other words the laws of the class struggle for political power, of people's war as the principal form of struggle. Without the Party the masses couldn't even be equipped with a plan, and it is indispensable that the Party lead them with a good plan. We know that a plan is an ideological form, and the Party's plan is an expression of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. Once the plan is formulated the Party has to set the various organizations into motion, because a political line cannot become a material force without organizational forms to put it into concrete practice. These forms can be Party organizations, the army, the organizations generated by the Party, organs of political power or organizations created by the lowest and deepest layers of the masses. Let the masses carry out this great ideological mobilization to uphold, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism (as the universal truth) and Gonzalo Thought (as specifically principal for

us as its creative application to our conditions), and let armed actions drive these ideas home.

Thus only the Communist Party can lead this great process of mass agitation and propaganda. As Chairman Mao taught, "As long as there are masses and a Party all sorts of miracles can be accomplished."

IV. The Rectification Campaign

At this meeting today we are implementing the decision of the Second Plenum of the Central Committee. Our duty was to carry forward the rectification campaign, and the duty of the lower organizations, Party members, fighters, activists and masses was to carry it out. Right now we are bringing this campaign to its culmination. We have studied "Elections, No! People's War, Yes!", individually and collectively, debated it and applied it.

From what has been said so far certain observations can be made regarding these discussions. The main problem is how to apply the study of this document to the current political situation. We communists learn to do study in order to apply it; otherwise we would be worshipping books instead of using Marxism to solve burning problems. Abstract study is metaphysical, idealist and bourgeois. We aren't pragmatists, either; we don't study for narrowly utilitarian reasons like the imperialists and vulgar materialists. We study theory in order to apply it in practice and transform reality, to change the world in the interests of the class and the people. So the question is how to apply it, on three levels:

1) To the world proletarian revolution. Here there is only one issue. The document lays out the burning questions of Marxism today: revolutionary violence, the class struggle, socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat, and the struggle against revisionism. Of these four, socialism and the dictatorship of the proletariat is principal. Here the point is that Maoism is a new, third and higher stage, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, because it is with Maoism that we shall storm the heavens. In this lies the value of the document - it reaffirms Marxism and holds that to be a Marxist today means being Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, principally Maoist; it grasps that Maoism is a new, third and higher stage, in force and valid throughout the world, for the communists, for the proletariat and peoples of the world. This is the decisive thing. Therefore, our first stand flows from this, from Maoism, and it has been agreed by our Congress: The principal element of Gonzalo Thought is that it has defined Maoism as the new, third and higher stage.

2) The Peruvian revolution. Here the principal thing is that the document serves the building of the new state through people's war. This state is being built by the People's Guerrilla Army and under the leadership of the Communist Party, based on the masses of people.

This document serves the country-wide seizure of power. It deals with extremely important points that should be applied in the new state today.

3) How should we apply the document on the individual level? It is incumbent upon each of us to assimilate and embody the document in order to better serve the revolution. In this regard, all those here are directly concerned with being intellectuals and with artistic questions, and the point is to always put politics in command. When people study Marxism, it shakes them up and the contradiction between the two world outlooks comes to the fore; Marxism deals blows to the non-proletarian aspect and drives on the process of steeling people ideologically. As in every task, there are three stages, each with its own contradiction. At first the question is whether or not to take up study, and once begun the task is half-way done. Then, as things unfold, the question is whether to persevere or quit. This is another struggle, which came up here in the form of drawing out the process until it became burdensome. This was a bad situation because it meant that the old and bourgeois would prevail. We discussed the problem and agreed to carry out this task by giving it priority and using shock tactics to make a breakthrough. This is a very useful method, part of the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought style of work. It means concentrating all our energies on the task at hand and spending as much time as necessary until it is completed. This is analogous to carrying out a forced march when the enemy is after us so that we outmanoeuvre him instead of letting ourselves be caught. In study, instead of letting proletarian ideology be defeated by the bourgeois ideology contending with it in our own minds, we take up this new ideology that we embody and use it to defeat the bourgeois, idealist, alien class outlook. The old ideas resist and we all have to consciously and voluntarily wage a battle in our own minds until we finally break and defeat this resistance arising within ourselves. The old calls out to us: How can you leave behind the ways you know so well! How can you abandon the ways that sustained you for so many years! The old paints everything rotten in rosy colours in order to weaken our will. Shock tactics are very effective against this resistance.

In the third stage, the conclusion, there arises a contradiction between carrying the task through to the end or not, until you decide that you are going to carry it through and actually do so. When a particular course of study is completed, that represents a leap, and shock tactics are a very helpful method to aid in making that leap.

You have carried through this rectification campaign. This is simply a form in which to unfold the struggle between two lines in order to

mould ourselves to the ideology of the proletariat.

How much advance have you achieved? Starting out from ignorance of the document's content you have gone on to study and debate that has allowed you to arm yourselves with the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought outlook concerning four basic burning questions facing Marxism today. From the opinions that have been expressed here, it can be seen that you are applying it to current problems.

The accomplishment of this task has given rise to a leap and a transformation in regard to these four basic problems of Marxism today.

In conclusion, we should emphasize that the document is a serious contribution to the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought counteroffensive against the converging counter-revolutionary offensive by revisionism and imperialism, and to confronting the counter-revolutionary general offensive. Therefore in arming ourselves with this document we are serving the Peruvian revolution and the world proletarian revolution. No question can ever be regarded as exhausted - all knowledge is relative since it reflects matter only partially and must be further developed; but this document conforms to Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, and therein lies its merit. Further, its way of looking at things follows Gonzalo Thought. Therefore it is Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought.

V. Conclusions

1) This has been a very good meeting. The work has advanced. Taking up study in the midst of war helps us handle it better. Our study has prepared the conditions for a bigger leap in practice.

2) In summing up the opinions expressed earlier, we have dealt with the contradiction between analysis and synthesis in regard to study and have said that the initial discussion tended to focus on analysis. But now, afterwards, in the subsequent discussions, a synthesis has been achieved, and the essence has been grasped: to take a stand for Maoism.

A qualitative leap was being prepared, and now it has taken place. The study suffered from the limitation of neglecting synthesis but it prepared the conditions for a leap. If you grasp analysis and synthesis, study becomes more powerful and the essence is grasped, and a leap takes place.

3) Marxism has been grasped in regard to four basic burning questions.

4) We study in order to apply it to today's class struggle, to win ourselves some maneouvring room in our fighting by taking up burning problems. We should look at what is ahead of us and not just at what is in the document.

5) This meeting has been helpful in gaining an understanding of problems that are being confronted throughout the Party. Thus our experience here and what we have done will be very helpful for everyone. For example, the whole Party will benefit from the method of giving priority to this task and applying shock tactics to it, in order to complete our study in the rectification campaign.

6) It is necessary, of course, to gain a better grasp of specific political tasks in relation to the building of new political power through people's war in order to seize power country-wide, but for you concretely this means your work as intellectuals and artists. Therefore your watchword should be "Serve the people and follow the Party's leadership".

7) How much have you advanced? You have taken a leap through studying systematically, intensely and with concrete problems in mind. There is a better understanding of what Marxism-Leninism-

Maoism, Gonzalo Thought is, and why it must be upheld, defended and applied to thoroughly transform Peruvian society and serve the world revolution.

8) If there's been a leap, how should we consolidate it? How should this new leap be developed? How to consolidate it and how to develop it are two questions to be taken up from the point of view of how to increasingly and better serve the Party, the revolution in Peru and the world proletarian revolution, to serve the emancipation of all humanity and advance towards communism.

We propose continuing with the study of V.I. Lenin's essay "Karl Marx" to strengthen our ideological training and the reports from the Second Plenum of the Central Committee to strengthen our political training.

This has been a worthwhile effort. We congratulate everyone.

1992 - Cuestiones políticas fundamentales. Bases de discusión del III Pleno

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IDEOLOGIA.

El marxismo, la única ideología de¡ proletariado y la más avanzada y última ideología de clase de la historia. La "caducidad de¡ marxismo", el "fracaso del socialismo", el "totalitarismo de la dictadura del proletariado" y la "inutilidad del Partido Comunista", es el nuevo engendro, reedición de la "muerte del marxismo", y muestra la incapacidad teórica y práctica de la burguesía, una vez más, pues, en medio de su borrachera de triunfador arrogante y su sueño antihistórico, sólo puede enarbolar sus viejas banderas de neoliberalismo, democracia burguesa y pragmatismo ecléctico e idealista. El marxismo-leninismo-maoísmo es la única, invicta e inmarcesible ideología del proletariado. ¡Enarbolarlo. defenderlo y aplicarlo siempre! El pensamiento Gonzalo, aplicación del marxismo-leninismo-maoísmo a nuestra realidad, específicamente principal para la revolución peruana.

SITUACION INTERNACIONAL.

EL IMPERIALISMO. Sigue siendo, y lo es más hoy, monopolista, parasitario y agonizante. Proceso del imperialismo y hundimiento de los viejos imperios desenfreno para consolidar posiciones ganadas al socialimperialismo y asegurar su sistema "por siempre jamás". La privatización. Negación de la soberanía nacional y sojuzgar más a las naciones oprimidas. La descomposición del imperialismo: es larga pero irremediable; la crisis general que aqueja su base económica y el empobrecimiento de su propio pueblo. La ofensiva contrarrevolucionaria general. Superpotencias, potencias y hegemonismo único de Estados Unidos: podrido gigante con pies de barro; colusión y pugna en rebatiña general sobre despojos de la URSS y Europa del Este, y desarrollo de zonas de influencia que siembran guerras imperialistas de rapiña en todo el mundo, apuntando al Tercer Mundo que hoy es más amplio que ayer (incluye las semicolonias y colonias de lo que fue la Unión Soviética). La Comunidad Europea: unión imperialista para dominar el mundo: colusión y pugna franco alemana. Japón: "Asia para los asiáticos", coprosperidad, base para hegemonía mundial japonesa. La bancarrota general del revisionismo. Descomposición de la URSS, nacionalismo gran ruso, eslavismo. nacionalismo burgués desenfrenado y "adoradores de Occidente". Albania hundida y sometida a Italia. El revisionismo ... desarrollar capitalismo, influencias en Asia y ser futura gran potencia.

LA REVOLUCIÓN es y será la tendencia principal, histórica y políticamente del inexorable proceso de desarrollo mundial; es cuestión de la lucha entre lo viejo y lo nuevo y éste siempre ha triunfado. triunfa y triunfará; pero el desarrollo de la revolución es desigual y zigzagueante como el de los ríos que por más vueltas y revueltas que den y hasta retrocesos y regresiones en su curso (piénsese en el Mantaro) siempre llegan y llegarán al pleno mar de la revolución mundial triunfante, al comunismo. El Tercer Mundo, base de la tendencia principal y el proletariado internacional y los partidos comunistas dirección de la revolución proletaria mundial. América Latina: zona de influencia yanqui y traición a la revolución La guerra popular, antorcha de la revolución mundial y la República Popular del Perú, futura base de apoyo y trinchera de combate de la clase obrera y de los pueblos del mundo.

EL VIEJO ESTADO, LA CADUCA SOCIEDAD PERUANA Y SUS TRES TAREAS.

Economía, entrampada en crisis general y sin perspectiva real. Repercusión de la guerra popular ár el camino burocrático y el camino democrático con tienden. el primero por la evolución del capitalismo burocrático, el segundo por su destrucción: resultado, principalmente por la guerra popular, la vieja economía ya no puede subsistir: la cuestión es evolucionar o destruir las tres montañas, pero sólo hay una solución verdadera: destruirlas y construir una nueva economía, una nueva sociedad, generalizando lo hecho y, principalmente, desarrollándola pues tendrá que abarcar todos los frentes: agricultura, industria, comercio, finanzas, etc. Política: el camino burocrático especifica su reaccionarización estatal en centralización absoluta y concretamente en absolutismo presidencial que encarna Fujimori, también, como resultado negativo de la guerra popular y necesario, pues ningún Estado ni sociedad se retira de la historia sino que tiene que ser barrido, obviamente, se defiende como bestia herida con zarpazos crueles y sanguinarios; frente a esto, es perentorio desarrollar más la democracia popular, enarbolando y aplicando los derechos del pueblo para desenmascarar a fondo la democracia burguesa en mayor reaccionarización y sus falaces derechos humanos. La República Popular de] Perú, en función de la cual guerreamos, necesita que, desarrollando la política de frente, plasmemos el frente único para la conquista del Poder a partir del programa concreto. Esta es la solución de la contradicción entre camino burocrático y camino democrático, no hay otra; la evolución del Viejo Estado y su reaccionarización como su proceso natural y necesario, más aún por el desarrollo de la guerra popular, sólo derramará mayor "sangre dolor y lágrimas" del pueblo mientras subsista. En lo militar, la tarea de aniquilar que necesita el camino burocrático se ajusta más cada vez a la "guerra de baja intensidad' para "recuperar posiciones y defender su sistema", como le corresponde en el equilibrio estratégico, según precisara el II Pleno, aherroja a las masas imponiéndoles a sangre y fuego incorporarse como mesnadas en las llamadas "rondas", como fuerza armada complementaria, carne de cañón para la guerra contrasubversiva y escudo de las fuerzas armadas y policiales contrarrevolucionarias; así prepara su sueño negro de ahogar en sangre la revolución y consolidar su Viejo Estado, para reimpulsar el capitalismo burocrático bajo el

mayor dominio del imperialismo, principalmente yanqui. Al camino democrático, al camino de la guerra popular, le corresponde desarrollar la construcción de la conquista del Poder, como desarrollo del equilibrio estratégico, para pasar a la futura ofensiva estratégica: este rumbo inexorable debe tener muy en cuenta la estrategia yanqui de guerra de baja intensidad que desenvuelve el enemigo, el plan que aplica, sus campañas genocidas para "recuperar posiciones y defender su sistema" y la intervención creciente del imperialismo, principalmente yanqui. Debemos prepararnos ideológica, política, orgánica y militarmente: prepararnos muy alta y conscientemente para enfrentar y derrotar al enemigo cualquiera sean las circunstancias que se presenten, siendo superiores al enemigo en todos los planos, principalmente en el ideológico y político para instaurar la República Popular del Perú.

PROBLEMAS FRONTERIZOS. Ecuador. Bolivia. Chile. Colombia. Brasil. Política internacional del Estado Peruano.

GUERRA POPULAR.

Plan estratégico de desarrollar la guerra popular: reajustarlo en función de conquistar el Poder. En 1980, plan estratégico de inicio; 1983, plan estratégico de conquistar bases, 1985, Plan estratégico de desarrollo de la guerra popular para desarrollar bases. 1992: NUEVO PLAN ESTRATEGICO DE DESARROLLO DE LA GUERRA POPULAR PARA CONQUISTAR EL PODER EN TODO EL PAIS. Y dentro de éste, aplicar nuevo plan militar, sería el VI Plan, Gran Plan de CONSTRUIR LA CONQUISTA DEL PODER.

PLAN ESTRATEGICO DE CONSTRUCCION.

Aplicación de "tres bases y tres guías': logros y, problemas. Agregar las especificaciones siguientes: PARTIDO, crecimiento y consolidación; EGP, desarrollo y potenciación; NUEVO ESTADO, expansión y estabilidad relativa. Y en cuanto a masas, gran salto en incorporación a la guerra popular y Frente Unico para Conquistar el Poder.

CC del Partido Comunista del Perú

1992

1992 - Chairman Gonzalo speech

CHAIRMAN GONZALO'S SPEECH SHINES VICTORIOUSLY AND POWERFULLY BEFORE THE WORLD! 5th year

Comrades of the Communist Party of Peru!

Combatants of the People's Guerrilla Army!

Peruvian People! :

We are living historic moments, each of us knows that this is the case, let us not fool ourselves. In these moments we must strengthen all forces to confront difficulties and continue carrying out our tasks. And we must conquer the goals! The successes! The victory! That is what is to be done.

We are here as children of the people and we are fighting in these trenches, they are also trenches of combat, and we do it because we are Communists! Because here we are defending the interests of the people, the principles of the Party, and the People's War. That is what we do, we are doing it and will continue to do so!

We are here in these circumstances. Some think this is a great defeat. They are dreaming! We tell them to keep on dreaming. It is simply a bend, nothing more, a bend in the road! The road is long and we shall arrive. We shall triumph! You shall see it! You shall see it!

We should continue the tasks established by the III Plenum of the Central Committee. A glorious Plenum! You should know that these accords are already being implemented and that will continue. We shall continue applying the IV Plan of Strategic Development of the People's War to Conquer Power, we shall continue developing the VI Military Plan to Build the Conquest of Power, that will continue; that is a task! We shall carry it out because of what we are and because of the obligation we have with the proletariat and the people!

We clearly say that today the democratic road has begun to develop as a road of liberation, as a road of people's liberation! That is the circumstance in which we are unfolding. We should think with a great

sense of history, we must stop closing our eyes. Let us look at reality, let us look at the history of Peru. Let us look at the last three centuries of Peru. We should think about it. Look at the 18th century, look at the 19th century, look at the 20th century and understand them! Those who don't understand them are going to be blind and the blind don't serve the country, they don't serve Peru!

We believe that the 18th century was a very clear lesson. Think about this. There was a dominator. It was Spain and where did that bloodsucking domination bring us? To a very profound crisis, as a consequence of which Peru was divided. From there come the origins of today's Bolivia. It is not our invention but facts.

Fine, the last century, English domination. Where did their rivalry with France take us? To another big crisis: 70 of the past century. The result? War with Chile. We must not forget it! And what happened? We lost territory. Our nation suffered a schism despite the blood shed by heroes and the people. We must learn from this!

The 20th century. How are we doing? In the 20th century we are dominated by imperialism, principally North American, this is real, everyone knows it. And where has it brought us? It is reminiscent of the 1920's, here and now, in the worst crisis of the entire history of the Peruvian people. Learning the lesson of past centuries, what can we think? Once more the nation is at risk, once more the republic is at risk, once more our territory is at risk. It can easily be lost, and by interests. This is the situation; this is where they have brought us. But we have a fact, a Peruvian revolution, a People's War, and it is advancing, and will continue to do so. Where have we gotten with this? To a Strategic Equilibrium. And we must understand this well. It is a Strategic Equilibrium! It solidifies itself in an essential situation. What have 12 years served for? To plainly show before the world and principally before the Peruvian people, that the Peruvian state, the old Peruvian state, is a paper tiger that is rotten to the core. That has been proven!

Things being that way, let us think of the danger that the nation, that the country, can be divided, that the nation is at risk. They want to dismember it; they want to divide it. Who wants to do this? As always, imperialism, those who exploit, those who rule. And what should we do? What is our task now? It is appropriate that we push forward the People's Liberation Movement and that we develop it through the People's war because the people, always the people, have been the ones who defend the country, who have defended the nation.

It is time to form a People's Liberation Front, it is time to form and develop from the People's Guerrilla Army a People's Liberation Army. That is what we must do and we shall do it! That is what we are doing and that is what we shall do! You gentlemen shall be witnesses.

Finally now, listen to this. As we see in the world, Maoism is marching unstoppably to lead the new wave of world proletarian revolution. Listen well and understand! Those who have ears, use them. Those who have understanding - and we all have it - use it! Enough of this nonsense. Enough of these obscurities! Let us understand that! What is unfolding in the world? What do we need? We need Maoism to be incarnated, and it is being incarnated, and by generating Communist Parties to drive and lead this new great wave of the world proletarian revolution that is coming.

Everything they told us, the empty and silly chatter of the famous "new age of peace." Where is it now? What about Yugoslavia? What about other places? That is a lie; everything became politicized. Today there is one reality; the same contenders of the First and Second World War are preparing a new Third World War. We should know this and we, as the children of an oppressed nation, are part of the booty. We cannot consent to this! Enough imperialist exploitation! We must finish with them! We are of the third world and the third world is the base of the world proletarian revolution, with one condition, that the Communist Parties brandish and lead! That is what we must do!

We believe the following. Next year will be the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of Chairman Mao. We must celebrate these 100 years! We are organizing it with the Communist Parties. We want a new manner, a celebration which will be the conscious comprehension of the importance of Chairman Mao in the world revolution and we shall begin the celebration this year and we shall finish it the next. It will be a grand process of celebration. I want to take advantage of this opportunity to salute the international proletariat, the oppressed nations of the world and the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement.

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU!

THE PEOPLE'S WAR WILL INEVITABLY PREVAIL!

WE SALUTE FROM HERE THE FUTURE BIRTH OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF PERU!

We say: **GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM!**

And finally we say:

HONOR AND GLORY TO THE PERUVIAN PEOPLE!

Volume 4: 1993-1999

1992 - Resolution of the Central Committee

The Central Committee of the Communist Party of Peru fervently greets our beloved, heroic and magisterial leader, Chairman Gonzalo; the greatest living Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, great political and military strategist, philosopher, teacher of communists, center of party unification, who creatively applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of the Peruvian revolution has generated Gonzalo Thought, guarantee of the revolutions triumph.

The Central Committee of the PCP reaffirms itself in its plain, conscious and unconditional subjection to the sole leadership of Chairman Gonzalo and to the entire system of party leadership.

The Central Committee of the PCP reaffirms itself in the historic recognition of the 1st Party Congress:

"We, the members of the Congress express our recognition of Chairman Gonzalo as the continuator of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao Tsetung, who has guaranteed the cohesion of the main, historic party meeting. Just as our jubilant communist greeting for having initiated and led the Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought counter offensive which will crush the new counterrevolutionary offensive headed by Gorbachev and Deng, and in developing it will impose Maoism as a new, third and higher level of Marxism aiming at a new development of Marxism in service of the world proletarian revolution until communism is reached."

(June, 1989)

Today, now that our beloved leader faces difficult situations, deriving from an unfortunate work accident, we firmly assume his brave and decisive call of September 24, 1992, from prison:

"We are living in historic times, each one must be clear that that is so. We must not fool ourselves. In these moments we must put in tension all the forces, to confront difficulties and continue meeting our tasks and conquer the goals, successes and victory! That is what we must do!"

And that is what our Party is doing, leading the unstoppable peoples

war to conquer power throughout the country, developing a strategic equilibrium, creating more New Power, today organizing the Popular Liberation Front; resolutely applying the accords of the glorious, historic and transcendental III Plenum of the Central Committee. We find ourselves in full application of the IV Plan of Strategic Development of the Peoples War to Conquer Power and the VI Military Plan: "Build the Conquest of Power!", with its first campaign "In Defense of the Great Leadership [Jefatura], Against the Genocidal Dictatorship!" pulling together numerous armed actions which will fill imperialism, the big bourgeoisie and landowners with terror, as well as their revisionist and opportunist lackeys, and all their paid scribes; who in vain try to hide plain reality.

We energetically repudiate the unfounded lies of the genocidal traitor and the whole horde of carnivorous dogs defenders of the old order who try to smear the leader of the Party and the revolution. Chairman Gonzalo is the greatest example of what a communist is and since he himself initiated the invincible peoples war he entered clandestinity and remained there for more than 12 years in heroic, tenacious and secret existence, leading the revolution step by step. It was in those circumstances that his detention of September 12, 1992, by the snitches of "dincote" came about. But our people must know that that detention came about with the advice and direction of yanqui imperialism through the sinister CIA. The imperialism which is openly leading the so called "low intensity war" in our country.

We resolutely warn the genocidal sell out Fujimori and the cowardly and genocidal armed forces who instruct him, specialists in defeat and experts in hiding behind the unarmed masses; the ecclesiastical hierarchy, judges and bureaucrats who support the genocide; and its grand puppetmaster: principally yanqui imperialism, that they are responsible for the life and health of our leader and, to the contrary, should anything happen to him they will pay with their lives and that of all their cohorts, cost whatever it may cost. And we demand respect for the rights which attach to prisoners of war; demanding vigilance by the international organisms whose duty it supposedly is to ensure the meeting of elemental agreements and judicial norms which the reaction itself has established and claims to respect.

We alert our heroic people so that they will not let themselves be confused by the black lies put forth by the genocidal dictatorship which applies its "low intensity war" dictated by its master yanqui imperialism. That is why we condemn the so called "Law of Regret" decreed by the genocides and based on which they have mounted that ridiculous farce which they falsely call "the surrender of hundreds of

subversives" as well as so called "massive arrests of Senderistas" or "the bombing and razing of Senderista strongholds in Ayacucho (Vizcatan, Waripata),Huallaga, etc.". We reaffirm that the Marxist Leninist Maoist, Gonzalo Thought peoples war is invincible and will inexorably conquer victory. And that does not depend on the will of a fortune telling puppet who is not even sure of finishing his "mandate", nor does it depend on the will of the genocidal armed forces nor of yanqui imperialism which has so many times been defeated by the same peoples war. But what they want to hide with their lies is the grave situation in which the old state finds itself which has no exit; what they seek to hide is the desertion of dozens of soldiers who are used as cannon fodder and the hundreds of casualties which are being inflicted on them by the Peoples Liberation Army; what they try to hide are the sharp contradictions which today splits between the two factions of the big bourgeoisie and which reflects itself in the heart of its rotten armed forces.

We recognize and are grateful for the solidarity and support of the international proletariat, Revolutionary International Movement, the Communist parties, the Peoples Organizations, the peoples of the world, who have raised their voice and fists in vigorous protest for the defense of Chairman Gonzalo through declarations, demonstrations, mobilizations and armed actions. We make a call to continue developing these tasks but linked to the campaign "Long Live Maoism".

In the III Plenum of the Central Committee Chairman Gonzalo said:

Maoism incarnating itself in the peoples of the world marches to command the new great wave of proletarian world revolution." And in his speech of September 24, 1992, he told us: "What do we need? We need for Maoism to be incarnated and it is being, and that it continue generating communist parties to lead, to direct that big wave of World Proletarian revolution which is coming upon us." "In the next year it will be 100 years since the birth of Chairman Mao. We must celebrate those 100 years! And we are organizing it with the communist parties." We have begun to do that because Maoism is the third, newest and superior level of the international proletariats ideology and that is decisive.

Finally, we reaffirm ourselves in the unmovable decision to give our lives for Chairman Gonzalo, for the Party and for the Revolution. We reaffirm ourselves in our firm resolution to develop the peoples war to conquer power throughout the country, loyally, tenaciously and vigorously applying our unstoppable and all powerful ideology,

Marxism-Leninisn-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought.

LONG LIVE MAOISM!

LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN GONZALO!

DEFEND THE LIFE OF CHAIRMAN GONZALO!

LONG LIVE MARXISM LENINISM MAOISM, GONZALO THOUGHT!

DEVELOP THE STRATEGIC EQUILIBRIUM!

1993 - Declaration

The Communist Party of Peru, organized vanguard of the proletariat, was reconstituted in more than 15 years of hard-fought struggle by Chairman Gonzalo as a new type of Marxist- Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought Party. Assuming its historical role of seizing power on behalf of the people and the proletariat, in May of 1980 it unleashed the invincible People's War. Since 1991 it unfolds in the strategic equilibrium which today develops in its unstoppable march to seize power and the installation of the People's Republic of Peru.

In more that 13 years of battles and victories, the People's War has firmly rooted itself in our country and is the torchbearer of the world proletarian revolution. The People's War is also the living expression of the validity of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism, which has been creatively applied creatively to the conditions of the Peruvian revolution by Chairman Gonzalo.

We are now successfully applying the Fourth Strategic Plan of Development of the People's War to Conquer Power and the Sixth, and next to last, military plan to achieve the conquest of power. We have completed the first campaign and are initiating the Second Campaign, In Defense of the Great Leadership [Jefatura], against the Genocidal Dictatorship!, thus further developing the democratic and popular path to liberation.

On the other hand, the bureaucratic path of the old state headed by the genocidal, the most obedient lackey of Yankee imperialism, the sell-out puppet Fujimori is traversing the greatest crisis in the history of the republic. The measures which he adopts do not achieve anything but illusory gains leading to general bankruptcy. Each time it confronts greater difficulty in applying its three conterrevolutionary tasks: reviving bureaucrat capitalism, restructuring the old state and annihilating the People's War. Of these, restructuring is the most fundamental. Reality has shown that accomplishing these goals is a historical and political impossibility. The April 5th coup took a step towards absolute centralization, just recently they carried out their farcical and fraudulent "referendum" which they need to approve, by any means. This travesty of "constitution" one step further in the reactionarization of the state, one more action toward Fujimori's presidential absolutism.

In order to carry out this counterrevolutionary plan, and in its

desperation and impotence before the advance of the People's War, and as part of its psychological war within the "low intensity conflict," it has mounted a sinister allegation. This vile falsehood has two purposes: 1) first, it seeks to defame Chairman Gonzalo prior to its premeditated, treacherous plan to annihilate him, and 2) second, it is nothing than proclaiming its dark dream of the "Sendero's capitulation." It is one of the many lies against the PCP that the forces of reaction periodically spread since the beginning of the People's War. Today, it is done by the genocidal traitor, a puppet hooked on the bayonets of the armed forces, Fujimori. He is being advised by the traitor Montesinos and the murder Luza under the guidance of Yankee imperialism, principally the sinister CIA. It is a ridiculous lie that no one with two ounces of sense can take seriously and which, like its predecessors shall be unmasked by the People's War.

The wave of strikes and massive demonstrations stirs the class struggle and shows that the revolutionary situation continues to grow and shall unfold as a revolutionary crisis.

Today, one year after Chairman Gonzalo's historic and masterful discourse of defiance before the world, his timely and wise words encourage the people and fill the reactionaries with fear. The reactionaries seek to conceal the fact that they are rotten to the core and their end is near, and hence, we, the revolutionaries, are getting close to victory. We say this because the word of the Party is a word that is met. As Chairman Gonzalo stated: "Once we solemnly promise not to lay down our weapons until Communism, to persist in the struggle for Communism even if the superpowers or other powers armed to the teeth come with their powerful weapons. We Communists know what we want and why we struggle. Nothing should nor can stop us in meeting the objectives of the Party to serve the people, the proletariat and the world revolution." In celebrating the 65th anniversary of our glorious Party, we reaffirm our unbreakeable decision to guide ourselves by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, to continue the People's War, serving the world revolution, and we vow to give our lives for Chairman Gonzalo, the Party and the revolution. The People's War will inevitably win and will decisively support the development of the world proletarian revolution. The People's Republic of Peru will become a trench of combat for the working class and the peoples of the world. We shall develop the socialist revolution and through successive cultural revolutions we shall march to our final goal: Communism. The Communist Party of Peru assumes its Communist responsibility in being the torchbearer and example, but it is Chairman Gonzalo with his unmatchable light and all-powerful Thought, who has brought us

to this point and who leads us to the golden, shining Communism with a sure and firm hand in his role of continuer of Marx, Lenin and Chairman Mao Tse-tung, which decisively contributes brings a new development to Marxism.

We have the firm conviction that our heroic people under the leadership of the Communist Party of Peru, will reach a total victory. We take as our own the profound words of our respected and heroic Chairman Gonzalo, the greatest living Marxist-Leninist-Maoist on earth: "We, based firmly on Marxism- Leninism-Maoism are sure and convinced of the triumph of the world proletarian revolution, and of the unstoppable march of humanity to Communism. We should assume each time with greater deciveness the conquest of power in the entire country and dauntlessly and unbendably fight for the complete and total triumph of the new social order: Socialism until Communism. We should take into account all the experiences of the world revolution, and principally our own. The Party accords on the 'Eight Possibilities' and the intervention of imperialism, mainly Yankee, be it direct or indirect, alone or joint, and prepare ourselves on all levels to confront it at any moment under any conditions. We should brandish our unconquered proletarian ideology and developing the invincible People's War, always under the leadership of the Party. We should always resolved to oppose imperialism and reaction with an armed sea the of masses for the conquest of power, for the People's Republic of Peru and its defense and for the future inevitable goal of Communism... As Chairman Mao said: The road is winding but the future is bright. We should, then, dare to conquer power and dare to defend it; we must assume our destiny with our own hands."

LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN GONZALO; GREAT LEADER OF THE PARTY AND THE REVOLUTION!

DOWN WITH THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY HOAX!

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU!

THE PEOPLE'S WAR WILL INEVITABLY WIN!

FROM HERE WE GREET THE FUTURE BIRTH OF THE PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC OF PERU!

1994 - Reaffirm Our Basis of Party Unity and Build the Conquest of Power

The page numbers refer to the Spanish documents; where available, English references are given in brackets. The first part of each quote in parts II and III refers to how the section to be studied begins and the last part of each quote is where the section ends.

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QUOTATIONS FROM CHAIRMAN GONZALO

1. "But, furthermore, and this is the basis of every Great Leadership [Jefatura], revolutions give rise to a thinking that guides them, a result of the application of the universal ideology of the international proletariat to the concrete conditions of each revolution, a guiding thought that is indispensable to achieve victory and seize power, and, even more, to continue the revolution and always keep it on course to the only great goal, communism, a guiding thought that once it takes a qualitative leap of decisive importance for the revolutionary process it leads, becomes identified with the name of the person who worked it out in theory and practice. In our situation, this phenomenon took the specific form, first of guiding thought, then of the guiding thought of Chairman Gonzalo, and later as Gonzalo Thought, because it is the Chairman who by creatively applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of Peruvian reality gave rise to it, thus supplying the Party and the revolution with an indispensable arm that guarantees victory."

- Ist Party Congress, "On Gonzalo Thought", pg. 3

2. "We have held the First Congress of the Communist Party of Peru... a Marxist Congress, a Congress of Marxism- Leninism- Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. This Congress... for the prospective seizure of power. I reiterate prospective. ("Interview with Chairman Gonzalo", p 35).

3. "Finally, see that we could not carry forward everything the Party is leading without guiding by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, our ideology and the starting point of the Party's Basis of Unity. We should reaffirm it today more than ever, because it's under attack, it's the object of calumnies, it's being negated; we should maintain the absolute conviction that it is all-powerful because it is true, that is the reality, but simply, but as solid as a rock, after all, all that idealist word-play will fade away and what will remain will be incontrovertible facts. True, we are going through hard times, but it is incontrovertible that the main trend of history is revolution, and it will win out, communism will win out and shine all over the world."

--Preparatory Session for the II Plenum of the Central Committee, pg 2

4. "...it's time to think deeply, since the Party's struggle, by which we mean the People's War it is leading, has never stopped for even a moment, the party is never paralyzed, because it is clear on the road to follow, because it is united around the Great Leadership [Jefatura] of Chairman Gonzalo, the Party Basis of Unity, the People's War, the Strategic Development Plan.

Once again strategic centralization and tactical decentralization is being given expression, we have plans made up of campaigns, and this continues. A Party united by such elements is strong. We emphasize strategic centralization and tactical decentralization because that's communist practice, and our concrete experience. Always keep in mind the glorious toil of eleven years of People's War, the People's War cannot be halted. We shuold even see it this way: the leadership could disappear, in part, not all of it, but the leaders who remain should and can continue the plans, the struggle, the People's War; we are steeled in the understanding that the revolution cannot be stopped, cannot be paralyzed. Chairman Mao taught us, We gather our dead, treat our wounded, and continue fighting."

- " Build the Seizure of Power Amidst People's War", II Plenum.

5. " We have not yet experienced a big defeat, so that these minor particular circumstances, this new phase ir the war and this sinister converging attack are part of the more complicated circumstances we have to undergo until communism shines on the Earth. They are part of the unevennes and are testing our responsibility, s communists; the Party is showing that it can give rise to a leadership that corresponds to our reality, to our necessity; we are sufficiently steeled, the risks do not frighten us nor does the danger stop us: this moment is just one more trial - let it be welcome! It is part of the revolutionary process and we are handling it well, as another step in our becoming steeled. The life of cammunists is struggle, not pleasure. Once, when Marx's daughter asked, what is happiness?, he answered, struggle. Years later Chairman Mao taught that to work is to struggle. We hold tight to all of this; our dfficulties can be conquered because we are a new force with a brilliant future."

- "Build the Seizure of Power Amidst People's War". II Plenum

6. "This convergence of the new revisionist counter-revolutionary offensive in collusion with imperialism dreams of the definitive destruction of Marxism, dreams of sweeping away all that revolution has done, all its achievements, all its heroic action; they want to re-enthrone the old, the rotten domination of reaction during the most

obsolete and evil period of imperialism. This has its repercussions, and we see capitulation and monstrous renegacy, this is happening in the petite bourgeoisie, in the upper crust of the working class. The MRTA, for example, is the preacher of capitulation in this country; they spread 'peace', bourgeois democracy, capitulation in the face of imperialism. Capitulationism expresses itself in two aspects: capitulation in the face of Peruvian reaction, and capitulation in the face of world reaction, that's how it always is; their goal is to sell out the revolution. This is pus, which must be wiped out by blood and fire, and that requires strategy and tactics."

--Preparatory Session for the II Plemum of the Central Committee, p 13

7. "The class, the people, the masses clamour for the development of the People's Work to size power."

"Here the key thing is that the class, the proletariat, the masses, demand the development of the People's War, the deepest

interests of the proletariat, the deepest and most real interests of the masses here need People's War and we can't be deaf to the

clamour of the masses, the class, the people; the masses demand, command, want, need the People's War; and we have dared to call upon them to rebel, and we'll continue doing so today, tomorrow and forever, until we fulfill our goal, communism: we have dared to develop a People's War that is victorious, expanding, and threatening, and the masses are increasingly conscious of this necessity because there is no other in this world. "

"Under the Guidance of the Congress, Reorganize the Metropolitan Commitee!"

I. III CENTRAL COMMITTEE PLENUM. CENTRAL DOCUMENT.

Reaffirmation of the II Plenum: A glorious, historic and far-reaching Plenum

Agreement to publish the Report of the III Plenum. Central Document.

- Report (III Plenum)
- Taking a position on it and reaffirming it.
- II. ON THE APPLICATION OF THE WORK SESSION

1. Keep in mind the Outline Summation of the Campaign, so as to prepare summation reports on the IInd Campaign. Outline.

2. On Yankee imperialism's indirect intervention

- Speech by Chairman Gonzalo

- Document "Build the Conquest of Power Amidst People's War"

p 13 On ideology as an arm of victory: "with such powerful and highly sophisticated... but they haven't achieved it even today."

p 10 "The three stages... Thus if direct imperialist action were to occur .... and at the same time international support grows and becomes more powerful."

- "Let Strategic Equilibrium Shake the Country even more!"

P 36 Restudy section on low intensity warfare

p 43 Point 2. Psychological-operations. II Plenum, 395-407

May document."Elections, No! People's War, Yes", p 7 (In special issue of El Diario)

- On U.S imperialism's "20 Year Plan" carried out by the armed forces and the puppet Fujimori. Oiga magazine no. 647-648.
- Slogan Yankees, go home! Yankees Out of Peru!
- Let us reaffirm what was laid down by the Work Session on contradictions, principal contradiction and polarization.

TACTICS: Unite the people in defense of the Great Leadership [Jefatura], against the genocidal and national-sellout dictatorship!

3. Report on the application of the work session.

Introduction.

1) Communication and hook-ups.

2) Principal task. Specific measures.

3) Sending down and applying the Session.

4) Struggle against the counter-revolutionary hoax, and struggle against the main danger, revisionism.

5) Archives, publications, and finances.

6) Conclusions and perspectives.

Approve the report and salute the fulfillment of the task.

III. ON THE STRUGGLE AGAINST THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY HOAX AND AGAINST THE BLACK GROUPLET THAT IS RAISING A REVISIONIST AND CAPITULATIONIST RIGHT OPPORTUNIST LINE

"Revisionism has already lost out.... those traitors who try to do so or begin to do so."

- Chairman Gonzalo; "Interview with Chairman Gonzalo, p 17

1.REAFFIRM THE PARTY BASIS OF UNITY AND BUILD THE SEIZURE OF POWER AMIDST PEOPLE'S WAR!

a)"Build the Seizure of Power Amidst People's War" II Plenum. Introductory and final parts. Reproduce the document.

b) Our Party Basis of Unity sanctioned in the First Party Congress.

- Reaffirm it. Unleash a mass movement of reaffirmation of the Party Basis of Unity in the whole Party. People's Liberation Army and the masses of the New Political Power.
- "On the Rectification Campaign based on the study of the document Elections, No! People's War, Yes!", p 17.
- The three elements: Party Basis of Unity sanctioned in the Congress. Reproduce the documents: Fundamental Documents.

c)Concretizations. Document. Put out the document, "Long Live Chairman Gonzalo and his all-powerful thought."

d) The Party Basis of Unity and the two-line struggle. Interview with Chairman Gonzalo, pp 23-44 on the Party.

e)On the Party's history, pp 37-41 of the Congress Summary Document.

f) Document, "Under the Guidance of the Congress, Reorganize the Metropolitan Committee!"

g) Document, "Unite Around the Congress".

h) Summary Document, p 72, role played by ideology, and p 83, on Foundations of the Great Plan to Develop Base Areas for the Seizure of

Power.

i) May Directives for Metropolitan Lima. p 12 on entryism and infiltration.

j) "Build the Conquest of Power Amidst People's War", p 22. On the People's War, it is an achievement to maintain it, but if it takes root in the masses and advances, it is a complete success; p 23 on the proportion between directly organized forces and the population.

2.CONTINUE SMASHING THE COUNTER-REVOLUTIONARY HOAX AND TEAR TO SHREDS THE BLACK MONSTROSITIES OF YANKEE IMPERIALISM, THE GENOCIDAL AND NATIONAL SELLOUT DICTATORSHIP AND THE BLACK GROUPLET THAT IS RAISING A REVISIONIST AND CAPITULATIONIST R. O. L.

- Previous history.
- Where the counter-revolutionary hoax is heading.
- Tear to shreds the black monstrosities of Yankee imperialism, the genocidal and national-sellout dictatorship and the black grouplet that is raising a revisionist and capitulationist R.O.L.

3.CONCLUSION AND DEVELOPMENT OF THE TWO-LINE STRUGGLE.

1) Let us reaffirm the Declaration of the Central Committee: facts have correctly and definitively confirmed the position it laid down in the face of the counter-revolutionary plot.

2)The so-called letters Fujimori has presented, the so-called phone call abroad and the subsequent monstrosities are a counter-revolutionary plot cooked up there by Yankee imperialism and the genocidal and national sellout dictatorship in combination with the evil action of the black grouplet. A hoax to win the elections, block the celebration of the Centenary in December and hide the la Cantuta case, in the short run, but its essence is to seek to annihilate the People's War and within that continue their plan to murder Chairman Gonzalo.

3) Denounce, condemn and smash the black grouplet that is raising a revisionist and capitulationist R.O.L., made up-of infiltrators, traitors, capitulators and old revisionists. Grouplet directly linked to the reaction. Their monstrosities are a complete negaiition of the Party's Ist Congress, a Marxist Congress, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought Congress, of the Party Basis of Unity, the Great Leadership [Jefatura], the Party, the People's War, and therefore they have removed themselves from the Party by their own free will.

Keep in mind that 1) What goes against principles cannot be accepted; 2) It is an international communist norm that one cannot lead from inside prison and these monstrosities are in antagonistic opposition to principles, especially all this business about the "peace agreement".....

4) Pay attention to the two-line struggle, develop it to strengthen the People's War, which is the main thing and which is and will be determinate. It is necessary to go deeply into the background, the process, and the present situation to determine the level of struggle in the whole Party.....

5) .....

6)reiterate that what is principal is People's War, and therefore center on our plan because the internal is decisive. It is urgent to bring the whole Party into conformity with the Party Basis of Unity.

IV. TASKS...

ON TWO PROBLEMS.

I. On Democratic Centralism, discipline and two-line struggle.

- Quotations from Chairman Mao on discipline, p 270 (English Little Red Book. p 254)
- Quotations from Chairman Mao on Criticism pp 279-280.
- Necessity of elevating the struggle to the level of line: Chairman Mao Vol 5 p 561, on the dialectical method for the Party's internal unity.

p 553. On self-assessment. [Vol 5, p 507]

p 345. On criticism and uniting with those who criticize you. [pp 317-181]

p 379 and 477. On a simple life-style and arduous struggle. [p 349, p438]

Three Cardinal Rules and-Eight Warnings.

II. On how to understand personal relations subordinated to the Party Basis of Unity.

- Selected Works of Marx and Engels, pp 533-535
- Wedding ceremony
- Quotations by Chairman Mao on women
- Point 11 of the Programme of the Communist Party of Peru.

1994 - Long Live Chairman Gonzalo and His All-powerful Thought!

Chairman Gonzalo’s specifications in the General Political Line and contributions to the world revolution:

> "Without Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought cannot be conceived, because it is the creative application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to our reality. The key question in this point is the understanding of the historical development of the ideology of the proletariat, of its three stages shaped into Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, with Maoism as the principal one. And in essence, principally, the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as universal truth to the concrete conditions of the Peruvian revolution. Hence Gonzalo Thought is specifically principal for the Communist Party of Peru and the revolution it leads."
> "The most substantial and developed part of Gonzalo Thought is found in the Party’s General Political Line. This Thought directly sustains the line and its five elements, since it is the point of departure of this sustainance how it understands and firmly maintains the course of the program."
>
> "To Study and principally to apply Gonzalo Thought is decisive in order to serve the Party, the development of the People's War and the world proletarian revolution more and better. Thus it is decisive to learn from Chairman Gonzalo to wholeheartedly serve the people."
>
> **FIRST CONGRESS OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU**

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- 1 I. INTERNATIONAL LINE
- 2 II. LINE OF THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION
- 3 III. MILITARY LINE
- 4 V. MASS LINE

I. INTERNATIONAL LINE

1.- Struggle to impose Maoism as the new, third and superior stage of Marxism.

2.- World People's War as response to imperialist World War.

3.- The fundamental contradictions and their solution: The principal contradiction.

4.- The three moments of the world revolution: strategic offensive of the world revolution.

5.- Develop bases for strategy and tactics in the world revolution.

6.- The process of Marxism.

7.- Definition of the total and complete bankruptcy of contemporary revisionism.

8.- Combat imperialism, revisionism and world reaction inseparably and implacably.

II. LINE OF THE DEMOCRATIC REVOLUTION

1.- How the Peruvian revolution is perceived: Democratic revolution, socialist revolution and proletarian cultural revolution until Communism (expounded as the third type of revolution).

2.- Generalization of bureaucratic capitalism.

3.- The character of Peruvian society, its fundamental contradictions and the principal contradiction.

4.- On the State: Old State and New State.

5.- The essence of the democratic revolution: Peasant war led by the Communist Party by means through the People's War.

III. MILITARY LINE

1.- Reaffirmation of the principle of revolutionary violence as an universal law, concretized in People's War.

2.- Unified People's War and the importance of the Initiation.

3.- Specification of the Support Bases.

4.- Strategic Development. Strategic Plan of Development.

5.- The five parts of a campaign.

6.- The action's five step.

7.- The Strategic Operational Plans.

8.- Mass work through the People's Army.

IV. LINE OF CONSTRUCTION OF THE THREE INSTRUMENTS OF THE REVOLUTION = =

1.- Principle of construction.

2.- Militarization of the Communist Parties and the concentric construction.

3.- Construction of the People's Guerrilla Army. Incorporation of the militia.

4.- The Rural front: New State (People's Committees, Support Bases and People's Democratic Republic in formation towards the People's Republic of Peru). The urban front, Revolutionary Movement in Defense of the People (MRDP).

5.- The six forms of the New Power: Organizational Committee of the People's Power, People's Committees of parallel power, People's Committees, Open People's Committees and Committee of People's Struggle.

6.- Militancy: Communists first and foremost, fighters and administrators.

7.- Strategy of Construction.

V. MASS LINE

1.- Reaffirmation of the principle "the masses make history" and "it is right to rebel."

2.- The specific weight of the masses in the world revolution (serves to define the principal contradiction in the world).

3.- Mass work in and for the People's War. The countryside. Leadership in the cities.

4.- The struggle for daily demands serving the power.

5.- The generated organisms, militarized in the countryside and specification in the cities.

6.- Law of incorporation of the masses in the People's War.

7.- The only Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought tactic.

8.- Scientific organization of poverty.

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1995 - Prepare the Strategic Offensive Through the Construction of the Conquest of Power

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- 6 THE BORDER PROBLEMS
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    - 6.2 Border with Brazil:
    - 6.3 Border with Ecuador
    - 6.4 The Conflict with Ecuador

INTRODUCTION

The document "Elections No, People's War Yes!" proposes the following three points:

1. The elections are crucial for the reactionaries. 2. The political crisis becomes sharper and contradictions heighten. 3. The boycott develops the people's tendency to reject elections and serves the People's War. Chairman Gonzalo teaches us to study in order to apply theory, and he does it in an extraordinary way in the document "Rectification Campaign with Elections No, People's War Yes!". Let us learn from this to fortify ourselves by analyzing the actual situation; we have the "Political Foundations" which have guided us, continue to guide us and will guide us in the future. We can rely on the "Instructions" and we have all the Party documents that have been established.

INTERNATIONAL SITUATION

The world rocks and storms blow. All the empty and foolish chatter about "the new era of peace" has been swept away by profound political reality. Revolutionary and reactionary violence contend throughout the world, spreading the flames of war across five continents. This shows how imperialism will drown in a complex system of wars of many types, but which will basically be just or unjust wars. The powers and superpowers keep using their bloody bayonets on the oppressed nations, pretending to maintain their dominion "forever." Yankee imperialism aspires to be global policeman and sole hegemonic power, sinking its bloody claws into many points of the globe: Iraq, Somalia, the Middle East, Central Europe, Central America, Africa, Colombia, Peru, etc.) In essence, it is a rotten giant with feet of clay. Russia brandishes its nuclear inheritance to continue dominating and keep alive its old czarist dream, but has a disarticulated economy, coming from the process of disintegration that unraveled the USSR which still threatens the Russian Federation. Germany and Japan have their own claws but both face serious and growing problems. The former can't digest what it conquered, which has generated unemployment, lowered wages and financial problems. The second power faces its worst postwar crisis characterized by a worsening recession and financial failure, all this in the midst of a trade war with US imperialism.

The other imperialist powers, England, France, Italy, China, etc. face similar problems. The circus of economic liberalism has blown up in their faces. The supposed bonanzas and superiority of the imperialism system have shown their character as more monopolist, more parasitical and above all more rotten. Thus, the same contenders of the previous World Wars sharpen their bloody knives and prepare for World War Three, as always in order to repartition the booty and suck the blood of nations and peoples like the vampires they are.

This general counterrevolutionary offensive, headed by Yankee imperialism as the sole hegemonic power, in the midst of the general bankruptcy of modern revisionism, has reached its peak. It begins to fall, struck by the new great wave of the world proletarian revolution that begins to unfold; it is irresistible and no force in the world can contain it. The Third World is bigger than before: Asia, Africa, Latin America and even parts of Europe itself. Its power, its condition as a zone of revolutionary conflict and its potential as a base for revolution

as an expression of the principal contradiction in the world, shows itself in the struggles of many peoples and nations, such as: Chechnya, Somalia, Black South Africa in the struggle against the slave traitor Mandela, in the persistent armed actions and the debacle of the so-called "peace accords," or rather treason. It feeds off the precious blood of the people's struggles, as in Palestine, El Salvador, Cambodia, Colombia, or the struggles in India, Sri Lanka, Sierra Leone, Iran, Iraq, etc. But above all, it shines in the Mao Centennial called for by Chairman Gonzalo, which has served to put Maoism as the new, third, superior stage of the ideology of the international proletariat, as the decisive weapon for the inevitable final triumph. Maoism has been taken up and carried forward as the unfading milestone of victory of the Communist Parties, the International Communist Movement, the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement and the peoples of the world. It is inextricably linked to the campaign to defend the life of Chairman Gonzalo. The waving red banner of the People's War in Peru is elevated and it inspires us to fight and also summons us to victory. Thus, what Chairman Gonzalo teaches us is done, and his actions confirm that revolution is the main historical and political tendency and that it will grow. The last monster, that devourer of man, imperialism, will be wiped off the face of the Earth, along with its lackeys revisionism and reaction. The People's War will prevail and Communism will shine.

NATIONAL SITUATION

In Peru, the old society sinks irremediably into its general crisis, wracked by the People's War that marches unstoppably to carry out the Democratic Revolution.

Our people suffer the merciless oppression and exploitation of imperialism, mainly Yankee, bureaucratic capitalism, and semi-feudalism, the three rotten mountains based on the old landlord-bureaucratic state which is the organized reactionary violence, the reactionary violence of imperialism, the big bourgeoisie and the greedy landlords. They unleash this with exacerbated class hatred against the people, now headed by the genocidal sell out dictatorship headed by Nicol s de Bari Hermoza Rios and his puppet, the mediocre reptile Fujimori.

They crow over their economic success such as "economic growth," "reinsertion," "control of inflation, *but it is no more than a boil about to burst. Short term successes lead to deeper general bankruptcy. The example of Mexico has made them wake up to their inevitable destiny. The grave they must fall into by necessity is buried by us, their grave diggers that is the PCP leading the people in the People's War. We live through the Third Moment of contemporary Peruvian society, of its general crisis and decomposition; this must be understood. Looking at the process of history, they have always had crises, leading them to lower and lower depths each time. Afterwards, they experience a transitional recuperation only to later plummet into crisis. Looking at the three moments of contemporary Peruvian society, each one has expressed itself in three parts: a preparatory phase, a second part of laying down bases, followed by the third part, which is its collapse. In this third moment, this phenomenon has been seen from 1980-1990 as the preparation part, passing over to the laying down of bases, especially since the coup of 1992. What is coming is the third part, their sinking and destruction.*

Here we compare some of their economic problems to the Mexican case. Peru has an economy 1/12 the size of Mexico's, and both countries have become indebted at the same scale of 7-8% of their GNP, much greater than Brazil or Argentina (2%) or Chile, "which has no foreign debt." Peru stopped payments in 1983 due to its inability to pay. Since 1992 by virtue of the "reinsertion" the foreign debt has grown by $3 billion which has not benefited any productive sector, but rather has acted parasitically, taking more than it produces.

Economists say that this rate of indebtedness can be paid off in installments, but given the spectacular crash of the stock market, it shows the sensitivity of the vagabond capital that comes to Peru and that runs away at the first sign of instability. The supposed $5.6 billion surplus in reserve is composed mainly of deposits from commercial banks, that deposit 40% of their income. Only a little more than a billion dollars is actually managed by the state and that is being squandered as if it lived in Queen Elizabeth's palace, with Prince Charles, Diana and everyone. Where will the reinsertion wind up? Mexico went bankrupt but it has the backing of the imperialist countries, which Peru will not have. Mexico has a debt of $150 billion; Peru has $80 billion, but Mexico has no expired debts, whereas Peru has $8 billion past due. Its debt to the Paris Club is heavily renegotiated and at very high interest rates. In Mexico there is the Chiapas problem (Zapatistas), but they move within the evolution of the old state, seeking elections. They want to whitewash the old system, and not destroy it, and they are linked to priests (on the other hand the people are fighting and expressing their desire to struggle); by contrast, in Peru there is a persistent and unstoppable People's War that is demolishing the system, which is not happening in Mexico. The bourgeois economists state that the risk for Peru is not this year, but perhaps within 2-4 years. Didn't they say that they were entering a great take off of the economy?

Always basing ourselves on Gonzalo Thought, we must note that we are entering the second half of this decade, ever more critical than the first five years. This falls within crisis and destruction, as we must see that within this, we are approaching its third part. With regard to the so-called economic growth--isn't it based on road building, fishing and financial speculation? The reality of it is the collapse of national production; consider inflation, caught in the trap of a low price dollar, making the national products noncompetitive in the international market, which causes in turn a decrease in exports of goods and services, a negative trade balance, increasing unemployment and bankruptcies. The dollar was at 2.27 Nuevos Soles (NS) in August 1994, dropped to 2 NS in December and is now 2.17 NS (1995). If they devalue it to maintain parity in the exchange rate there would be an inflationary increase (keep in mind that 70% of savings are in dollars); some say that the dollar is rising rapidly and suggest lowering taxes or giving tax exemptions to exports, but require that our exports grow by at least a factor of four. This will not happen. Thus, a growing inflation rate is looming and the reactivation of production will not be realized.

Due to this "Peruvian miracle" more that 70,000 infants die each year

and hunger is spreading like a cruel plague against the physical integrity of the people: today we eat less than half of what we did 20 years ago. In 1990 there were five million people in extreme poverty and today there are 13 million. Homelessness is rising and there is a super-exploitation of the working class. The workday is growing longer, it has increased by over a half; real wages have declined and the rate of exploitation has risen because a handful of imperialists, big bourgeoisie and landlords are pocketing more profits by decreasing relative wages, not to mention the terrible working conditions of laborers. The peasantry is suffering from the putrid exploitation of that unburied corpse, semi- feudalism, which condemns millions of people to the most frightening misery. Today on new conditions, there is a renewed dispossession of land and a new concentration of ownership is developing. Behind the facade of "entitlements," "census" and the old weapons of mortgage and usury, semi-feudalism is being reproduced even in the capital, for example in the young town of Huayc n (peasants are being buried alive).

Agricultural production is collapsing and the problem is deepening with the uncontrolled imports of food stuff. With respect to health and education, they are more neglected as ever, under the guise of "privatization" and "making them more efficient"; epidemics like malaria, cholera, TB, etc. are spreading widely. In education, public schools are being neglected, and while ridiculous inaugurations of colleges are staged for the purpose of improving the criminal image of the tyrant on TV. They show installations of computers where there is no electricity, while our children die of hunger. Kids don't have the money for pencils and paper and teachers grow tattered on miserable wages that they can barely live on. In housing, it is scarce and precarious if available, and groups of families are crowded together. In the countryside the masses suffer the most violent displacement, when they have land they can't even get a roof over their heads. They lack basic services like electricity, water and sewage and when they do have them they suffer painful taxes and exorbitant tariffs. Small and medium sized businesses bite their fingernails as they see how their savings and capital is liquidated, devoured relentlessly by the monopolies.

TO SOLVE THE MAJOR PROBLEMS AND ISSUES OF OUR PEOPLE: WE MUST FIGHT FOR LAND, WAGES AND NATIONAL PRODUCTION

With respect to the restructuring of the old state, our point of departure must be the understanding of the character of the State. It is a dictatorship of the big bourgeoisie and landlords serving Yankee imperialism, and it is a landlord-bureaucratic state. With the development of the People's War, the old state has become more and more reactionary, and with its need to develop the counterrevolutionary war it marches toward absolute centralization. We must also see how this process of reactionarization is managed by Yankee imperialism, which was behind the coup (April 1992) that marked its most open intervention, leading a reactionary offensive under the criteria of low-intensity warfare. They pursued the entire process of electoral consultation and it was Yankee imperialism that imposed that pile of paper they call a Constitution. The Constitution of 1979 satisfied no one and had a short life; the perspectives for the current one is worse, it is falling apart, violated by its own mentors. This "Constitution" is an instrument of low-intensity warfare. In essence, it serves to judicially consecrate the unchecked denial of the Rights of the People, hunger, general repression, genocide and the blatant auctioning of our country.

Concluding this process of electoral consultation is the general election of 1995. Let us examine their institutions, their political parties, based on their representative system: how are they doing? In a very grave crisis. APRA, where is its third? Its "solid North?" In 1990 they barely got 15%, now their polls say 2%, "Mechona" is in the middle of a huge scandal; the PPC threw in the towel, "twisted mouth" had to give up in order to get at least a seat in the rubber stamp Congress; the IU is another mess. They are capable of anything, for example, of sawing the floor out from under themselves, of sticking knives in others' backs to fulfill their electoral dream, Barrantes yelling that he was getting out as fast as he could; the AP, the nephew of Bela๖nde is hopeless, unable to get off the ground. The entire

electoral process is a disaster because it is an instrument of the low-intensity war with the objective of "legitimizing" the old state and the government that leads it. It can't achieve this. On the contrary, the elections are increasingly deprecated and the "delegitimization" advances to a steady beat. Added to the aforementioned situation of the political parties and the electoral desertion, we see the "drama" of Susana, Fujimori's wife who wants to be the center of attention; we also see the situation of Campos Arredondo, closely tied to Fujimori, who included on his ticket one of Fujimori's friends, the thief Manrique Carre๑o. Even P̆rez de Cu̇llar announced his retirement.

The consecrated electoral fraud is plain as day for everyone to see. These elections have been discredited nationally and internationally. Not even the bloody P,rez de Cu̇llar, nor the Yankees with their pimp Toledo, nor the imbecile Belmont can save it.

Let us look at the Armed Forces as part of the state, which has its military-bureaucratic apparatus. With regard to the bureaucracy, it is a mix of authorities through those who exercise the power of the state, decorative ministers, the CCD (Congress) to perfume Fujimori's stench. The judicial power is totally servile and we now know that the JNE (National Electoral Board) carries out the electoral fraud and is a tool for reaction. However, the armed forces are the spinal column of the state and have the same class character of the state they uphold. These reactionary armed forces is controlled by the big bourgeoisie and landlords at the service of imperialism. They are against the people and with their daily assassinations, they are not the least bit "professional," so they are simply butchers, genocidal hyenas, very brave when killing unarmed masses, but cowards to die, cowards to face the armed people and cowards to defend the nation. They are experts at defeat, a dishonor of Bolognesi, Grau, C ceres and Qui๑ones. They call themselves "tutelary forces" and "policeman of the nation, but as part of the reactionarization of the state, these armed forces are rotten. They have seven or eight different groups within their ranks, but the dominant one is a depraved clique that has Fujimori on the point of a bayonet. He relies on the services of the murderer Luza and the traitor Montesinos, along with his "little brother" Santiago Fujimori. They all have dirty deals with drug traffickers like "Vaticano", Tijera, Lขpez Paredes or swindlers like Manrique Carreคo, whom they turn their backs to today. This profound corruption generates thousands of contradictions and causes growing dangers for the old state, heading towards a major rupture. Furthermore, in this electoral process the armed forces are involved in the reelection of Fujimori and have taken up his electoral campaign. In synthesis, we stress that: these general elections of 1995 are more

crucial than before, and they are a tool of low-intensity war and have the goal of "legitimization"; but very much to the contrary, the "delegitimization" advances to a beating drum, and they face the collapse of their electoral process. As a counterpart, the tendency of the people to oppose the elections grows. As we analyze the electoral referendum of October 1993, let's see what happened. A few weeks before Fujimori had read the alleged "surrender letter of Sendero" at the United Nations, Yankee imperialism, the sell out and genocidal dictatorship and the revisionists spread the counterrevolutionary hoax. One of their objectives was to win the elections, but what resulted? The Party responded with the uncontainable People's War. On October 21, 1993, there was the action at Hotel Crillon with others to follow, both in the countryside and in the city. Due to the Party's actions which elevated the boycott to its highest level, and thus has crushed the counterrevolutionary hoax close to 55% of the population over 18 rejected the electoral process and if we add the 22-23% that voted "no," we have 77- 78% of the population that repudiated the dictatorship. We focus on that 55%, on that torrent of masses, and keeping in mind the 22%, what was shown? That the Party, by elevating the boycott through the People's War, is running the country and defines its political process. Even the reactionaries proposed the three new thirds: Fujimori's third, the opposition third, and Sendero's third.

HOW THEN IS RESTRUCTURING GOING, THE FOURTH IN THIS CENTURY?

With respect to the counterinsurgency war, we must focus attention on the coup of April 1992. When they reach a turning point in that process, with a more open Yankee imperialist intervention in direct control, through the low-intensity conflict applied by the sell out genocidal dictatorship they escalate their campaigns of encirclement and annihilation because of their necessity to regain positions to maintain their system, that is, their task within the strategic equilibrium. The Party fought them and defeated them. However, they captured Chairman Gonzalo. All of them, including the revisionists and their servants thought it was a great defeat, but Chairman Gonzalo told them: "you are dreaming! Keep dreaming! It is a bend in the road, nothing more!" They believed that they could win a quick victory but crashed into the whirlwind of the unstoppable People's War, steered and built by Chairman Gonzalo, solidly united around the Great Leadership [Jefatura], the Basis of Party Unity, the People's War and the Plan of Strategic Development. They launched sinister plans with the complicity of their revisionist agents, infiltrators and traitors, launching more bloody offensives against the Base Areas, and launched the counterrevolutionary hoax, trying to implicate Chairman Gonzalo. However, their military offensives were crushed and their hoax of "peace talks" was defeated. Then they held a meeting in December 1993, and asked for more aid from their Yankee imperialist friends. Watson and other Yankee military brass came and launched their operations "Aries," "Oreja de perro," "Cojo Rodrոguez," "Liebre" I, II and III, etc. However, they only reaped thorough defeats; they were bloody operations in which they have brutalized the unarmed masses, perpetrating the only thing they know how to do, genocide; but in the face of the thunder of the rifles of the People's Army of Liberation they fled from the battlefields like a stampede of rabbits. In November 1994, the chief of the Yankee Southern Command came. Why did he come? He came to plan a new and more developed campaign of encirclement and annihilation with a growing participation by Yankee imperialism under the guise of "now it is war against drug trafficking." Fujimori announced with great fanfare in December that the problem was the final war against the drug traffic and loudly proclaimed the active participation of Yankee helicopters and bombardments, but the

masquerade was quickly uncovered by the powerful response of the Communist Party with the People's War, exposing that it was an anti-Communist offensive against the People's War, the Party and the people, and that it was open Yankee intervention under the charade of "war against drugs." Once again they are being defeated and fail to reach their objectives!

Thus, their three counterrevolutionary tasks are impossible to accomplish both historically and politically; they cannot achieve them, nor will they achieve them. What is happening is the ripening of the conditions for the triumph of the People's War. The revolutionary situation is developing gradually and is marching toward the revolutionary crisis. This depends on us, on what we do with our actions. We can do it, because we have the invincible weapon of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, the Great Leadership [Jefatura] of the Party, and we have an invincible People's War.

Revisionist wretches and the dregs of reaction want to throw dirt in our eyes when they talk about a "general political retreat." We must think about this. If our revolution suffers a great defeat (which has not happened yet), the revolutionary situation under development would become a static revolutionary situation, which would imply a retreat, but this would be no more than a small dark butt in our brilliant advance. In China in 1927, the revolution suffered a hard reverse. It entered a situation of revolutionary stasis due to the actions of opportunism and revisionism. For this reason, they must be combated implacably; but if that is what revisionism did, what did Chairman Mao do? What did the red line do? They didn't say whine? They didn't say dialogue, they said People's War! And then they began the path of surrounding the cities from the countryside. We must learn from this! We are Maoists, furthermore, we have Gonzalo Thought; we must think then, even under the worst circumstances, that the People's War cannot and will not be stopped, and the red flag certainly will not be lowered. The People's War is our only hope. Let us reaffirm ourselves in the solemn promise that we have taken up, of not abandoning our arms until Communism! Before the overwhelming revolutionary reality, the reactionaries sink, drowning in the midst of the genocide that they perpetrate against our people. The reactionaries are being completely demolished by the People's War. The shadows will be buried and the light of the sun will illuminate every corner of our homeland.

THE BORDER PROBLEMS

Border with Chile:

There is the treaty from the last century, which is the root of the war with Chile; later came the Treaty of 1929, in which Chile kept our land Arica, and Tacna was returned to Peru. Under the Treaty, Chile assumed the promise of building a bridge in the port of Arica and to cede the ownership of it to Peru. Related to this, Bolivia would have access to the sea through a corridor to the south of Arica. During the government of the (guadameco) Garĉa Ρrez, Pinochet said that he could give a corridor to Bolivia north of Arica, that is, between Arica and the Line of Concordance. Neither the genocidal demagogue Garcia nor his Chancellor Allan Wagner said that corridor is ours; in actuality, the government signed the so-called "Lima Convention," with worse terms than the one signed in 1929. There was a general outcry and the Lima Convention was suspended; but on other hand, they have sold copper mines to Chile that are on Peruvian territory, as in Moquegua As if it wasn't significant, Bolivia now has its corridor and even its "Bolivian Sea," not to the south of Arica, nor to the south of Tacna, but farther north, in ILO.

Border with Brazil:

There are three entryways to the Pacific for Brazil (note that it is from Brazil to the Pacific, not Peru to the Atlantic): One is from the south, entering by Madre de Dios, from Puno to Matarani (Arequipa). In 1992, Brazilian businessmen arrived in Arequipa and said that Matarani is the "natural exit" for Brazil to the Pacific (for the transoceanic highway). The other is by way of Atalaya to Lima, which cuts Peru in half, and the third is in the north, entering at Bagua and reaching Piura.

Border with Ecuador

We must consider several issues. The Congress has already outlined to us the border problem, and Chairman Gonzalo has reiterated it in his masterful Speech, where he established three centuries, three crises that put the nation at risk. That is our point of departure.

The Conflict with Ecuador

This problem carries over from the previous century, from the time of the Greater Colombia of Bolกvar. In 1941 there was a war and in 1942 the Rio de Janeiro Protocols were signed where Peru ceded, "from generosity" they say, thousands of square kilometers. The borders were established and marked, relying on four "guarantors" (four rogues, with the biggest rogue the Yankees.) Boundary markers were not set, and 78 kilometers of the Cordillera del Cขndor were not set, and from that time this issue has been manipulated by Yankee imperialism and the reactionary governments of Peru and Ecuador that are always against the people, and against our nations in formation. In this specific case, we must see that for many years Ecuador has been inside our borders; they were there in 1981. At that time, Hoyos Rubio (Chief of the Joint Command of the armed forces) stated that we should go to Guayaquil and definitively mark the border. Shortly after, he suffered a strange accident. Ecuador remained on our territory, and starting from 1990 this invasion has unfolded. Fujimori and the Armed Forces have endorsed it. In 1992, when Durแn Ballๆn took the presidency of Ecuador, Fujimori was there and assisted him, and Durแn Ballๆn stated that "Ecuador is an Amazonian nation" and invoked the expedition by Orellana. What did he mean by this? That all the northern border of the Amazons belonged to Ecuador, or that Iquitos is part of Ecuador? What did Fujimori do? Years before, the wretched Luis Alberto S nchez walked out from a public meeting in similar circumstances, but Fujimori applauded the rabid Durแn Ballๆn and later embraced him. Later the Ecuadorean reactionaries picked him up and carried him through the streets of Quito. Before this Torres y Torres Lara ordered by the "victorious General" Hermoza Rกos, signed the "Gentlemen's Pact," ratifying the Ecuadorean invasion.

Our borders have been given to us by the people, they have given them to us with their blood, and only the people can defend them. Today the only way to do this is by joining the People's Army of Liberation to make the People's War led by the Communist Party. As far as the reactionary Armed Forces, when have they defended Peru? When have they defended our borders? The reactionaries have not stopped giving away our territory to other countries. They have handed over territory to Brazil, Colombia, Chile, and Bolivia. When have they defended the nation? Never! What about today with the sell out, genocidal dictatorship? Even less. No one can tell us that the sell out, the traitors, and those who kill the people are going to defend our

territory! Since when does a thief protect our goods? Never!

What have Fujimori and the reactionary Armed Forces done in the last few years? They have followed their law of genocide and betrayal, and worse yet, one must see the actions described earlier. In the midst of their growing "delegitimization," the failure of their tasks [e.g., reinvigorate bureaucratic capitalism] and the defeat of their electoral process, what can we conclude? That behind the conflict with Ecuador there can be nothing more than malevolent interests and sinister plans against the people and the People's War, on behalf of Yankee imperialism, the genocidal sell out dictatorship, and the reactionary Ecuadoran government! Furthermore, we should think: Do the Ecuadoran people have fundamentally different interests than the Peruvian people? No! They do not. We have the same fundamental interests; people do not fight against people! For this reason we say: Peruvian and Ecuadorian people unite, and frontally combat Yankee imperialism and native reaction! This can only be done through the People's War today more than ever. Without the People's Army of Liberation the people will have nothing and without the People's War they will conquer nothing, and their destiny will not be formed. For all of these reasons, what do we then need? More Communist Parties, more People's Liberation Armies, more New Power, and the People's War!

For these reasons, we fight for the Rights of the People and the People's War against repression and genocide and against the old state and imperialism. We fight tenaciously and heroically for the People's Republic of Peru. We must reaffirm and apply the slogan: UNITE THE PEOPLE IN DEFENSE OF THE GREAT LEADERSHIP [JEFATURA], AGAINST THE GENOCIDAL DICTATORSHIP! REAFFIRM OURSELVES ON THE BASIS OF PARTY UNITY AND BUILD THE CONQUEST OF POWER!

We have been applying the 6th and penultimate Military Plan. In the international, national, and party situation, which make the detention [of Chairman Gonzalo] historic and put all the forces in tension, we are implementing what was established by the Third Plenum of the Party.

We have implemented the First Campaign, defending the life of Chairman Gonzalo and defeating the enemy, because the torch has remained lit. The Second Campaign was developed in September 1993 to June 1994, and obtained a powerful victory, crushing the most developed campaigns of encirclement and annihilation launched by the enemy in those 13 years, along with their counterrevolutionary

hoax. Their dream of a "quick victory," in which they would liquidate us in a few months was turned into a nightmare, because the People's War was not only maintained, but it has been developed, which demonstrates how profoundly it is rooted in the people. Our people clamor from their deepest soul for more and more Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought People's War, and the red flag has been elevated even higher, with our leader Chairman Gonzalo and our glorious PCP.

On the basis of these two campaigns, the Third Campaign was established, which has been an all-round and brilliant success, a crushing campaign in which we have been powerfully crushing the enemy. This is shown by the Ayacucho Committee between the months of August and November 1994, with a counter-campaign with an active defense and the People's War that annihilated over 100 soldiers of the genocidal Armed Forces in ambushes and other military actions. In Huallaga in the same period, in other ambushes, 58 elements of the Armed Forces and police were annihilated; in addition we eliminated counter-revolutionaries, infiltrators, and traitors. Afterwards there were more ambushes, assaults, and military hostilities, highlighted by the ambush in the locality of Previsto. In all these actions, more than one hundred of the enemy forces were annihilated. In Cangallo-Fajardo the People's War continued, the seizure of towns, the annihilation of informers, sweepings, annihilation of rustlers that acted against the people and as enemy agents, highlighted by the ambush of Chumbilla, where a military convoy was attacked inflicting seven casualties. In the north there were seizures of towns, annihilation of police officers and old authorities, as well as the assault on the police post of Aglomarca in Cajabamba, completely demolishing it. In the mid north the armed actions continue incessantly, with incursions and seizures of towns that have fallen back into reactionary hands. In the capital, there was the September offensive, with sabotage and car bombings, sabotage of the electrical grid, annihilation of police officers, SIN agents, and their lackeys of the Peace Accords, widespread agitation and propaganda, harassment of police posts, car bombings of two Air Force bases, the car bombing of Luza and D'Onofrio, the ambush and capture of Fales in Comas (November), the sabotage of banks and financial institutions, arson of the commercial chains of the big bourgeoisie, among other actions. The People's War has continued developing persistently in the south of the country, to which can be added the heroic resistance of the prisoners of war, who are fighting the enemy under very difficult conditions, persisting in combating, mobilizing, and producing, converting the gloomy dungeons of the reactionaries

into Shining Trenches of Combat, no matter what the handful of treacherous, wretched, loyal servants of Yankee imperialism that spread the "Peace Accords" may say.

We must continue combating the revisionists and capitulators because if we don't combat it we cannot build apparatuses superior to those of the enemy, and we cannot conquest power throughout the country. The main thing is to reaffirm ourselves on the Basis of Party Unity and Build the Conquest of Power, and this demands crushing offensives against the revisionist and capitulators, sweeping it away, and purging the Party so that it is strengthened, so that its fortress-like nature is expressed even more as the Party created by Chairman Gonzalo. Like a fine sword of the purest steel, we are bastions of that fortress, we have been, we are, and we should be even more so. It is a necessity and the class and people demand it of us! Therefore, we must PREPARE THE STRATEGIC OFFENSIVE THROUGH THE CONQUEST OF POWER, as befits our hill in the Strategic Equilibrium.

We are currently applying the IV Strategic Plan of the People's War to seize power throughout the country. We must apply it more, with Communist firmness and resolution, as it guides us, gives us a road, and allow us to face the most sinister enemy offensives. To persist in this is to strengthen the unified People's War, making more Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought People's War that follows the path of surrounding the cities from the countryside and whose nerve centers are the Base Areas. Take this, that the Base Areas must materialize the relative stability of the New State on its march towards the People's Republic of Peru, and this is done by way of the VI Military Plan, with the plans of victory established by our Chairman Gonzalo, heroically followed by our Central Committee and the entire system of leadership. This is done by defeating and crushing the enemy's campaigns of "encirclement and annihilation," managing the four forms of struggle and above all guerrilla warfare, because without annihilating enemy forces we cannot preserve nor develop our forces, and we cannot beat their bloody offensives.

We are prepared to cross the river of blood, the trench of blood and victory that the conquest of power countrywide demands of us; life will be affirmed on top of a pile of corpses. We will face difficulties and tumultuous times, but we are a new force with brilliant prospects. We emphasize the importance more than ever of the slogans: "Learn from Chairman Gonzalo!" and "Embody Gonzalo Thought!". We will apply Gonzalo Thought and darkness will be made clear, what appears to be impossible will be achieved and the difficult will become easy. We must recall what Chairman Mao taught us: "The war will be won

by whoever resists one more minute . . . " We know how to do this. We will win because we know what we want, and what we want is power. For this reason, we are focused in combat: "Our center is combat, and our daily life is war," so let us develop further the People's War. This is how things are, and the problem is and shall continue to be: "fight or die, the bloody struggle or nothing."

PEOPLE'S WAR UNTIL WE REACH COMMUNISM!

1995 - Against the Country Selling and Genocidal Dictatorship, Persist in the People's War!

LONG LIVE THE XV ANNIVERSARY OF THE INVINCIBLE PEOPLE'S WAR!

Next May 17th marks 15 years of the victorious and invincible People's War in Peru, the blazing bonfire of armed rebellion, which is maintained against wind and tide, forming and opening the path of definitive and authentic liberation of our beloved and heroic people.

People's War watered with the blood of uncountable martyrs of the Party, the Army and the masses; which is waged for and persists in the conquest of Power, for the attainment of a new and true democracy, for a People's Republic of Peru in a first stage of the revolution and for the construction of Socialism in a second stage.

People's War which was prepared, initiated and led by our Great Leader, Chairman Gonzalo; which is always supported by the masses of people, carried out by the People's Liberation Army and led by the Communist Party of Peru. The People's War of today, almost 15 years in development through campaigns and counter-campaigns of "encirclement and annihilation", the principal form of the Civil War, is being victoriously upheld despite the zig-zags or transitory reverses which have befallen; after all, this must necessarily unfold in a process of victories and reverses, but these reverses have been completely transitory and partial. It must be understood what Chairman Mao Tsetung taught: "Strategically speaking, there is a defeat only when a counter-campaign against 'encirclement and suppression' fails completely, but even then the defeat is only partial and temporary. For only the total destruction of the Red Army would constitute complete defeat in the civil war; but this has never happened." Thus the crowing and the dark and sinister dreams of imperialism, reaction and revisionism turn to smoke before the persistence of the heroic People's War which now finds itself leaving its difficult and complex bend in the road, but which will necessarily triumph.

II THE BASIS OF PARTY UNITY IS THE FOUNDATION OF ALL OUR ACTIONS!

Thus, from the outset of greeting this new anniversary of the invincible People's War we wish to reaffirm ourselves in its ideological and political foundation, the point of departure of all our actions, the Basis of Party Unity with its three elements: 1) Ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. 2) The Program; and 3) The General Political Line and its center the Military Line, approved by the First Congress of the Party, a Marxist Congress, a Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought Congress. Such a reaffirmation is necessary today more than ever because we face, not only in our country but at a world level, a sinister general counter-revolutionary offensive commanded by imperialism, reaction and revisionism. Concretely, because of what pertains to our Party, a new litter of shameful partisans of a revisionist and capitulationist Right Opportunist Line (ROL) has rabidly surged forward who are totally and completely negating the Basis of Party Unity. Nursed by and sponsored by the armed forces and the puppet Fujimori they have cackled from their rat-holes for the realization of a so-called "Second Congress..." to revoke the first, belching out that there "the struggle" for a Peace Accord with the genocidal country sellers is going to be defined, thus endorsing the dark hoaxes of "surrender" and "repentance" of their masters and trafficking with the name of Chairman Gonzalo.

We repudiate and condemn these miserable rats, groveling "wanna be chiefs" who have been incapable of sustaining a work-related accident, much less giving their lives for the Party and the Revolution. Today they sell themselves for a bowl of porridge, having sought to injure the morale of the class and the Party, but this they will never achieve.

These traitors, expressing their revisionist essence and splittist desires, have proven incapable of carrying out a debate and expounding their positions in the internal struggle. They have fled like cowards and from outside the ranks they have raised their dark and rotten banners, while their leaders hide themselves like shameful ostriches. Thus they have acted and act, trying to surprise the unwary; but we should know them well, because opportunists and revisionists have existed during the long years of Party life, but apparently never like these, such perfidious, traitorous and reptilian. They have reached the extreme of committing such a monstrous crime as having propitiated the arrest of our Great Leader, Chairman Gonzalo, and Comrade Mirian and other valuable leaders, cadre, militants, combatants and masses, many of

which were assassinated as soon as they were arrested. But from now on we say to them that all the damage they have caused and continue to cause to the revolution will not remain with impunity; know that like their masters, they will pay with interest for all the crimes they have committed.

Finally, something more in this vein, all ready in the Third Plenum of the Central Committee Chairman Gonzalo warned us about the danger of a rise of a revisionist line, of which there were already indications it was being hatched, an opportunist line which would be opposed to the conquest of Power. He told us that if the Initiation of the Armed Struggle required a hard struggle against the ROL of these times, there was even better reason to think about an even greater struggle, an earth-shaking struggle, before an even greater leap, such as the conquest of Power. Events have once more proven him right, but what we have experienced has been their anticlimax, because this revisionist abortion has been incapable of sustaining ideological and political positions in the internal struggle and has simply split the Party with the help of the reaction itself and probable infiltrating agents, having bolted in a gallop after the arrest of Chairman Gonzalo.

III THE CURRENT SITUATION AND THE TASKS OF THE PARTY.

More and more it is confirmed that revolution is the principal tendency in the world, but this is concretized through twists and turns. The end of the so-called "cold war" with the drowning of Russian social-imperialism has not signified the "beginning of a new era of peace and stability" as imperialism, principally Yankee imperialism, proclaims, repeating what the Chinese revisionists have been bringing up for years, and which is servilely repeated in our country by the reaction and the revisionists of the ROL. Rather it constantly proves that there is neither economic nor political stability anywhere, and that it is in the midst of wars of all types and a growing militarization that we attend the end of the 20th century.

There isn't even peace in Europe itself, where Yugoslavia continues to disintegrate with more than 200,000 dead in less than three years of war, while in Chechnya Russian imperialism continues to unfold a barbaric genocide; and what can be said about Rwanda, a backward country where over 500,000 died in only three months? And what happened to the "Peace" signed between Israel and the PLO with the endorsement of Yankee imperialism? To say nothing of the problems which are breaking out in Mexico, on the flank of the "international gendarme" itself, or the war between Peru and Ecuador, etc.

Essentially it is as Chairman Mao and the CPC said in the 1960s: Once more there is a great disorder under heaven, and on another side, a New Wave of the World Revolution has begun to unfold, and the Communist Parties must militarize and fulfill their role, putting Maoism in command and applying People's War to the conditions of their own countries.

In reference to the situation of our country: hunger, poverty, unemployment, repression, genocide, the sale of national sovereignty, etc.: these are only some of the calamities which are deepening to the highest degree because of the genocidal and country selling dictatorship, in reality headed by Hemoza Ríos, the apprentice of Pinochet, of which the puppet Fujimori only is a cheap and vulgar figurehead.

The problem is that on the one hand a revolutionary situation in development is being expressed, strengthened by the much better revolutionary conditions than in 1980 when the People's War was

launched; and on the other hand, it shows once more that what Chairman Gonzalo and the Party established in the General Political Line is clearly being fulfilled, particularly with respect to the general crisis of Bureaucratic Capitalism and its inexorable process of decomposition. A very important question, even more so now that we have entered the second half of the decade in which, as in the previous ones, the critical state is necessarily aggravated. This is an objective situation which not only smashes to pieces the mind products of the genocidal gang about the "new Asian tiger" or the "Peruvian miracle", but also the shameless partisans of the revisionist and capitulationist ROL which cackle about how "bureaucratic capitalism is becoming viable". As always, they are confusing the appearance with the essence, thus seeking to fool our people by exalting what is no more than passing blossoms within the process of the inevitable drowning of bureaucratic capitalism.

Another aspect of the current situation is the realization of the forthcoming elections, which newly turn crucial for the reactionaries because they find themselves riddled with contradictions, particularly in the situation in which they carry out their three tasks, which have become bogged down. Thus, in the economic sphere the greatest general crisis in the history of the republic is unfolding and will continue to unfold, despite fleeting and limited recoveries, which don't even imply the overcoming of the recession nor inflation, to say nothing of unemployment, which as they themselves say "has reached historic levels." We can see how industry continues to decrease and the cost of living continues to rise, despite what the crafty conjurers of numbers say. Meanwhile agriculture continues its extreme prostration, made even worse by the millionaire shady deals in food imports done by those around the ruling clique. Furthermore, we all know that the foreign debt has grown under this government from $19 billion to over $25 billion. The ruling clique talks a lot about how "the economy is growing", but this is false the way almost everything they say is false because this government has made cynicism and lies the norm in its actions. Growth is not the demagogic and electorally motivated misconstruction of schools for students and teachers with empty stomachs, to say nothing of the extremely high indicators of truancy reached under this government; growth is not repairing roads nor opening a few trails with borrowed dollars for which high interest will have to be paid to imperialism; growth is not depredating the Peruvian sea to benefit the entourage of a voracious clique; nor is growth the cheap selling off of state enterprises in order to practically give them away to imperialist capital, firing thousands of workers with the further aggravation of not settling accounts with anyone

about the money from that sale.

Regarding the restructuring of the old state, towards the end of 1990 Chairman Gonzalo and the Central Committee of the Party said that the government in office was unfolding a process of absolute centralization and presidential absolutism obliged by the People's War and in accordance with their counter-subversive war. Today everyone is talking about this like a broken record, "forgetting" what the Party said in 1990. On April 5, 1992 a coup d'etat took place as part of this reactionary process and specifically as a response to the Strategic Equilibrium reached by the People's War, putting in action a sinister plan launched by imperialism, principally Yankee imperialism and its followers. This coup was commanded by a military clique with Hermoza at its head and as always carried out by the genocidal and country selling armed forces. And once more we have seen how they trample on their own constitution and all legal order to better serve their counter-revolutionary war, adopting positions which are more and more clearly fascist. Thus we have witnessed for the umpteenth time at a shameless electoral fraud manipulated by the dictatorship to approve one of the most reactionary and retrograde constitutions in the history of the Peruvian state, in such a way that although the previous one was questioned by Tyrians and Trojans alike, the current one is even worse. Now in the pre-election contention, we see the announcements by the representatives of the diverse groups of the factions of the big bourgeoisie who say that if they are elected they will modify it anyway.

And what have they done with their so-called "judicial power" and their judicial order? Desperate and terrified in the face of the advance of the People's War, not only have they made a clean slate of their own so-called "universal" judicial principles, but they have reached the point of denying the right to defense and have annulled by decree the non-retroactive character of their laws. They have approved the sentencing of minors, condemned freedom of opinion and thought by punishing apology for "terrorism" etc., to say nothing of their Draconian military tribunals where the genocidals are not content to be judges and parties, but also act as magistrates. These dark uniformed men know as much about law as a butcher would know about sculpture, where the norm is a life sentence to whomever falls into their hands. The violation of their judicial order is so serious that even the UN, a procuress for imperialism, principally Yankee imperialism, has had to recommend they moderate their barbaric atrocities a bit.

Thus, merely by looking at these questions in the problem of

restructuring we can say without fear of mistake that this other reactionary task has become bogged down.

Regarding the reactionary's third task of annihilating the People's War, they have crowed victory too soon with that fatuous triumphalism which characterizes them, even giving a date for its demise. But in this matter as in many others, they have mistaken from beginning to end, because the People's War continues its unstoppable march after having resisted a sinister offensive carried out throughout the country. An offensive unleashed since the April 5th coup, conceived and planned by Yankee imperialism itself within their so-called "Low Intensity Warfare" strategy, as a response to the Strategic Equilibrium to be played as one of their final cards before intervening more directly, and carried out by the genocidal and country selling armed forces. It is in this form that they order the mobilization of thousands of troops which had been deployed on the frontier, putting the national sovereignty at grave risk, in order to launch them on each campaign of "encirclement and annihilation" against the Support Bases and the Guerrilla Zones, utilizing not only 120mm mortars and heavily armed helicopters but also light artillery used in conventional warfare, such as cannons with a 12Km range and bombs dropped from combat airplanes. At the same time in the cities they lashed out with a fierce repressive manhunt, rounding up hundreds of the sons and daughters of the people which they jailed, after torturing and harassing them. Once more they vomited their genocidal guts, beginning by gorging themselves on May 9, 1992 with the Prisoners of War, carrying out cowardly and merciless massacre. This time the mass graves and the disappearances, like the "la Cantuta" case, were carried out in their own capital, which clearly demonstrated that this dictatorship is more genocidal than that of Belaúnde and García Pérez. Furthermore, they have accompanied this genocide with crafty "psychological warfare" hoaxes, promoting capitulation old tricks of mainly Yankee imperialism, launching grotesque farces which have blown up in their faces as was already demonstrated in December 1993 with the earth-shaking and powerful celebration of the Chairman Mao Tsetung centennial, of which we will only say as proof that in Lima alone 16 car bombs were detonated that month. All of this is aside from the well-known actions for population control through the formation of "mesnadas", increased use of informers, and supposed "intelligence" and "civic action" activities which were already being launched and which they intensified.

Thus, against all this sinister offensive and against all the crowing and dark forecasts, the People's War and the Strategic Equilibrium continue their course. If this were not the case one should ask why no

important occasion passes in which Pinochet's apprentice or the puppet Fujimori or some thread of "senderologists", reactionaries, revisionists, opportunists, hacks or even informer priests or promoters of genocide like Cipriani, Durand, or Vargas Alzamora among others, don't have to talk about the so-called "terrorism" or about "pacification." But if they talk so much about how "they have pacified the country", why do they maintain the state of emergency in more than 50% of the national territory? Why do they keep sending thousands of their armed forces to the so-called "counter-subversive bases"? Why have they enrolled and continue to enroll and arm under threat of death thousands of peasants in the so-called peasant "rondas"? And why do they continue to fill the prisons with hundreds of the sons and daughters of the people under suspicion of being a "terrorist"?

It is because the People's War persists and will continue to persist, and although it has had temporary and partial setbacks it will achieve its glorious objectives demolishing the Yankee strategy of the so-called "Low Intensity Warfare" and whatever other strategy it will face, because it bases itself on the greatest ideology the world has seen, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought. It will succeed because there is a Party which leads it and animates it with a just and correct political line, because the masses of our people support it, watering it with their blood and sweat, because it is no more than the continuation of their struggle with arms in hand.

For all these reasons we affirm that the third task of the reactionaries, like the other two, has also become bogged down.

In synthesis we can see that bureaucratic capitalism has no way out, it will continue on its inexorable sinking and will be totally demolished in the midst of the genocide with which it defends itself like a mortally wounded beast. But for that very reason, these upcoming elections are turning crucial for the reaction, and particularly for the clique taking its turn who are desperate to remain in power, having made approving the "reelection" by any means necessary, now using a shameless fraud and even using the conflict with Ecuador to achieve their bastard objectives. And with respect to the so-called "Union Por el Peru" it doesn't lower the framework of the interests of the big comprador bourgeoisie either, since the little individual [referring to former UN General Secretary Javier Perez de Cuellar - trans.] which leads it is yet another known quisling of mainly Yankee imperialism. One only has to recall his ominous role in the UN against the oppressed nations, praising the monstrous imperialist genocide against Iraq and the Palestinian people, for example.

One problem that needs to be analyzed from the proletarian position, is the problem of our country's borders, because the conflict with Ecuador is only part of a very delicate situation which has been awfully handled by each successive reactionary government. On the other hand the reactionary armed forces have never defended either the national integrity or the national sovereignty, because they have always been experts in defeats as the loss of Arica and Tarapacá in the war with Chile or the despoilment of Trapecio de Leticia by Colombia has shown. It has always been the masses of people who were the real defenders of our national territory, and we must keep this truth in mind because it is once more being confirmed.

A factor which is being systematically swept under the rug in this problem is the ominous role of imperialism in general and Yankee imperialism especially, whose interests stir up this or that conflict at their convenience, and here it is present also, pulling the strings behind the scene like the grand puppeteer. In this respect, apart from the ever greater domination that it exercises with the foreign debt by way of the IMF, IDB, WB, etc., we must bear in mind the "advisory" role of the Yankee armed forces which from time to time send their hierarchs like that haughty chief of the Southern Command who came in November 1994 to control their lackeys. Furthermore, there is the permanent "training" of the genocidal hordes, and the insolent intervention of their ambassadors in all the internal matters of Peru, or the cheeky little individual Alexander Watson, secretary of inter-American affairs of the USA, who with total effrontery said that: "Fujimori is a good salesman of Peruvian products", which was taken as a eulogy by the puppet.

Today, Peru is at risk of losing a part of its territory once more due to the current dictatorship, because it is the most genocidal and country selling dictatorship we have seen to date. First they began by putting the Peruvian nationality up for sale for a few miserable dollars; later they offered South Korea a fringe of territory north of Lima; afterwards they turned over part of the national territory in the province of Ilo to Bolivia; then they offered Chile a series of concession in the so-called "Lima Convention", which was not signed because of popular outcry. Furthermore, with the so-called "privatization" they have begun to put on the auction block a series of state enterprises at bargain prices without caring that some are known as "strategic" like the petroleum or electrical industry, the latter even sold to Chilean capital. Who is doing all this? Imperialism behind the scenes and the genocidal and country selling armed forces, more directly with the clique headed by Hermoza Ríos, because it is they who are ruling the country since the coup d'etat of April 5, 1992. But

this doesn't excuse the puppet Fujimori, because he gleefully dances to whatever tune his masters play for him.

In the case of Ecuador, everyone knows that the ruling classes of that country have systematically unfurled a policy of negating the "1942 Protocol", not recently but for some time. As far back as 1981, during the second government of Belaúnde, the "False Paquisha" incident occurred and they were dislodged from Peruvian territory, but the viceroy, far from demanding the demarcation of the 78 Km of the border which was pending, opted to look the other in order to leave a future card to play, which would give Yankee imperialism and Peruvian reaction an excuse to create problems for a people's government which could take power through the People's War. But it is during the current government that the genocidal country sellers consented that in 1991 Ecuador would invade Peruvian territory, and their only response was to reach a "gentleman's agreement", which obviously our neighbors took advantage of.

Furthermore, the same puppet was commissioned by those wearing the shroud [the military - trans.] to go to Ecuador and offer them a "sovereign" outlet to the Amazon region, as the ex-dictator of Ecuador Rodríguez Borja has said, even threatening his partner with publicizing the letters he received. To date the reptile hasn't even denied this, but even worse, in 1992 in order to unleash their sinister but doomed genocidal offensive against the People's War, they removed troops from the border leaving them stripped and leaving them at the mercy of any aggressor or invader. This is how the belly of these country sellers are, for them it is a thousand times preferable to see our country dismembered before losing their position as blood-suckers and oppressors of the people; and in saying this we refer not only to the guard dogs of the repressive forces, but also to their imperialists master, mainly Yankee, the big bourgeoisie and the feudal landlords.

Thus, by January 1995 the Ecuadorian armed forces had been occupying part of Peru's territory for some time, and had prepared ahead of time to face any effort to dislodge them. But, why did the genocidal and country selling dictatorship suddenly decide to unleash this conflict at that moment? Because the military clique sought to be "reelected" through the puppet Fujimori, but they were not certain of achieving it, and their problems have continued to grow and become aggravated as we have seen. Even worse, if we recall the results of the referendum where they almost suffered a serious setback, despite the open fraud they carried out by making the armed forces and police "vote" again, with thousands of "Identity and Electoral Cards"

expedited by the National Election Board. Keep in mind also the problem of runaway corruption at their bosom, in which hundreds of officers including some even in their clique are compromised in the drug trade and even facing trials for that crime. Add to this the problems of the little puppet and his ex-consort, who aired out a lot of his dirty laundry: by keeping in mind all this and other questions we can understand the reasons for his desires. In this way the genocidal country sellers thought they could raise their stock in what doesn't belong to them and feigning to be what they are not, they went to action dreaming about an easy victory and in the worst case if they didn't get it they could launch a new hoax to try and fool the people. But like the experts in defeat they are, it has backfired and the hoax didn't convince anyone, beyond which the problem was aggravated and now they are stuck in a mess from which they cannot get out so easily because our people, today more conscious than before, will not allow themselves to be surprised or fooled.

In dealing with this problem we should bear in mind the words of Chairman Gonzalo in the Speech of September 1992 from prison:

"We clearly say that today the democratic road has begun to develop as a road of liberation, as a road of people's liberation!"

"We believe that the 18th century was a very clear lesson. Think about this. There was a dominator. It was Spain and where did that bloodsucking domination bring us? To a very profound crisis, as a consequence of which Peru, that at that time was a viceroyalty and today is our motherland, Peru was divided. From there come the origins of today's Bolivia. It is not our invention but facts."

"Fine, the last century, English domination. Where did their rivalry with France take us? To another big crisis: 70 of the past century. The result? War with Chile. We must not forget it! And what happened? We lost territory. Our nation suffered a schism despite the blood shed by heroes and the people. We must draw lessons from this!"

"The 20th century. How are we doing? In the 20th century we are dominated by imperialism, principally North American, this is real, everyone knows it and no one can silence it. And where has it brought us? Even without reminding the 1920's, here and now, to the worst crisis of the entire history of the Peruvian nation. Learning the lesson of past centuries, what can we think? Once more the nation is at risk, once more the republic is at risk, once more our territory is at risk. It can easily be lost, and by interests. That we have to se; that is the situation; that is where they have brought us. But we have a fact, a

Peruvian revolution, a People's War that burns powerfully, that is advancing, and will continue to do so. Where have we gotten with this? To a Strategic Equilibrium! And we must understand this well. It is a Strategic Equilibrium! It solidifies itself in an essential situation. What have 12 years served for? To plainly show before the third world and principally before the Peruvian people, that the Peruvian state, the old Peruvian state, is a paper tiger that is rotten to the core. That has been proven!"

"Things being that way, let us think of the danger that the nation, that the country, can be divided, that the nation is at risk. They want to dismember it; they want to divide it. Who wants to do this? As always, imperialism, those who exploit, those who rule. And what should we do? What is corresponding? It is appropriate that we push forward the People's Liberation Movement and that we develop it through the People's War because the people, always the people, have been the ones who defend the country, who have defended the nation."

"It corresponds to form a People's Liberation Front, it corresponds to form and develop from the People's Guerrilla Army..."

And this is being accomplished, today, concretely, Ecuador remains ensconced in Peruvian territory and should be dislodged. Other borders are also in danger. Our people must remain alert.

The motherland is at risk and the only fitting thing is to defend it with guns in hand, but precisely because of this imperialism and reaction seek to annihilate the People's War, because it is the true barrier against their dreams and sinister appetites. Our people know that the only path is People's War to conquer the People's Republic of Peru, even more so in the current circumstances where they seek to sell our country to imperialism's and their lackeys capital, opening the black but real possibility of tearing it apart to benefit a clique and their cronies, who have no patriotic spirit whatsoever. Because of this it is confirmed that we have begun to unfold a path of people's liberation for the defense and liberation of our motherland.

Thus, in this complex national and international situation, it befalls to the Peruvian proletariat, as yesterday, to lead the revolution and guarantee its path through the Communist Party of Peru, because the Party is the detachment, it is the conscious and organized vanguard, it is the Leadership of the revolution, of the People's War. Some leaders, cadres or militants might be missing or even disappear, but even with the immense pain and consternation that this may cause, the duty and the obligation of the Party is to continue its unyielding battle, even if

only one faction or in the final analysis only one Communist remained, they would have to fulfill their role, struggling to raise whatever new and better thing is needed, even more so with an invincible and all-powerful ideology, a proletariat and masses which generate everything, the revolution will necessarily advance and triumph. But these things are not new questions, they are old truths known by the International Communist Movement, but which today the rotten revisionism of the ROL again seek to twist and obscure in order to traffic and brood under the skirts of imperialism and reaction. Thus, cleverly using the problems which have occurred they have come to negate the role and capacity of the Party as the Leadership of the revolution. For this reason the Central Committee reaffirms itself in: The Communist Party of Peru, guiding itself with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, is a heroic combatant which leads and guarantees the path of the revolution!

It is within this framework that the tasks of the Party are being accomplished according to the agreements of the First Congress, the First, Second and Third Plenum, and the two Work Sessions of the Central Committee.

Since the problem of the internal struggle is a question of cardinal importance in Party life, it is relevant to add the following question: Revisionism is the principal danger for the Party and the Revolution, and for this reason it must be implacably combated and crushed. Our Party has purged itself but the struggle must continue, in the final analysis the armed struggle in our country would never have been initiated nor developed without first sweeping away the ROL of that time, and today we can say that without sweeping away the capitulationist and revisionist ROL totally and completely we could not conquer power countrywide. We know well that internal causes are definitive, and for that reason it should remain clear, that if the reaction could do some damage to the revolution in our country since 1992, it was because revisionism helped it, served it, it facilitated things. This is a very serious lesson which we must never forget. Therefore, if we totally sweep away revisionism and finish purging our ranks, embodying to the root the Basis of Party Unity in the midst of the People's War, we will be fortified and we will be invincible.

The People's War has not been detained for a moment no matter what the imperialists, the reactionaries, the revisionists or the traitors say. Already the celebration of the Chairman Mao Centennial throughout 1993, especially in December of that year, a celebration coordinated with the RIM, was earth-shaking and powerful, realized with successful armed actions. The reaction dreamed of conjuring it away

by launching the hoax of the supposed "surrender", which exploded in their cynical faces. Subsequently the 2nd and 3rd campaigns of the 6th Military Plan have been unfolding successfully.

For all that has been said, the Central Committee calls on the Party, the combatants of the Peoples Liberation Army and the masses of the New State, and all our people to celebrate the XV Anniversary of the invincible People's War as is due.

Finally, in the face of the forthcoming reactionary elections, the only just and correct political line before this fraudulent process is to repudiate it applying the tactics of the boycott.

LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN GONZALO!

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU!

LONG LIVE THE OPEN PEOPLE'S COMMITTEES!

BUILD THE CONQUEST OF POWER!

ELECTIONS, NO! PEOPLE'S WAR, YES!

1995 - Overcome the Bend in the Road, Developing the People's War!

OVERCOME THE BEND IN THE ROAD, DEVELOPING THE PEOPLE'S WAR!

(Outline)

QUOTES NEW PLAN: This is part of the VI Great Military Plan. POLITICAL STRATEGY: CONQUER POWER. MILITARY STRATEGY: PEOPLE'S WAR. "TAKE GUERRILLA WARFARE AS FUNDAMENTAL, BUT LOSE NO OPPORTUNITY TO REALIZE MOBILE WARFARE WHEN THE CONDITIONS ARE FAVORABLE." PREPARE INSURRECTION IN THE CITIES. STRATEGY OF CONSTRUCTION: BUILD THE CONQUEST OF POWER IN THE MIDST OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR. IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS. Take as a political foundation everything previously expounded by CHAIRMAN GONZALO AND THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE, particularly in the III PLENUM AND THE WORK SESSIONS OF THE CENTRAL COMMITTEE; as well as the document AGAINST THE SELL OUT AND GENOCIDAL DICTATORSHIP, PERSIST IN THE PEOPLE'S WAR! Analyze Fujimori's speech; which briefly summarized, expounds to repeat what he did in his first term, within the framework of the three tasks of reaction, the imperialist plans, principally Yankee imperialism and the armed forces.

DOCUMENTS FOR STUDY. NOTES FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE GREAT CLOSING. KEEP THE FOLLOWING QUESTIONS IN MIND: PEOPLE'S WAR. CONSTRUCTION. TWO-LINE STRUGGLE. OVERCOME THE BEND IN THE ROAD, DEVELOPING THE PEOPLE'S WAR! OBJECTIVES: 1.- Overcome the bend in the road. 2.- Combat the plan of reaction and imperialism. 3.- Crush the hoax of "pacification." 4.- Crush the revisionist and capitulationist right opportunist line (ROL). 5.- Lay down bases for the realization of the IV PLENUM. 6.- General Reorganization of the Party. First Part: OVERCOME THE BEND IN THE ROAD, DEVELOPING THE PEOPLE'S WAR!: Chronology: ..... Second Part: OVERCOME THE

BEND IN THE ROAD, DEVELOPING THE PEOPLE'S WAR!: Chronology: ..... [Before, during or after the important dates, make every effort to develop offensives and counter-offensives according to the national situation and the specific conditions of each Committee. And in the framework of our counter-campaigns (campaigns)]

CELEBRATIONS: (Before, during or after) 10/7/95. DAY OF THE PARTY: "The Communist Party of Peru, guided by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, is the heroic combatant that leads the revolution." 12/3/95. CHAIRMAN GONZALO'S BIRTHDAY AND DAY OF THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY: "What is People's War? People's War until Communism." 12/26/95. CHAIRMAN MAO TSE-TUNG'S BIRTHDAY: "Marxism- Leninism-Maoism is the new, third, and superior stage of Marxism." 5/1/96. LONG LIVE THE INTERNATIONAL PROLETARIAT! 5/17/96. OVERCOME THE BEND IN THE ROAD, DEVELOPING THE PEOPLE'S WAR! ATTITUDE: Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights! Be superior to the reaction! Nothing or no one can detain us: not imperialism, not reaction, not revisionism or nature!

DEVELOPMENT

OVERCOME THE BEND IN THE ROAD, DEVELOPING THE PEOPLE'S WAR!

QUOTES: 1. "The correctness or otherwise of the ideological and political line decides everything. When the Party's line is correct, then everything will come its way. If it has no followers, then it can have followers; if it has no guns, then it can have guns; if it has no political power, then it can have political power. If its line is not correct, even what it has it loses."

2. "The seizure of power by armed force, the settlement of the issue by war, is the central task and the highest form of revolution. This Marxist-Leninist principle of revolution holds good universally, for China and for all other countries."

S.W., Chairman Mao Tsetung, Vol. II, p. 219. 3. "In China war is the main form of struggle and the army is the main form of organization. Other forms of struggle such as mass organization and mass struggle are also extremely important and indeed indispensable and in no circumstances to be overlooked, but their purpose is to serve the war. Before the outbreak of a war all organization and struggle are in preparation for the war, as in the period from the May 4th Movement

of 1919 to the May 30th Movement of 1925. After war breaks out, all organization and struggle are coordinated with the war either directly or indirectly"

S.W., Chairman Mao Tsetung, Vol. II, p. 221. 4. "Without armed struggle the proletariat and the Communist Party would have no standing at all in China, and it would be impossible to accomplish any revolutionary task."

S.W., Chairman Mao Tsetung, Vol. II, p. 222. 5. "We have learned that without armed struggle neither the proletariat, nor the people, nor the Communist Party would have any standing at all in China and that it would be impossible for the revolution to triumph. In these years the development, consolidation and bolshevization of our Party have proceeded in the midst of revolutionary wars; without armed struggle the Communist Party would assuredly not be what it is today. Comrades throughout the Party must never forget this experience for which we have paid in blood."

S.W., Chairman Mao Tsetung, Vol. II, pp. 292. 6. "According to the Marxist theory of the state, the army is the chief component of state power. Whoever wants to seize and retain state power must have a strong army. Some people ridicule us as advocates of the "omnipotence of war". Yes, we are advocates of the omnipotence of revolutionary war; that is good, not bad, it is Marxist. The guns of the Russian Communist Party created socialism. We shall create a democratic republic. Experience in the class struggle in the era of imperialism teaches us that it is only by the power of the gun that the working class and the labouring masses can defeat the armed bourgeoisie and landlords; in this sense we may say that only with guns can the whole world be transformed."

S.W., Chairman Mao Tsetung, Vol. II, p. 219. 7. "The Red Army's operations take the form of counter-campaigns against ‘encirclement and suppression'. For us victory means chiefly victory in combating ‘encirclement and suppression', that is, strategic victory and victories in campaigns. The fight against each ‘encirclement and suppression' campaign constitutes a counter-campaign, which usually comprises several or even scores of battles, big and small. Until an ‘encirclement and suppression' campaign has been basically smashed, one cannot speak of strategic victory or of victory in the counter-campaign as a whole, even though many battles may have been won. The history of the Red Army's decade of war is a history of counter-campaigns against ‘encirclement and suppression'."

S.W., Chairman Mao Tsetung, Vol. I, p. 200-201 8. "In the enemy's "encirclement and suppression" campaigns and the Red Army's counter-campaigns against them, the two forms of fighting, offensive and defensive, are both employed, and here there is no difference from any other war, ancient or modern, in China or elsewhere. The special characteristic of China's civil war, however, is the repeated alternation of the two forms over a long period of time. In each "encirclement and suppression" campaign, the enemy employs the offensive against the Red Army's defensive, and the Red Army employs the defensive against his offensive; this is the first stage of a counter-campaign against "encirclement and suppression". Then the enemy employs the defensive against the Red Army's offensive, and the Red Army employs the offensive against his defensive; this is the second stage of the counter-campaign. Every "encirclement and suppression" campaign has these two stages, and they alternate over a long period.

By repeated alternation over a long period we mean the repetition of this pattern of warfare and these forms of fighting. This is a fact obvious to everybody. An "encirclement and suppression" campaign and a counter-campaign against it - such is the repeated pattern of the war. In each campaign the alternation in the forms of fighting consists of the first stage in which the enemy employs the offensive against our defensive and we meet his offensive with our defensive, and of the second stage in which the enemy employs the defensive against our offensive and we meet his defensive with our offensive."

S.W., Chairman Mao Tsetung, Vol. I, p. 201

9. "2. The subjective forces of the revolution have indeed been greatly weakened since the defeat of the revolution in 1927. The remaining forces are very small and those comrades who judge by appearances alone naturally feel pessimistic. But if we judge by essentials, it is quite another story. Here we can apply the old Chinese saying, "A single spark can start a prairie fire." In other words, our forces, although small at present, will grow very rapidly. In the conditions prevailing in China, their growth is not only possible but indeed inevitable."

S.W., Chairman Mao Tsetung, Vol. I, s 119

10. "With the exception of a few short chapters every important part of the annals of the revolution from 1848 to 1849 carries the heading: Defeat of the revolution!

But what succumbed in these defeats was not the revolution. It was the pre-revolutionary traditional appendages, results of social relationships, which had not yet come to the point of sharp class antagonisms persons, illusions, conceptions, projects, from which the revolutionary party before the February Revolution was not free, from which it could be freed, not by the victory of February, but only by a series of defeats.

In a word: revolutionary advance made headway not by its immediate tragi-comic achievements, but on the contrary by the creation of a powerful, united counter-revolution, by the creation of an opponent, by fighting whom the party of revolt first ripened into a real revolutionary party.

Elections, No! People's War, Yes! (Spanish edition) p. 69, (Marx)

11. "... but at the same time the major prerequisites for helping the struggle in the cities and hastening the rise of the revolutionary tide are specifically the development of the struggle in the countryside, the establishment of Red political power in small areas, and the creation and expansion of the Red Army." S.W., Chairman Mao Tsetung, Vol. I, p. 122-123 12. "... only concentration will enable us to wipe out comparatively large enemy units and occupy towns. Only after we have wiped out comparatively large enemy units and occupied towns can we arouse the masses on a broad scale and set up political power extending over a number of adjoining counties. Only thus can we make a widespread impact (what we call "extending our political influence"), and contribute effectively to speeding the day of the revolutionary high tide."

S.W., Chairman Mao Tsetung, Vol. I, p. 123-124 13. "As to dividing our forces over a wide radius, it is possible only on the two conditions that circumstances are comparatively favourable and the leading bodies fairly strong."

S.W., Chairman Mao Tsetung, Vol. I, p. 125 14. "the more adverse the circumstances, the greater the need for concentrating our forces and for the leaders to be resolute in struggle, because only thus can we have internal unity against the enemy. Only in favourable circumstances is it advisable to divide our forces for guerrilla operations, and it is only then that the leaders need not stay with the ranks all the time, as they must in adverse circumstances."

S.W., Chairman Mao Tsetung, Vol. I, p. 123 15. "To extend stable base areas, employ the policy of advancing in waves; when pursued by a

powerful enemy, employ the policy of circling around."

S.W., Chairman Mao Tsetung, Vol. I, p. 124 "... we see that revisionism is an agent of the bourgeoisie in the ranks of the proletariat, and so it provokes splits. It divides the communist movement and Communist Parties, it divides the trade union movement, and it splits up and divides the people's movement.

"Revisionism obviously is a cancer, a cancer that has to be eliminated with implacability. Otherwise we won't be able to advance in the revolution. Remembering what Lenin said, sinthesized, we must forge ahead on two questions, forge in the question of revolutionary violence, and forge in the question of relentless struggle against opportunism, against revisionism."

"Revisionism has already lost out; it's only a matter of time. The problem is already defined, the rubbish has begun to be swept away, burned away; I say it again, it's only a matter of time. The process of their demise began years ago. And if we go back further, to the beginnings, they already lost out when they became revisionists, when they abandoned their principles . . . "

Interview with Chairman Gonzalo, (Spanish edition) p. 15-16-17 17. "Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this logic. This is a Marxist law. When we say "imperialism is ferocious", we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become Buddhas, till their doom.

Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again . . . till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic. This is another Marxist law. The Russian people's revolution followed this law, and so has the Chinese people's revolution."

"Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle S.W., Chairman Mao Tsetung, Vol. IV, p. 428 18. "The existence of serious weaknesses in the War of Resistance may lead to many setbacks, retreats, internal splits, betrayals, temporary and partial compromises and other such reverses. Therefore it should be realized that the war will be an arduous and protracted war. But we are confident that, through the efforts of our Party and the whole people, the resistance already started will sweep aside all obstacles and continue to advance and develop."

S.W., Chairman Mao Tsetung, Vol. II, p. 121

19. "We are here in these circumstances. Some think this is a great defeat. They are dreaming! We tell them to keep on dreaming. It is simply a bend, nothing more, a bend in the road! The road is long and we shall arrive. We shall triumph! You shall see it! You shall see it!"

Chairman Gonzalo's Speech, September 24, 1992.

20. "One does not play at insurrection, one does not play at revolution. But when one raises the banner of insurrection, when one takes up arms, there's no taking down the banner, it must be held high and never lowered until victory. This is what he taught us and no matter how much it costs us! Marx has armed us then, as well as Lenin, and principally Chairman Mao Tsetung who teach us about the price we have to pay, what it means to annihilate in order to preserve, what it means to hold high the banner, come what may."

Interview with Chairman Gonzalo, (Spanish edition) p. 62

21. "Have we gone through difficult times? Yes. But what has reality shown us? That if we persist, keep politics in command, follow our political strategy, follow our military strategy, if we have a clear and defined plan, then we will advance, and we are capable of facing any bloodbath . . . "

Interview with Chairman Gonzalo, (Spanish edition) p. 63

22. "THE PEOPLE'S WAR WILL INEVITABLY TRIUMPH!".

NEW PLAN: Is part of the VI Great Military Plan. POLITICAL STRATEGY: CONQUER POWER

MILITARY STRATEGY: PEOPLE'S WAR. "TAKE GUERRILLA WARFARE AS FUNDAMENTAL, BUT LOSE NO OPPORTUNITY TO REALIZE MOBILE WARFARE WHEN THE CONDITIONS ARE FAVORABLE." PREPARE INSURRECTION IN THE CITIES.

STRATEGY OF CONSTRUCTION: BUILD THE CONQUEST OF POWER IN THE MIDST OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR.

IDEOLOGICAL AND POLITICAL FOUNDATIONS. Take as a political foundation everything previously expounded by Chairman Gonzalo and the Central Committee, particularly in the III Plenum and the

work sessions of the Central Committee; also the document Against the Sell Out and Genocidal Dictatorship, Persist in the People's War!

Analyze Fujimori's speech; which briefly summarized, expounds to repeat what he did in his first term, within the framework of the three tasks of reaction, the imperialist plans, principally Yankee imperialism and the armed forces.

DOCUMENTS FOR STUDY. -On Protracted War, S.W., Chairman Mao Tsetung, Vol. II p. 113 - 136, points 1 to 34. -Six Military Essays, Chairman Mao Tsetung, p. 205-248 -The Grand Strategic Conception - The Foolish Old Man who Removed the Mountains, S.W., Chairman Mao Tsetung, Vol. III, p. 271-274 -The Three Main Rules of Discipline and the Eight Points for Attention, Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung, p. 256-257 -Five Articles by Chairman Mao -Our Position - Problems of Strategy in China's Revolutionary War, S.W., Chairman Mao Tsetung, Vol. I, p. 200- 249, Chapter IV to end. -Problems of Strategy in the Guerrilla War Against Japan, S.W., Chairman Mao Tsetung, Vol. II -Quotations from Chairman Mao Tsetung, chapters 12, 13, 9, 10 and 16. -Unity, dynamism, seriousness and vivacity -Four relations -Problems of War and Strategy, S.W., Chairman Mao Tsetung, Vol. II, p. 219-236 -New Tasks and New Forces, Lenin - Document: Against the Genocidal and Sell Out Dictatorship, Persist in the People's War! NOTES FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE GREAT CLOSING. The people's war is developing against wind and tide, in July very successfully concluding the first part of the Great Plan to Build the Conquest of Power!, In Defense of the Great Leadership, Against the genocidal dictatorship!, and laying down bases for the development of the second part which will be guided by the slogan OVERCOME THE BEND IN THE ROAD, DEVELOPING THE PEOPLE'S WAR!

Once more the nation is rocked by the burning flames of the People's War, from the Principal Region to the very capital, the area of the Metropolitan Committee. Thus, in the Ayacucho Zonal Committee we defeated the sinister campaigns of "encirclement and suppression" of the genocidal, sell out armed forces. Bases seven and fourteen were traversed, agitating and mobilizing the masses, developing the take over of cars on the Ayacucho-San Francisco highway and annihilating mesnadas in Ccano; sabotage of a state tractor in Yanamonte, annihilations, and seizure of cattle for the provisioning of the Revolutionary Support Base "Red Bastion" and of the forces of the People's Liberation Army, complementing this action with the ambushes, annihilating and scourging the enemy bases located in the Revolutionary Support Base 33 (Ene River). Similarly, the zonal

committee of Cangallo-Fajardo carried out a magnificent incursion in La Mar, Vilcashuamán, Cangallo, right under the nose of the counterinsurgency base, and later confiscated more than 30 cases of dynamite and a radio transmitter. Meanwhile, the Huancavelica zonal committee deployed a shattering ambush at Supaymayo-Lachoc, annihilating nine police (including a major) and confiscating an equal number of H&K rifles. To this are added the magnificent ambushes unleashed by the Huallaga Regional Committee in which over 50 members of the special forces ("commando") where annihilated, capturing a MAG machinegun, an RPG rocket launcher and over 30 FAL, M-16 and AKM rifles, and a radio transmitter. And in Lima, the Metropolitan Committee and People's Aid (Socorro Popular) carried out some powerful car-bomb attacks against the tourist hotel María Angola and the house of the congressional lackey Joy Way. These are only some of the outstanding actions with the offensives unleashed in the month of July, although there where others carried out in the North, the South and the Center like the ambush of Pichanaki.

For all these reasons we say that our plan has concluded very successfully, celebrating in this way the 15 years of the invincible People's War, crushing the rotten cackling of the genocidal sell outs Hermoza Ríos and Fujimori, who repeated many times that "by July 1995 Shining Path will be liquidated." Once more they were defeated and they had to swallow their black vomit. The same has occurred with the revisionists and capitulators of the right opportunist line, who, in 1993, in a dark prophecy said that the People's War could not be maintained "because there is no conditions."

It is important that we take into account and fervently salute the extraordinary Heroism and the Great Firmness in enduring suffering and sacrifices on the part of the Support Bases. These are masses that are an example for the entire Peruvian people and deserve our respect and admiration, because they fight shoulder to shoulder along with the People's Liberation Army and the Communist Party of Peru to maintain the New Power, no matter the cost, developing a new economy, new politics and a new culture.

Thus we salute the heroic militants and combatants of the Communist Party of Peru and People's Liberation Army, who by putting politics in command, always guide themselves by Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, conquering victory after victory overcoming all difficulties, always maintaining to the end the banners of the people's war, always combating imperialism, reaction and revisionism.

KEEP THE FOLLOWING CONDITIONS IN MIND: -PEOPLE'S WAR: it

must be developed taking the Military Line as the base and all the experience of more than 15 years of victories and reverses, particularly in the countryside, paying close attention to the handling of the campaigns (enemy campaigns that are framed within the strategy of the so-called "Low-Intensity Warfare," of which they are its principal form and which are complemented by population control, civil control and "intelligence" work, which includes psychological operations) and the counter-campaigns, the principal form of the Civil War, realizing our offensives and counter-offensives within this context and not on its margins, always keeping the national political situation and the specific situation of each committee in mind. Don't underestimate or overestimate the enemy (see Strategic Problems in the Guerrilla War Against Japan, chapters VII and IV). Applying the Grand Strategic Conception.

With respect to the cities, we maintain the criteria of a unified people's war but with the specification, in this period, of developing a gradual advance seeking to weld the People's War with the class struggle of the proletariat and the popular masses in the neighborhoods and shantytowns, at all times handling the two hills and laying the foundations of the insurrection.

-CONSTRUCTION: Crush revisionism, developing a General Reorganization of the Party.

In the countryside they have for some time been unfolding a corporative militarization that seeks to subjugate the peasant masses; therefore, only through armed struggle and political mobilization will we be able to incorporate them into the People's War, sweeping away, bit by bit, the control and pressure exerted on them by the repressive forces and the mesnadas. (Resettlement without repressive forces! Resettlement without mesnadas! Civil Defense is criminal defense!)

In the cities, this government has been building an almost fascist police control, managed by the armed forces, which must be exposed and swept aside. Because of this, close attention to the relationship between open work and secret work is demanded, aiming at developing the secret work. In everything we must be superior to the reactionaries!

Two-line Struggle: Develop the two-line struggle against the revisionist and capitulationist right opportunist line (ROL).

Study the documents, Lenin: The Struggle Against Revisionism, The Proletarian Revolution and Khrushchov's Revisionism.

OVERCOME THE BEND IN THE ROAD BY DEVELOPING THE PEOPLE'S WAR! OBJECTIVES:

1. - Overcome the bend in the road. 2. - Combat the plan of reaction and imperialism. 3. - Crush the hoax of "pacification". 4. - Crush the revisionist and capitulationist right opportunist line (ROL). 5. - Lay down bases for the realization of the IV PLENUM. 6. - General Reorganization of the Party. First Part: OVERCOME THE BEND IN THE ROAD, DEVELOPING THE PEOPLE'S WAR!. Chronology: ..... Second Part: OVERCOME THE BEND IN THE ROAD, DEVELOPING THE PEOPLE'S WAR!. Chronology: .....

CELEBRATIONS: .... ATTITUDE: Nothing is hard in this world if you dare to scale the heights! Be superior to the reaction! Nothing or no one can detain us: not imperialism, not reaction, not revisionism or nature!

1996 - Notes to Typify the Regime as Fascist

On April 5, 1992 there was a coup d'etat. That was the beginning of the application of a counter-revolutionary plan which was foreseen as lasting 20 years (Oiga magazine no. 647 and 648, July 1993).

At its root is a fascist conception, but one adapted to the conditions of combating a people's war (it is very important to bear in mind the Chinese experience and the application of fascism by Chiang Kai-shek). A plan advised and endorsed by imperialism, principally Yankee imperialism, and executed by the armed forces. Velasco was an antecedent. APRA as well. And this fascism is not counterpoised to absolute centralization but rather complements it. It is a shamefaced fascism. Today this is more clear, see Fujimori's speech of July 28, 1995: "Direct State management, efficient and permanent", "economic democracy", "new nationalism" "modernization", "we wish to be modern" (Chiang Kai-shek), "a modern state", "big structural reforms", "educational crusade", "new framework of legality", "neither populism nor ultra-liberalism, neither Left nor Right", "nor capitalism", "It is the State which defends the principle of authority", "reform of the Judicial power", "finally we have the capacity to plan long-term goals and objective", "achieve Peru's rebirth in the new millennium".

Measures with parliament (its course). Today, a parliament managed the way they want it. Judicial power, electoral power (elections and fraud), (on all these points APRA fell short and it was already fascist). A violated Constitution. The new Constitution in force is also violated.

- Legislation. The Anti-terrorist Law is worse than APRA's. Military Tribunals. Faceless Tribunals. Special Tribunals. Life sentences. Denial of the right to defense, for two years they followed the law which sentenced minors the same as adults. Sentences with the accused in absentia. Retroactive laws. - Regarding rights of the unions and the people: completely negated. - Militarized universities in "reorganization". - Municipalities: cut backs. - Economy: From the fascism of Pinochet and liberalism. With Velasco they strengthened the state monopoly, today they strengthen private monopolies and this isn't counterpoised to fascism. - Organizationally: It is in the countryside where corporativization is expressed most clearly. See the law for "rondas" and their arming.

Analyze the tactics they follow. They develop APRA's tactics (see the document "Develop the People's War Serving the World Revolution", pp. 108-109) [Spanish Ed. – Tr.] "In point II, ONE YEAR OF THE APRISTA GOVERNMENT: "APRA under the leadership of García Pérez has followed the strategy of propping themselves on the poor masses of the shantytowns, winning the peasantry in the mountains, especially the so-called "Andean Trapeziod", binding the struggle of the people especially by using the IU as a caboose and uniting reaction under their command, isolating the proletariat, striking at the masses of people and aiming against the People's War, counting on the use of repression by the armed forces and police for this. Today this strategy is reinforced by more demagogically raising their falsehoods of a "Nationalist, democratic and popular State" and a greater high-sounding verbal anti-imperialism."

Furthermore, see the management by the Ministry of the Presidency of CONADE, FONCODES, PRONAA, Development Committees, (Peruvian Army), etc.

Police state: Along with the increase of the armed forces and police, and the strengthening of SIN (there was a proposal to have a SIN office in each ministry). Urban rondas. "Citizen's security".

The reelection of 1995 and the plan for re-nomination. Behind this is Hermoza and the armed forces clique.

(See also:) On the Commentaries about the Coup D'etat. April 1992, second paragraph. Two tendencies in the Old State: one fascist tendency and the other demo-liberal... There it establishes how Fujimori is opposed to parliament, ... traditional parties, etc.

Fujimori's speech: "Modern State" ... this is based on something like Chiang Kai-shek said. (Selected Works, Vol. III, notes on p. 278, "On Coalition Government") [Spanish Ed. – Tr.]: On August 1, 1932, Chiang Kai-shek promulgated his "Regulations for the Organization of Pao and Chia and for a Population Census in the Counties". He said that it was a basic administrative system with which the reactionary Kuomintang clique imposed its fascist domination.

We must look at the Communities Law, see the date on which the law was passed ... but, the manner in which the peasantry is being organized is fascist ... there are similarities and differences with the Velasco era in 1968, they will not repeat this the same way, but at heart it is fascist; they try to give it a demo-liberal appearance but they have decided on fascism.

See Selected Works, Vol. II, p. 52 ... absolute centralism ... We must review all of Fujimori's legislation; they aim to sow confusion with the part about direct democracy ... the current government is fascist but in demo-liberal clothing. In deeds, in the countryside there is already a fascist system, see the previous document, also "Overcome the Bend ..."

In the cities. There is a police state, in other words, there is a fascist state. This was even said by one child of imperialism... We are not the inventors of the gunpowder, as Chairman Gonzalo said. In the second half of each decade their crisis aggravates, this is being fulfilled from beginning to end; there is a serious crisis but two decades have merged, the 80s and the 90s ... what they said in December about negative growth and that the following month inflation would rise ... they need to invest more ...

1996 - Political Report

POLITICAL REPORT

The current world situation continues to be marked, in the reactionary camp, by the malfeasances of imperialism, principally Yankee imperialism. Behind the rattles of a false peace it extends its tentacles; in an insolent and domineering manner it makes armed intervention in direct form or in collusion with others (U.N. "Peace Keepers") as their interests suit them. The international gendarme, Yankee imperialism, does this with arms in hand in Haiti or Yugoslavia, or through diplomatic treaties such as in the Middle East. Others act according to their interests and conditions, for example, Russia in Chechnya, etc.

The destiny of the Yankee imperialist superpower and others has been historically and politically defined. Nothing will save them from their downfall and complete collapse; they continue their decline and for that reason they return to raise the sleepless, bookish banners of the XVIII century in order to try to maintain their precarious situation. They have nothing new, complementing this with forming commercial blocs which imply struggles to widen markets which in turn leads, and will lead, to new wars.

Meanwhile, the revolutionary hill, despite what the imperialists and all the reactionaries say, continues to be the principal tendency more and more. All kinds of struggles in many places are developing, and their perspective is a greater increase. For their part the masses of the world clamor for revolution; they need Communist Parties with Maoism in command and wielding People’s War to spearhead them in the great, heroic and transforming deeds for the triumph of Communism across the face of the Earth.

National Political Situation

In spite of the demagogy, lies, fraud and hoaxes, what is real and objective is that bureaucratic capitalism has no way out. It is going from bump to bump. In the economy they acknowledge that "officially, there are problems again". According to their own figures on growth in the first trimester of 1996, inflation is back on the rise and unemployment is breaking all records, which confirms what Chairman Gonzalo and the Party said, that in the second half of each decade their economic crises sharpen and they sink even more (*).

And what is the perspective? According to various well-known economists, "this year is a hard one, and maybe the next one will be too." This government, like its predecessors, said: "sacrifice yourself for a new morning," but the better morning never arrives and the present day gets worse and worse.

Meanwhile, politically the current government goes from crisis to crisis, trying in vain to hide its fascist, genocidal and country-selling nature. More and more it reveals the pus that corrodes them to the very marrow, such as the narco-trafficking which compromises them up to the very top leaders of their reactionary armed forces.

On the other hand the more they crow about pacification "the more the armed actions explode in their face and in their hands".

The democratic path, the path of the people, is today overcoming the difficult and complex bend in the road by way of the reactivation of the revolutionary situation in keeping with the Party's New Military Plan. The struggle of the proletariat and different sectors of the people, which has been newly kindled, are favoring the development of the People's War. Our People don't need and don't want crumbs administered by the genocidal hordes in "Civic Action" campaigns, whose objective is to manipulate the masses by taking advantage of hunger and misery that the old state subjects them to. Our people need a new society where they can satisfy their needs with dignity with their own hands and by their own efforts.

Concerning Camisea's project. It should be made very clear that in no way can it be a historic event the way the fascist, country-sellers say, as they sign a contract that once again hands over our natural wealth to the voracity of an imperialist consortium for 40 years, so that as always they can take the best part and leave us with scraps.

On the application of the New Plan of "Overcome the bend in the road, developing the People's War!" In general our Party led by the Central Committee and guiding itself with Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, is successfully completing through hard struggle the New Plan of "Overcome the bend in the road, developing the People's War!" In the midst of the campaigns of encirclement and annihilation and counter-campaigns, combating the so-called "low intensity warfare."

Particularly in the Principal Regional Committee, the application of the first part of the plan of military operations leaves us with a very positive result. Its repercussions and the perspectives opening are very good.

We must keep in mind the advances gained in our military operations.

Also it is necessary to overcome errors and limitations such as the underestimation or overestimation of the enemy; to see objectives and apply them as corresponds to the grand strategic conception; don't tactically belittle the enemy, not even the mesnadas, so that we may defeat them piece by piece.

…

With respect to the three instruments. We must always highlight the leading role of the Party, never forget that without the ideological and political leadership of the proletariat through its Party, neither the peasantry nor the people can advance or achieve victory. Chairman Gonzalo teaches us to forge ourselves as peasants with proletarian minds. There is a need for meetings of different levels and especially of Leadership, because this is key.

Two-line struggle. We continue to combat the revisionist and capitulationist Right Opportunist Line, and will do so until it is thoroughly and completely swept from our ranks…

In mass work. We are advancing step by step in mobilizing and winning the masses, but it is only the beginning of a difficult task. The

attitude of the masses is positive. We must always keep in mind that the reactionaries have the slogan of isolating us from the masses and they use every method to do so, from deceiving them to repression, using blackmail and manipulation as needed. For these reasons the contest is hard and will remain so. Errors we have committed in the past have caused great harm and have been used by the reaction. Hence the demand of not impinging in any way the interests of the people and that all actions must have a clear and well-defined political sense. The masses make history.

People's Liberation Army. We are advancing in raising its bellicosity. The three tasks: combat, mobilize and produce. "Fewer but better troops and a more simple administration".

…

Front-New State. We are advancing in selecting better targets of the revolution and winning over the masses of people, creating conditions for their incorporation into the United Front. Keep in mind the difference in classes which make up the Front and the targets of the revolution; the land question; the problems of the masses.

The People's Committees have been maintained through storms and traversing a hard tempering, with advances in security and production.

The campaign for production starting from its planning. Let us be invincible in the ideological and material planes. Health and recreation.

May, 1996

PCP-CENTRAL COMMITTEE

Note: for the point (*), use as reference the Interview with Chairman Gonzalo, pg. 61 [Spanish Ed.--Tr.]: "A way out? We believe that they have no way out. Our understanding of the process of contemporary Peruvian society is that starting in 1980 bureaucrat capitalism has entered into its destruction, and as a result the whole system is falling apart, and they have no way out. And if we look at it, there's a serious

crisis, but also the two decades have come together back to back, the decade of the ‘80s and the decade of the ‘90s, both of them critical. They have no way out at all."

1997 - Note on the Political Situation

The reaction is continuing with the aggravation of its problems and conflicts.

Fascism is not counterposed to presidential absolutism. What a faction of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and some sectors of the comprador bourgeoisie today advocate is simply the passage from fascism to bourgeois democracy as before.

They say that the regime of Hermoza and Fujimori is a "dictatorship", but we know well that bourgeois democracy is also a form of dictatorship. Here, since the end of the last century, the Peruvian state has been a landlord-bureaucratic dictatorship which expresses itself in the form of a fascist government or as a bourgeois democracy (including intermediate forms).

We must warn the people because the reaction seeks to use them according to the interests of each faction. The people don't need either fascism or bourgeois democracy. The people need a New Democracy, the expression of the Popular Dictatorship and this demands the destruction of the old state.

On the other hand, the fascist clique of Hermoza and Fujimori is using the border problems raised by Ecuador as a pretext to try and recuperate lost ground, smearing their opponents as anti-patriots. When all is said and done, it has never been the armed forces, but rather the people, who have always defended the borders. It is even worse since we know from the belly of the genocidal, country-selling beast that the current clique is returning the Ecuadorian prisoners of war, practically with military honors. Meanwhile, they persecute, torture and murder the sons of the people, and they even do it with members of their own army as in the case of the SIE (Army Intelligence Service) agent who was dismembered and another who was tortured until she was left an invalid.

We must continue unmasking the demagogic trafficking of Hermoza and Fujimori when they distribute crumbs to the people. With the pretext of "fighting poverty," they aim to muffle popular protest and win votes for the reelection of the "puppet." All of this is within the Yankee strategy of the so-called "low intensity warfare" (the berserk

construction of highways is within this plan).

Thus inside the reaction their problems and conflicts aggravate, within the bosom of the people the revolutionary situation is advancing, there have been important mobilizations of masses in Lima and other cities against the fascist, genocidal and country-selling government. But here we must differentiate and see that the principal and most important thing is the development of the opposition, rejection and repudiation of the fascist regime headed by Hermoza, an opposition which grows more and more.

That is one aspect while the other is the desire of the bureaucratic bourgeoisie and others who wish to channel this popular protest to get the people to tail behind them.

We must unmask today's fascist regime, which is the principal enemy, as well as the opportunists who seek to traffic with the popular struggles. We must not put ourselves at the tail of any faction of the big bourgeoisie; rather, we must develop our own course, the democratic course, the path of the people, with the People's War as the principal form of struggle, coordinating it with the other forms of struggle which the masses of people develop.

The People's War continues its development. The May offensive was very powerful in the countryside and the city, highlight Ayacucho.

1998 - Unite the People Against the Fascist, Genocidal and Country-selling Dictatorship, Developing the People's War Further!

> Make trouble, fail, make trouble again, fail again . . . till their doom; that is the logic of the imperialists and all reactionaries the world over in dealing with the people's cause, and they will never go against this
>
> logic. This is a Marxist law. When we say "imperialism is ferocious", we mean that its nature will never change, that the imperialists will never lay down their butcher knives, that they will never become Buddhas, till their doom.
>
> Fight, fail, fight again, fail again, fight again . . . till their victory; that is the logic of the people, and they too will never go against this logic. This is another Marxist law. The Russian people's revolution followed this law, and so has the Chinese people's revolution. (Cast Away Illusions, Prepare for Struggle)
>
> Chairman Mao Tse-tung

Let us take note: we have not had any great defeat, let us prepare ourselves so that we don't have any. Up to today our process has unfolded with successes and setbacks, we have lived through hard moments, like in 1983 and 1984, but not a great defeat. This is what Chairman Gonzalo told us in 1991. Later, our Great Leader was arrested and he told us from the prison: "… Some think this is a great defeat. They are dreaming! We tell them to keep on dreaming. It is simply a bend, nothing more, a bend in the road! The road is long and we shall arrive. We shall triumph! You shall see it! You shall see it!" From then until today we have unfolded within this bend in the road and now we have begun to emerge from the bend in the road.

The People's War is not only being maintained but is advancing step

by step in the midst of hard and tenacious struggle, and the winds are blowing in our favor. Today we can affirm that the People's War is serving the overcoming of the bend in the road and although the road is still difficult and full of zigzags, we shall triumph. This year our Party is unfolding with great resolve a New Plan that is guided by the slogan UNITE THE PEOPLE AGAINST THE FASCIST, GENOCIDAL AND COUNTRY-SELLING DICTATORSHIP, DEVELOPING THE PEOPLE'S WAR FURTHER! And if the situation is complex and cruel, the future is bright.

ELECTIONS, NO! PEOPLE'S WAR, YES!

ON ELECTIONS: Marx highlighted: "every two years, the oppressed are permitted to decide which members of the oppressing class should represent them and crush them in parliament! …elections have only been the instrument of feudal landlords and the big capitalists…" Thus, elections are an instrument of the counterrevolutionary war.

1) The Peruvian state is a landlord-bureaucratic state, it is a dictatorship of the feudal landlords and the big bourgeoisie under the control of North American imperialism. Against this, the people struggle for the construction of a New Democratic State that requires the destruction of the old, existing order.

2) The Peruvian State, like all states, is based on, defends and develops by utilizing violence. In the face of this, the people need revolutionary violence, following the path of surrounding the cities from the countryside.

3) Elections are a means of domination by the landlords and the big bourgeoisie. For the people they are not an instrument of transformation, nor a means to overthrow the power of the rulers. From this comes the just orientation of using them with agitation and propaganda goals.

We greet the heroic Peruvian people that today continues to combat and resist this fascist, genocidal and country-selling dictatorial government which is the most unbridled pro-imperialist government. They apply a sinister policy that is anti-people, anti-peasant and anti-People's War. For example: the policy of the economy of "free markets and the globalization of the economy", "neoliberalism", "human rights", "bourgeois democracy", "peace", etc., etc. This is the panacea for those who live on Mt. Olympus; but these false flags from the 18th Century are demagogic verbosity that only benefit a handful of exploiters nationally and abroad. They seek to lull and intimidate the

conscience of the masses by applying a double politics. The so-called "struggle against narco-trafficking" is another imperialist double politics and a pretext to apply their counterrevolutionary strategy of "low intensity warfare" at a world level and to suffocate the revolution, primarily in the countries of the Third World. It is the case in our country moreover of those instruments to oppress the oppressed nations, here in our country and concretely in the coca producing zones, particularly in Huallaga, that North American imperialism and this regime are applying a sinister policy of eradication of coca fields with which they condemn the peasants of Huallaga and the surrounding region to hunger, ruin, abandonment and death. The so-called program of eradication and substitution of coca leaf cultivation with other alternative products, "alternative development", "agro-industrial development" was and is another demagogic verbosity of Fujimori. If not, let us see some events during the almost eight years of the long wait by principally the poor peasantry.

The programs of oil palm, palmito, cacao, coffee, rice, corn, among others, like camu-camu, bananas, etc., etc. are only done by a small group of landlords and rich peasants conditioned to support the government of "Cambio 90-New majority". They are wheedled into becoming Fujimoristas, organizing them corporatively, and under this system, giving them property titles, loans, etc., while the great majority of the poor peasantry finds itself marginalized, abandoned to their luck, while they try to drag them into their fascist system with demagogy and deceit.

This form of corporative organization, militarized and linked to "low intensity warfare" is being assembled with blood and fire with the aid of bayonets and genocide, pressuring and shackling the masses by way of the so-called CAD (Self Defense Committees), peasant rondas both native and urban, a corporatism that also drives the ministry of the presidency by way of COFOPRI, FONCODES, PRONAA, INADE, Committees of Development Against Drugs, etc. What are those organizations? For example the "Committees of Development", "Peasant Community", or the "Committees of Producers", "APAFA", "Committees of Health", "Sports Committees", "Mothers Clubs", or the "Glass of Milk"? These are corporative organizations under fascist military control, in order to tie them to their old system of exploitation and oppression and thus attempt to separate the people from the guerrillas. For that reason, continue unmasking the trafficking by Hermoza and Fujimori when they distribute crumbs to the people under the pretext of combating poverty, but in reality aiming to suffocate popular protest and win votes for Fujimori's reelection. And the fascist armed forces are supporting him in this

reelection campaign, all within the strategy of low intensity warfare. If not so, then what are these "construction of roads", which are poorly made and last only a short time, "electric lights", "direct dial" telephones which are being fomented for informing as in Tocache, where they tell the people to denounce the "terrorists" by calling to a certain telephone number. "Bridges", "sporting fields", "potable water", "construction of schools and colleges", "medical posts", "hydroelectric stations", etc. And what about the land question? The stealing of lands has begun again. Giving property titles, loans and mortgages which serves to steal the land and follow the landlord path in agriculture, to say nothing of other products like basic foodstuffs. All these promises and programs have failed because this is not the path of the peasantry, and because while exploitation and oppression exist, under whatever government of this Peruvian state, of this old system, poverty will continue to exist. For that reason the only path, the only way out is the People's War. Now here in this region some followers of reelectionism of their puppet like the demagogic traffickers they are, and others with independent masks such as in the case of "vamos vecino", promise and promise or they make some little works and giveaways as they said in that campaign by reelectionists in Tocache. They do this in other provinces like San Martín, Huánuco, etc.

All this within the "definitive pacification" of Huallaga. Today they are newly raising the same ragged lie, seeking to undermine and destroy the People's War and cover up the gathering which they subject the peasants to by force in order to form mesnadas, repeating obsolete forms that have already been destroyed by the converging struggle of the shackled masses themselves and the guerrilla actions. For this reason the COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU calls upon all the people and especially the people of Upper Huallaga to: DON'T VOTE! Don't let yourselves be disoriented by the fanfare of the municipal elections! DON'T VOTE! Boycott them, obstruct them, undermine them and impede them wherever possible.

LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN GONZALO, GREAT LEADER OF THE PARTY AND THE REVOLUTION!

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU!

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM, GONZALO THOUGHT!

ELECTIONS, NO! PEOPLE'S WAR, YES! DON'T VOTE!

LONG LIVE THE 12TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE DAY OF HEROISM!

THE PEOPLE'S WAR WILL INEVITABLY TRIUMPH!

1998 - Peruvian People! People of Alto Huallaga! The Communist Party of Peru Once Again Denounces the Genocidal Politics and the Sinister Persecution of the Prisoners of War and Their Families as Part of the Genocidal Politics of the Peruvian State

> "… Some think this is a great defeat. They are dreaming! We tell them to keep on dreaming. It is simply a bend, nothing more, a bend in the road! The road is long and we shall arrive. We shall triumph! You shall see it! You shall see it!"
>
> Chairman Gonzalo

LONG LIVE THE 18TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INVINCIBLE PEOPLE'S WAR!

On this new anniversary the Communist Party of Peru greets the Peruvian people, and in a very special manner greets the traditionally heroic and combative people of Alto Huallaga. The People's War has not been detained for an instant! It continues its inexorable march towards the conquest of power countrywide. Today more than ever, we reaffirm ourselves on the First Congress of the Party, a Marxist Congress, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought Congress and on our Basis of Party Unity with its three elements: 1) Ideology, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, 2) the Programme and 3) the general political line and its center, the military line, approved in said Congress.

We continue to face a sinister, general counterrevolutionary offensive, not only in our country but on a world level, commanded by imperialism, principally Yankee imperialism. Reaction and revisionism wish to sweep away everything revolution implies, but revolution is and shall be the principal historical and political tendency. The rattle of the false peace agitated by Yankee imperialism seeks to lull the conscience of the masses to impose, at any cost, its hegemony as the primary world superpower. The peace they offer is the peace of bayonets, of the cemeteries, of slavery. Imperialism is a giant with feet of clay which will inevitably sink. Our people don't need imperialism and neither do the other peoples of the world. We reiterate today more than ever: struggle to put Maoism as the command and guide of the World Proletarian Revolution, build militarized Marxist-Leninist-Maoist communist parties so that the revolution advances and triumphs.

On the national political situation. Despite demagogy, lies and fraud, what is real and objective is that bureaucratic capitalism has no way out: They have only achieved temporary and partial betterment, to the exclusive benefit of a handful of national and foreign exploiters, this is the essence. But some fascists, acting like paid writers and hacks, pretend to coax and deceive the naive. With falsehoods they say: "The moments we are living in are becoming things of the past", "now the situation in the country has changed", "there is no longer poverty", "we

will have a better tomorrow… we are seeing the light at the end of the tunnel" and Fujimori and company say "terrorism is under control", "Shining Path is strategically defeated", "now there is political stability and security", "the country is pacified", "the economy is growing, now we have a stable economy", "pacification, consolidation and development", "we want a better country, a stable and peaceful country", etc., etc. They dream of entering into the new millenium without the Communist Party of Peru, without the People's War; all these lies and hoaxes have to be and shall be crushed.

The reality of the country is something else, the people know perfectly well that they suffer from hunger, poverty, unemployment, repression, genocide, the selling of the national sovereignty, agriculture remains in extreme prostration, etc. For these reasons these vociferations are false, like almost everything they say is false, because this government has made cynicism and lies a standard of their actions. For all these reasons we should reflect on and better understand the necessity of the People's War, the necessity of tearing down, of demolishing the old order and of building the People's Republic of Peru, to see it as a necessary consequence, as the only solution, the only way out.

Concretely, in what concerns our Party, a new brood of shameful partisans of a revisionist and capitulationist right opportunist line who are totally and completely negating the Basis of Party Unity has arisen. Nursed and sponsored by the armed forces and the puppet Fujimori, they have crowed from their rat-holes for the realization of a so-called Second Congress to revoke the first one, belching that there must be defined a "struggle" for a "Peace Accord" with the fascists, genocides and country-sellers, thus guaranteeing the dark hoaxes of "surrenders" and "repentance" and trafficking with the name of Chairman Gonzalo.

This is how our Party denounced this in March 1995. What goes against principles and international norms cannot be accepted. For that reason, we have repudiated and condemned those miserable traitors which have sold themselves for a plate of beans, having sought to injure the class and Party morale; but this they will never achieve. And this crude hoax failed, just as others have failed and the new hoax they are making today shall fail. Now they are saying that "they will present Chairman Gonzalo on the television channels so that the so-called `peace accords' and Comrade Feliciano and those who persist in the war `will be convinced and not doubt' the word of our Great Leader, … …because `peace' has become a historical necessity…". That is, if they present our Great Leader and he "substantiates it", are we going to stop the People's War? No, we are

not going to cease the People's War. This should be made very clear, that behind all this is the dark hand of the sinister arch-reactionary brains of the CIA (North American Central Intelligence Agency) and the SIN, managed by the sinister and Machiavellian traitor to the motherland, Montesinos, by the fascist and genocidal armed forces with Hermoza at the head and the puppet Fujimori. It is these Cro-Magnons, these cave-dwelling madmen, who carry out these macabre practices of so-called "brainwashing", but this will not remain this way, the Party and the People's War shall make them explode in a thousand pieces. Thus, the hoaxes did not convince anyone, and the one they are preparing will be the same, because our people, today more conscious than yesterday, shall not allow themselves to be surprised or fooled.

They thought that with the arrest of our Great Leader, Chairman Gonzalo, and part of the Central Leadership, there was nothing we could do, and that they could annihilate us. For that reason, with the fatuous triumphalism which characterizes them, they have cried victory too soon. They even put a date on our demise, they said "in 1995 Shining Path will be defeated"; but the People's War continues and shall continue its unstoppable march. Now what do they say? "In 2000 Shining Path will be defeated." We shall see! They have dreamt and dream of annihilating the People's War, but despite difficulties and reverses it is maintained and advances, dismantling the dark campaigns and counter-subversive operations and combating the "low intensity warfare", destroying the hoax of "strategic defeat".

2. COUNTERREVOLUTIONARY WAR

Faced with the systematic campaign of psychological blackmail and the sinister policy of genocide by this fascist, genocidal and country-selling government, all led by Yankee imperialism itself, it is part of the psychological warfare and of the plan of further strengthening the counter-subversive war underway. It is principally the fascist armed forces which carry them out, managed by a clique headed up by Hermoza Ríos and advised by Montesinos, a vulgar CIA agent, expelled from the reactionary army for treason to the motherland, along with their police forces like SIN, DINCOTE, GEO, etc. Added to that are all that gang of traitors and "repentants" and informers of all sorts who help them.

What did they seek, and what do they seek today? Their immediate goals are the same as before, to sow confusion, pessimism and undermine the bond between the masses and the People's War. They seek division between the leaders and led, between commanders and combatants, between the PLA and the people; concretely, they seek to separate the guerrilla from the masses, they continue to slander and belittle with false imputations our Great Leader, Chairman Gonzalo. What do they say? "He is responsible for 25,000 deaths". But who killed them? They themselves, the fascist and genocidal armed forces, that clique headed by Hermoza and Fujimori. They slander our Party, our PLA, the New Power and the People's War. This merits more unmasking and the targeting of those who wretchedly and cunningly serve reaction and imperialism like vile mercenaries.

The Communist Party of Peru once again warns the fascist, genocidal and country-selling Fujimori, the cowardly armed forces, the ecclesiastical hierarchy, judges and bureaucrats who guarantee genocide and its big puppeteer imperialism, principally Yankee imperialism, that they must respond for the life and health of our Great Leader. On the contrary, if something happens to him, they shall pay with their lives and the lives of their kindred, no matter the cost. We demand respect for the rights that correspond to the prisoners of war, we demand the pronouncement by the international organizations _ as all the world has seen and heard how the International Red Cross has lent itself to the game of Yankee imperialism and of this fascist, genocidal and country-selling

dictatorial regime _ when supposedly it falls to them to stay vigilant for the fulfillment of elementary conventions and judicial norms which reaction itself has established and claims to respect. As proof, one example: Until today Chairman Gonzalo has not been allowed a legal defense by his lawyers in his quality as a prisoner of war. Moreover, some have been vilely assassinated, others have been disappeared and last year others were incarcerated solely for having exercised the free application of the right to defense.

We denounce the sinister plan of annihilation underway of our Great Leader, of leaders, cadre and militants, combatants and masses who have remained firm and unbreakable as prisoners of war in persisting and following the path, the sole path of the People's War. Political prisoners and prisoners of war, primarily the latter, are condemned to fascist inhuman prisons of slow death, prisons like human freezers that are worse than the concentration camps of German fascism. We say to them that all they have done and continue to do, all the barbaric and savage genocide executed by sinister, criminals, butchers and military and police torturers shall not go unpunished.

Also, we sternly warn some of those in the Leoncio Prado province, for example Col. "Vargas", Captain "Ali", etc. Cease your psychological blackmail, your hounding and persecution of the families of communists and revolutionaries, playing the role of ridiculous witch doctors to pretend through their families to break them and make them yield so that they will abandon our ranks, betray and serve your dark plans of capture and annihilation. We know quite well where you and your families live. Let it be perfectly clear, our enemies can never be our "friends". The Party and the People's War shall crush and destroy you.

3. OVERCOME THE BEND IN THE ROAD, DEVELOPING THE PEOPLE'S WAR!

The plan "Overcome…" has successfully completed the planned objectives. We have begun to emerge from the bend in the road. The great culmination was powerfully successful. Emphasize that the "low intensity warfare" that the enemy applies was systematically combated and their operations and counter-subversive campaigns have been successively and simultaneously defeated. The advance is made in the midst of hard and tenacious struggle. And although the road is difficult and full of zigzags, we shall triumph, because we have an ideology which guides us, Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought, and the Communist Party of Peru which leads us. People's Committees and Support Bases exist which heroically maintain themselves and are the advanced trenches of support for the New State which is flourishing in our motherland. Today the Peoples' War is clearly resolving the overcoming of the bend in the road and its perspective is, drawing lessons from the errors made in the past, developing it more in order to conquer power countrywide.

LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN GONZALO, GREAT LEADER OF THE PARTY AND THE REVOLUTION!

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU!

GLORY TO MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM, GONZALO THOUGHT!

THE PEOPLE'S WAR SHALL INEVITABLY TRIUMPH!

GLORY TO THE HEROIC PEOPLE OF ALTO HUALLAGA!

WE DEMAND THE JUST RIGHT TO VISITATION BY HIS RELATIVES AND THE DEFENSE AS A PRISONER OF WAR OF OUR GREAT LEADER CHAIRMAN GONZALO!

THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU AND THE PERUVIAN PEOPLE DEMAND OF THIS FASCIST, GENOCIDAL AND COUNTRY-SELLING DICATORIAL REGIME OF FUJIMORI, THE PERSONAL PRESENTATION OF OUR GREAT LEADER CHAIRMAN GONZALO, ALIVE, BEFORE THE NATIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL

TELEVISED PRESS AND THAT HE MAKE A PUBLIC STATEMENT!
FREEDOM FOR PRISONERS OF WAR!

FREEDOM FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS!

CRUSH THE CRUDE HOAXES OF A "SPLIT" IN SHINING PATH, OF "SURRENDER" AND "REPENTANCE"!

IMPLACABLY CRUSH THE HOAX OF "PACIFICATION AND DEVELOPMENT"!

LONG LIVE THE 18TH ANNIVERSARY OF THE INVINCIBILITY OF THE PEOPLE'S WAR!

1998 - Actions of the People's Liberation Army in the Departaments of San Martin, Huanuco and Ucayali

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ACTIONS OF THE PEOPLE'S LIBERATION ARMY IN THE DEPARTMENTS OF SAN MARTIN, HUANUCO AND UCAYALI, JANUARY-AUGUST 1998

SAN MARTIN DEPARTMENT

Agitation and armed propaganda

1/22/98: The PLA adorns with flags the principal gate of the college Mesones Muro and the principal plaza of the neighborhood of Pishuaya. Slogan painting in various houses were carried out.

2/17/98: Combatants of the PLA intercepted transport vehicles, and the masses where mobilized and politicized nearby the town of Ramal de Cachiyacu, San Martín.

2/24/98: Combatants of the PLA intercepted vehicles nearby the village Cachiyacu-Tocache-San Martín on the Marginal highway. Slogan painting was carried out on them.

2/27/98: The PLA in the village "Los Cedros" Tocache-San Martín held a meeting with the masses.

2/27/98: The PLA intercepts and makes slogan painting on a vehicle owned by the company Distribuidora Sibarita Micasu ERL, nearby the towns of Nuevo Progreso and Madre Mía, Tocache-San Martín and the village of Cachiyacu-Tocache, on the Marginal highway.

3/13/98: The PLA in the locality of Puerto Pizana, La Pólvora-San Martín district, intercepted a vehicle, receiving the support of the masses for the People's War.

5/12/98: The PLA blocks the highway Marginal Norte, around Km 8, locality of Ramal de Aspuzana and Pucayacu-Tocache-San Martín.

5/13/98: The PLA carries out slogan painting between Km 7 and 8 of the Marginal highway in the direction of the locality of Tocache-San Martín; slogans refer to: Crush the Right Opportunist Line; M-L-M; Elections, No! People's War, Yes!; Freedom for Political Prisoners; Freedom for Prisoners of War; Defend the Life of Chairman Gonzalo.

5/27/98: The PLA, between the localities of Uchiza and Monzón, San Martín, on the Marginal highway, mobilizes and politicizes the masses of the area.

7/13/98: The PLA on the Marginal highway nearby the village Iscote, La Pólvora-Tocache-San Martín, intercepts vehicles and carries out slogan painting. In the town a mass assembly was carried out.

7/25-29: The PLA mobilized and politicized the population of Sion, Mariscal Cáceres-San Martín, against the self-defense committees. Afterwards they withdrew in the direction of the village El Valle-Campanilla.

Guerrilla Combat

2/17/98: Joint patrols of the police and army confronted a PLA company nearby the town Ramal de Cachiyacu, resulting in one wounded soldier.

3/26/98: An army patrol sustained a confrontation with a company of the PLA in the village La Unión, La Pólvora district, Tochache-San Martín province, causing four casualties to reaction.

3/28/98: The PLA in the village Nuevo Porvenir YAHUARACHI-district of Pólvora-province of Tocache-San Martín produced a confrontation causing casualties for reaction.

6/26/98: The PLA enters into the smaller population center of Bambamarca, Tocache-San Martín, where slogan painting is carried out and pro-Party propaganda is pasted up.

6/28/98: The PLA entered the village Sin Sin, the smaller population center of Bambamarca, Tocache-San Martín, carrying out slogan painting and pasting up posters.

7/8/98: A police patrol boat was harassed when it was deployed on the Huallabamba river between the sectors called Guayaquil and Monte Bravo-Huicungo-Mariscal Cáceres-San Martin, causing it

material damage.

7/8/98: The PLA ambushes an army patrol on the outskirts of the locality Bambamarca-San Martín, causing three casualties.

7/31/98: A PLA company took the control post of Churo National Park of the Abiseo-Mariscal river Cáceres-San Martín.

8/8/98: The PLA led by the Party takes the Plaza de Armas de Saposoa, El Dorado-San Martín province. They harassed an installation of the National Police at Saposoa, carrying out slogan painting and leafleting. They wounded a police officer and two civilians, and three civilians died.

8/13/98: A confrontation between an Army and Police patrol against a PLA company occurred at the San Francisco stream, in the Regis-San Martín district.

8/13/98: The PLA and an Army patrol had a confrontation on the San Francisco stream, in the Regis-San Martín district. An Army officer was killed and one soldier wounded.

Selective Annihilation

3/24/98: PLA combatants gathered the population of the village Neuva Arequipa, in the Nuevo Progreso-Tocache district, where a collaborator was annihilated.

3/27/98: The PLA in the village "Fray Martín" at Nuevo Progreso, Tocache-San Martín province, annihilated two collaborators.

5/6/98: The PLA enters into the village La Merced Ishanga, Tocache-San Martín, where they gathered the masses in the Central Plaza and a thief was annihilated.

5/9/98: The PLA enters into the village La Merced Ishanga, Tocache-San Martín, with the aim of annihilating a collaborator.

6/2/98: The PLA annihilates a collaborator in the village Bellavista-San Martín.

6/28/98: The PLA in Puerto Alto Magote, Tocache-Nuevo Progreso-San Martín, annihilates two informers who had infiltrated the PCP.

7/3/98: The PLA, on board of a truck, harassed an Army control post in Tocache-San Martín.

8/8/98: The PLA takes the district of Pasarraya-El Dorado-San Martín (an hour and a half from the city of Saposa) in which they annihilate a provincial mayor of Huallaga. At the same time, slogan painting was done.

HUANUCO DEPARTMENT

Agitation and propaganda

3/24/98: The PLA carried out armed agitation and propaganda actions in the sports field of the locality of Santa Lucía, in the district of José C y Castillo-Huánuco.

5/4/98: The PLA blocks the Marginal highway nearby the locality of Puente Pacae Aucayacu-José Crespo y Castillo-Huánuco, detaining public transportation vehicles and doing politicizing. Afterwards they withdrew in the direction of the village Alto Pacae.

5/20/98: The PLA carries out road blocks in the Marginal highway . Nearby the locality Puente Durand Chinchao o Chinchavito, Acomayo-Huánuco. A police van was harassed which occasionally passed through the area.

6/25/98: The PLA takes the town of Pampas, Padre Abad, Aguaytía-Huánuco. The masses are politicized.

Guerrilla combat

2/14/98: A police patrol was blown up by booby-traps, annihilating a policeman and wounding several of them in the locality of Fundo Rico, José Crespo y Castillo-Leoncio Prado-Huánuco.

3/4/98: The town of Honorio Delgado, Pachitea province, Puerto Inca-Huánuco is taken.

3/21/98: The PLA sustained a confrontation with the Army in the village Río Frío, Angashyacu, Aucayacu, in the province of Leoncio Prado, Huánuco.

4/19/98: The central town of Palo Huimba-Monzón-Huamalíes, Huánuco is taken. The population is gathered together with goal of carrying out a popular assembly.

4/24/98: Taking of the village Sachabaca, Monzón-Huamalíes-Huánuco, and roadblocks of the highway which leads from that place. Slogan painting is done on the vehicles with guiding slogans of the PCP. Two Army soldiers are captured, who are later freed.

4/26/98: An army patrol is ambushed which was being deployed in a vehicle in the vicinity of the village of Palo Huimba-Monzón-Huamalíes-Huánuco. Two soldiers and three civilians are wounded.

5/22/98: The town of Puente Durand, Chinchao-Acomayo-Huánuco is taken, slogan painting is carried out.

5/23/98: The village Maliqui Puente Durand-Chinchao-Leoncio Prado-Huánuco is taken, and a popular assembly is carried out with the local inhabitants. In the same way, the Marginal highway is blocked, and foodstuffs are confiscated from a truck. Afterwards they retreated in the direction of the heights of the province of Acomayo.

6/2/98: In Puente Voladizo, Chinchao-Leoncio Prado-Huánuco the PLA ambushes two Police vehicles in circumstances while they were heading towards the city of Huánuco, resulting in material damages to the vehicles and four casualties.

6/3/98: The PLA in the sector of Bella Alta, Mariano Dámaso Beraún-Leoncio Prado-Huánuco, carries out harassment actions against a Police patrol.

7/12/98: A military patrol in Tocache is ambushed in a sector of the locality of Paraíso Cholón, Marañón-Huánuco. A soldier is killed.

8/15/98: A military patrol that is deployed in the vicinity of the village Rondos, Monzón-Leoncio Prado-Huánuco, confronted a platoon of the PLA.

Selective annihilation

2/5/98: The village of Santa Lucía-Tulumayo is taken and an informer is annihilated.

2/28/98: The village Angashyacu, on the Marginal highway, in the province of Leoncio Prado-TM is taken. The masses are mobilized and politicized for the "CONQUEST OF POWER", "LIBERATION OF CHAIRMAN GONZALO", and the "CRITICISM OF FAMILY PLANNING". At the same time slogan painting on the walls of houses was done with the slogans "DEFEND THE LIFE OF CHAIRMAN GONZALO", "PEOPLE'S WAR UNTIL COMMUNISM", "FREEDOM FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS", among others. Afterwards, a People's Court tried two informers who were later killed.

3/6/98: The PLA blocks and intercepts vehicles on the Marginal highway nearby the village Mohena, Angashyacu province in Leoncio Prado-TM. Later slogans were painted on the vehicles, among them "LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN GONZALO", "FREEDOM FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS" and stickers with the slogans: "FREEDOM FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS" and "FREEDOM FOR PRISONERS OF WAR". Afterwards they proceeded to burn a vehicle belonging to the business Electrocentrosa. In that same armed action an SIE informer was annihilated.

3/7/98: The town of Pueblo de Cahua Huánuco is taken and the justice of the peace is annihilated.

4/1/98: The highway nearby Puente Pacae, José Crespo y Castillo-Leoncio Prado-Huánuco district is blockaded. A popular assembly is realized in order to subsequently annihilate the Chairman of the Development Committee of that locality.

4/22/98: The village Huagracancha Ratacocha, Santa María del Valle-Huanuco is taken, where a lumpen element and an informer for the forces of order are annihilated.

5/98: The village El Porvenir de Morona, Daniel Alomía Robles (also known as Padre Felipe Luyando) Leoncio Prado-Huánuco where an informer is annihilated.

5/28/98: The PLA enters into the village Puente Durand, Chinchao-Leoncio Prado-Huánuco and annihilates a collaborator.

5/28/28: The village of Puente Pacae, Marginal highway, between Tingo María and Aucayacu is taken and an informer annihilated.

7/7/98: The PLA intercepted various transport vehicles in the vicinity of Puente Durand, Chinchao-Huánuco, carrying out slogan painting on them.

7/14/98: The village of Santa Ana o Río Santa Monzón, Huamalíes-Huánuco was taken, where the lieutenant governor was annihilated.

7/26/98: The PLA annihilated an informer in the Huancaturpa sector, the smaller population center of Piquiray, Umari-Pachitea-Huanuco.

Sabotage

7/25/98: PLA combatants carried out actions in the Pacae, Angashyacu and Rio Frío sectors in the district of José Crespo and Castillo, Leoncio Prado-Huánuco. The high-voltage towers No. 106, 107 and 108 were demolished by cutting the electrical current in Aucayadu. At the same time, slogan paintings were carried out on the façade of the Education Center No. 152682, Angashyacu, with words referring to "DON'T VOTE", "DEFEND THE LIFE OF CHAIRMAN GONZALO", "FREEDOM FOR THE POLITICAL PRISONERS", "WE DEMAND THAT CHAIRMAN GONZALO BE ALLOWED TO APPEAR ON TELEVISION AND THAT HIS RELATIVES BE ALLOWED TO VISIT HIM", "FREEDOM FOR POLITICAL PRISONERS AND PRISONERS OF WAR".

UCAYALI DEPARTMENT

Agitation and armed propaganda

1/16/98: The Boquerón Aguaytía-Padre Abad-Ucayali locality is taken, mobilizing and politicizing the masses.

3/15/98: The Federico Basadre highway is blockaded on kilometer 177 in a 180-meter long stretch. Slogan painting is carried out.

5/13/98: The PLA moves a long the Santa Ana river, Padre Abad-Ucayali, politicizing the masses.

6/10/98: Around kilometer 136 of the Frederico Basadre Highway is blockaded, an area known as Leche Vinagre, mobilizing and politicizing the masses.

6/18/98: The Santo Tomás (or San Pedro) Aguaytía-Padre Abad-Ucayali sector is taken, and a popular assembly is carried out.

7/7/98: Slogan painting is done in village Guacamayo, around kilometer 155.

7/8/98: Blockades and slogan paintings in both directions of the Frederico Basadre highway, around kilometer 196, in the vicinities of Puente Previsto, Padre Abad-Ucayali.

7/23/98: In the village Tangaraná Aguaytía Padre Abad-Ucayali the masses were mobilized and politicized.

Guerrilla combat

5/1/98: The lumber camp on the edge of the Paujil river in Ucayali is taken.

5/26/98: Two police vehicles are ambushed around the Guacamay bridge, kilometer 153 of the Federico Basadre highway in Padre Abad-Ucayali. Damage to the vehicles and three policemen were wounded as a result.

6/6/98: An ambush of a police patrol resulted in a confrontation around kilometer 138 of the Federico Basadre highway, in the smaller

population center of San Pedro de Chío, District Irazola, Padre Abad-Ucayali. Consequently, a Police officer was wounded and the vehicles were partially burned.

6/10/98: The town of San Pedro, kilometer 47 Federico Basadre highway, Campo Verde-province Coronel Portillo-Ucayali district was taken. A People's School was carried out with the presence of all the inhabitants of the town.

7/10/98: For 12 minutes the Police and Marine installations (located in front of the police station) was harassed in the locality Alexander Von Humboldt, kilometer 86, Federico Basadre highway-Padre Abad, Aguaytía.

1999 - Struggle Implacably Against Capitulation! Unmask and Liquidate the Traitors! Unmask and Crush the Psychological Warfare Campaign of the Reactionary Fascists!

STRUGGLE IMPLACABLY AGAINST CAPITULATION!

UNMASK AND LIQUIDATE THE TRAITORS!

UNMASK AND CRUSH THE PSYCHOLOGICAL WARFARE!

CAMPAIGN OF THE REACTIONARY FASCISTS!

> The conclusion reached by all patriotic political parties and groups and by all our patriotic fellow-countrymen was: "To fight is to survive, not to fight is to perish." The conclusion reached by all the capitulationists was: "To fight is to perish, not to fight is to survive."
>
> … Their respective positions remain the same: the conclusion of the resistance war group is "to fight is to survive, to make peace is to perish"; the conclusion of the peace group is "to make peace is to survive, to fight is to perish".
>
> The former comprises all patriotic parties and all patriots and they make up the great majority of the nation, while the latter, that is the capitulationists, constitutes only a small wavering minority within the anti-Japanese front. Consequently, the peace group has to resort to lying propaganda, and, above all, to anti-Communist propaganda. For example, it has fabricated and released a spate of false news, false reports, false documents and false resolutions…

> We Communists openly proclaim that, at all times, we stand with those who favor continuing the war and resolutely oppose those who favor making peace.
>
> Chairman Mao Tsetung
> Oppose Capitulationist Activity, June 30, 1939

ERRORS AND INJUSTICES We communists and revolutionaries can commit errors and injustices, and in fact we often make mistakes, but these mistakes are in the course of struggling for the sake of serving the people and our Party that leads the just cause of the People's War with all our hearts.

If someone has had an error or injustice committed against them, we are prepared to indemnify the harm caused but in some cases, are these reasons that they flee in cowardice and throw themselves into the arms of our worst fascist enemies, to cry …, and convert to miserable traitors, `repentants', knives against the Party, the people, the revolution? No, this is not a valid reason. It is that at heart they have changed position; don't forget that the class struggle between the bourgeoisie and proletariat exists, hence they take the bourgeoisie's position and because of that they decide to take the dark path of treason and serve the counterrevolution. This proves that they were never what they said they were, `Communist', `revolutionaries', these were only phrase coming out of their mouths. The revolution always charges each of us with choosing which side we are on; all revolutionary processes have been like this, and for that reason it doesn't and shouldn't surprise us that there are capitulators and traitors.

Our Party is undergoing reorganization and these problems are part of the purging of our organization. We are now applying a better selection of cadre, commanders, and commissars. Thus in general we are correcting the errors of the past. The people should know how to identify them and distinguish between a consistent and an infiltrated careerist or an opportunist or an enemy infiltrator of the enemy or revisionism. Know them well, not only by what they say but also by their deeds, by their daily practice in politics, in war, in guarding to defend and resolve the problems and needs of the people, etc. If they don't fulfil their role as a true revolutionary then they should be immediately criticized, unmasked and denounced by the respective channels with the goal being that the Party take relevant measures. Thus we shall have a better control both from above and below. Furthermore what is more important to avert these problems, we should, on one hand, internally in our Party organizations, the

People's Liberation Army, the Front-New State and among the people in general, reinforce the study of our politics, our Basis of Party Unity, and on the other hand we should liquidate these miserable criminal traitors.

Thus, errors and injustices have a solution, they can be corrected, but never treason. No, treason has no pardon, treason is sanctioned with the death penalty. They are dreaming if they think that they are going to be happy where they are knowing the crime they have committed; sometimes revolutionary justice is late but it arrives, and for these traitors the day shall come when they settle accounts for their crimes. For the rest, let them know very well: Nothing justifies treason!

Therefore, what `justice' can our fascist and treasonous enemies be talking about? What moral authority do they have to claim `justice' and thus try to mislead, disorientate, separate and isolate the guerrilla from the people? These are one more psychological campaign by the fascist, die-hard enemies of the Party, the revolution and the people. They aim to win the people with hoaxes, presenting themselves as sheep when in reality they are genocidal wolves. Isn't this world fouled by this decrepit, bourgeois system unjust? For that reason the oppressed people uphold "It is right to rebel!", they rise up in arms and shall continue to do so, applying the revolutionary violence to overthrow the old state, all under the leadership of the Party to conquer power and set up a new society without oppressors or exploiters. What do they say about our country, all the past governments in the history of the republic and the current fascist, genocidal and country-selling dictatorship? Isn't it the case that the in reality the people, after eight long years of waiting are sick of the promises and injustices of this sinister regime which is called `democratic' but that in essence is fascist (to say nothing of the greatest generalized corruption from Fujimori down to the regime's last official)? What about these reactionary, fascist, genocidal, country-selling, drug-dealing armed forces? What about the other powers of the old Peruvian state? The list would be long.

From start to finish, you gentlemen are for defending this old order of oppression and exploitation like the fascists you are; while we are for the revolution, for the destruction of their old order, for defending the interests of our people and the Party.

Finally we here once more take up self-criticism for the errors and injustices which as individuals we have committed against the interests of the people or of some persons, and we are always prepared to correct ourselves, because our Party has a just and correct politics.

Errors are committed by persons and not by the Party.

Also, we should keep in mind that at all times the reactionaries have the slogan of isolating us from the masses and they use all methods to do so, from deceit to repression, using blackmail and manipulation as they need to. For that reason the struggle shall be hard. Mistakes we have committed before have caused much damage and have been used by the reactionaries, and they are using them, and shall continue to do so, for their counterrevolutionary ends. From this comes the demand that we must not affect at any time the interests of the people and that all our actions must have a clear and definite political sense.

Recall what Chairman Mao Tsetung told us: "To Be Attacked by the Enemy Is Not a Bad Thing but a Good Thing (May 26, 1939):

"I hold that it is bad as far as we are concerned if a person, a political party, an army or a school is not attacked by the enemy, for in that case it would definitely mean that we have sunk to the level of the enemy. It is good if we are attacked by the enemy, since it proves that we have drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves. It is still better if the enemy attacks us wildly and paints us as utterly black and without a single virtue; it demonstrates that we have not only drawn a clear line of demarcation between the enemy and ourselves but achieved a great deal in our work."

LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN GONZALO, GREAT LEADER OF THE PARTY AND THE REVOLUTION!

LONG LIVE MARXISM-LENINISM-MAOISM, GONZALO THOUGHT, PRINCIPALLY GONZALO THOUGHT!

CRUSH THE HOAX OF 'PACIFICATION AND DEVELOPMENT'!

1999 - the Speech by Our Great Leadership Is a Combat Weapon That Shines Victoriously and Powerfully Before the World

"Without Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, Gonzalo Thought cannot be conceived, because the latter is the creative application of the former to our reality. The key question on this point lies in the understanding of the historical process of the development of the proletarian ideology, of its three stages shaped into Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, and with Maoism as principal; and, essentially, it is the application of Marxism-Leninism-Maoism as a universal truth to the concrete conditions of the Peruvian revolution; hence Gonzalo Thought is specifically principal for the Communist Party of Peru and the revolution it leads."

"All revolutions, in their process of development, through the struggle of the proletariat as the leading class and, above all, the struggle of the Communist Party that raises their unrenounceable class interests, generate a group of leaders and principally one who represents and leads it, a Great Leader with acknowledged authority and rising influence. In our reality this has materialized, on account of historical necessity and contingency, in Chairman Gonzalo, Great Leader of the Party and the revolution.

Moreover, and this is the basis upon which all great leadership is formed, revolutions give rise to a thought that guides them, the result of the application of the universal truth of the ideology of the international proletariat to the concrete conditions of each revolution; a guiding thought indispensable to reach victory and to conquer power and, moreover, to continue the revolution and to maintain the course always towards the only, great goal–Communism; a guiding thought that, arriving at a qualitative leap of

> decisive importance for the revolutionary process which it leads, becomes identified with the name of the one who shaped it theoretically and practically. In our situation, this phenomenon specified itself first as guiding thought, then as Chairman Gonzalo's guiding thought, and later, as Gonzalo Thought; because it is the Chairman who, creatively applying Marxism-Leninism-Maoism to the concrete conditions of Peruvian reality, has generated it, thus endowing the Party and the revolution with an indispensable weapon that is the guarantee of victory."
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> First Party Congress, (Fundamental Documents)

The Central Committee, unconditionally reaffirming itself on our beloved and respected Chairman Gonzalo, Great Leader of the Party and the Revolution, who with the all-powerful Gonzalo Thought leads us to our goal, the always golden Communism, also reaffirms itself on the First Party Congress, a Marxist Congress, a Marxist-Leninist-Maoist, Gonzalo Thought Congress, along with our Basis of Party Unity with its three elements. It greets the Peruvian people, most especially the masses of the Support Bases who persist in heroically defending the New Power with People's War; all the masses inside and outside the country who are serving the People's War; the Revolutionary Internationalist Movement; and the parties and revolutionary organizations who support our heroic People's War, understood as part of the World Revolution.

Chairman Gonzalo's speech shines powerfully and victoriously before the world, arming the Party to overcome the bend in the road with People's War, applying the accords of the Third Plenum, a glorious Plenum, putting our forces in tension because we defend the interests of the people, the Party's principles, the principles of People's War; we do this and continue doing this, hoisting our red flag to the masthead, because once it is hoisted it must never be lowered.

The Party takes a firm position on what was established by our Great Leadership, which condemns and crushes those who think we are experiencing a great defeat; this is simply a bend in the road of the revolution, nothing more; what corresponds is to persist and overcome the bend in the road with People's War, because without it there would be no place for the proletariat, for the people, nor for the Party, and the revolution couldn't triumph. The Party assumes its role as

heroic combatant; it is applying Gonzalo Thought with firmness and resolution to resolve new problems, crushing the campaigns of encirclement and annihilation within the low-intensity war that imperialism, mainly Yankee imperialism, crafts, demolishing the monstrosities of "pacification", which is an obtuse defense of this exploitative and oppressive order bred by that drove of reactionary and revisionist imbeciles who rant and rave to defend and maintain their daily dole.

Chairman Gonzalo established for us: "Our Party was founded to conquer power, it was reconstituted to fulfill this objective and it initiated the armed struggle to shape this path; this road has brought us to the immediate goal of conquering power countrywide, it is a political strategy that must guide us, it is a struggle more complex, more intensified, more glorious, to complete the democratic revolution, to build the People's Republic of Peru. All our work serves this end . . . ." From this the Party unalterably maintains the course of the revolution facing the problems of the bend in the road, demonstrating a great power of recovery. Specifically, facing the arrest of Comrade Feliciano the Party closes ranks around the system of Party leadership, and cohesively unfolds a defense of his life and integrity, linked to the defense of our Great Leadership through People's War. This demonstrates that the Party has known how to generate a leadership for our necessity, for our reality; we are sufficiently forged, we are not daunted by risk, we are not stopped by dangers, all this is one more test—let it be welcome!

We have unmasked and shattered into a thousand pieces the counterrevolutionary hoax that this fascist, genocidal and country-selling regime has set up, nursing and fathering a revisionist ROL; those wretched, revisionist rats and petty groveling chieftains have been unable to withstand a work-related accident; they were unable to carry out the internal debate, and instead fled cowardly, expressing as part of their revisionist essence their zeal to split, and from outside [the Party—Trans.] they have raised their dark, rotten and pus-filled flags of capitulation. This is how they acted and are acting, trying to surprise the naïve and ignorant; these wretched traitors defame our Great Leader as a capitulator. The Party has unmasked the fabricated montages and hoaxes, such as the so-called "self-criticisms," one by one with deeds and proofs; from this we condemn and plainly reject the position that "Chairman Gonzalo is behind the letters. . . ." Six years after the presentation of the "letters", when they don't even correspond to reality, the only thing they do is repeat the black vomit that erupts from the bloody gullets of this fascist, genocidal and country-selling regime, and in this way converging with the revisionist

and capitulationist ROL; the only support they have is the corruption that emanates from the sewers of reaction, and nothing else.

In a masterful way, our Great Leadership has established and at the same time contributed to the world revolution by having defined that Marxism has been developed, specifying that Maoism is the new, third and superior stage of Marxism, and that to be a Marxist today is to be a Maoist. On this basis the Party assumed the solemn pledge to "uphold, defend and apply Marxism-Leninism-Maoism, principally Maoism!" and to struggle untiringly to assist in placing Maoism as the command and guide of the world revolution–the sole, reddest and unfading flag that is the guarantee of triumph for the proletariat, oppressed nations and peoples of the world in their inexorable, combative march with legions of iron towards the golden and always shining Communism. It is since 1966, with the reconstitution, that we have been upholding Maoism.

Today, Chairman Gonzalo in his speech establishes for us: "Finally now, listen to this. As we see in the world, Maoism is marching unstoppably to lead the new wave of world proletarian revolution. Listen well and understand! Those who have ears, use them. Those who have understanding–and we all have it–use it! Enough of this nonsense! Enough of these obscurities! Let us understand that! What is unfolding in the world? What do we need? We need Maoism to be embodied, and it is being embodied, and by generating Communist Parties to drive and lead this new great wave of the World Proletarian Revolution that is coming", "Today there is one reality; the same contenders of the First and Second World War are preparing a new Third World War. We should know this and we, as the children of an oppressed nation, are part of the booty. We cannot consent to this! Enough imperialist exploitation! We must finish with them! We are of the third world and the third world is the base of the World Proletarian Revolution, with one condition, that the Communist Parties brandish and lead! That is what we must do! . . ." We emphasize the importance of the oppressed nations that are the base of the World Proletarian Revolution and the immediate necessity of generating Maoist Communist parties that develop people's war, in order to correspondingly unfold the new great wave of the world revolution and to impose Maoism as the command and guide.

At the world level we confront a sinister general counterrevolutionary offensive commanded by imperialism, principally Yankee imperialism. Reaction and revisionism seek to sweep away everything that revolution implies, but revolution is and shall be the principal historical and political tendency. The tune about the false peace that

Yankee imperialism sings, seeks to lull the consciousness of the masses to sleep in order to impose their hegemony as the primary global superpower. The peace that they offer is the peace of bayonets, the peace of the cemetery, and we must understand that there are four things--Socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Party and Marxism-Leninism-Maoism--that they attack in a systematic, cunning and sinister way. They negate Socialism, they attack the proletarian dictatorship, they negate the necessity of the Party and they proclaim the obsolescence of Marxism.

On these topics we start from what our Great Leadership established in the Third Plenum:

On Socialism: ". . . There were 5 five-year plans, 25 years, with a world war in which the Soviet Union had 25 million dead and had to apply a scorched-earth policy. The drive and conditions created in those times allowed a forceful advance and development until the 1960s, and the drove of revisionists could not contain the continuing expression of such a powerful force, the momentum and vigor of the forms generated by the new system. The five-year plan from 1961-1965 gave priority to the economic bases; the plan from 1966-1970 and from 1971-1975 are for economic bases. The first five-year plan gave priority to heavy industry, and Chairman Mao said that Stalin did not know how to handle the system of production well, he distorted it and did not allow it to walk on two feet—agriculture and industry. Despite the errors committed, the momentum of the power of these new social relations created a complete revolution and determined the bases of economic development that satisfied the need of millions and made [Text missing from original—Trans.] What system did anything similar? The United States? This country had an umbilical chord to England, which was already bourgeois; upon reaching the USA there was no feudal base to bother them. How many centuries did they need? A long task of centuries, 350 years, which cannot be separated from England. In 30 years, were they able to make a motherland like the USSR? Were they able to overcome hunger like in China? Who can boast of this? No one . . . ." Thus what happened in the USSR was the bankruptcy of revisionism, and revisionism is the vanguard of restoration, not ". . . the collapse of the Soviet Union . . ." as some state. Socialism did not fail, rather it was the abandonment of Socialism to adjust themselves to the old imperialist world; there they disintegrated their system to be part of the world imperialist order.

On the dictatorship of the proletariat: "They call it totalitarian: We should see what Chairman Mao said in On the People’s Democratic

Dictatorship, see who benefits the most—the people and the class. Let us sweep away trifles of totalitarianism, the old tales they use to confuse us. Let us see the benefits, and advantages the people got. What do the reactionaries give? Or the bourgeoisie? . . ."

On the Party: "They proclaim non-partisanship, aiming to dissolve the politics of the working class and the proletariat, and seek only bourgeois politics . . . ." They dream of the class without its vanguard, without its highest state, without its scientific ideology–dreams that turn into nightmares.

On the question of Marxism: ". . . The bourgeoisie are so decrepit that they do not attack it directly, rather they return to ideas from two centuries ago, revindicating ultra-reactionary persons, ass-kissers like de Tocqueville, a rose-tinted version of the North American bourgeois dictatorship. This is a complete amusement; they say Marxism is obsolete and doesn't work, but they don't attack it openly. When have they found a basis for this? No one has ever proven the obsolescence of Marxism. They have boasted about it, mere apprentices and quacks like Dühring and a pack of plunderers of Marxism. In synthesis, we must defend Marxism, Socialism, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the Party, seeing the great things they have generated, whose interests they served, and counterpoise them to the interests served by capitalism, imperialism, the bourgeois dictatorship and the ridiculous petty parties. We are not living in ambiguous times. For the revolution to advance, it requires struggles with violence for great ruptures. Chairman Mao said, 'Only a great chaos can generate a new order'. We have had insufficient chaos, we must generate more, do it at the level of ideas; moving ideas is vital to shape public opinion; without this we cannot conquer power . . . ."

Thus the COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU calls for taking up the speech as a combat weapon; applying the all-powerful Gonzalo Thought to resolve the new problems (Third Plenum), that is the guarantee of victory until Communism; and defending the life and physical integrity of our Great Leadership with People's War. And we must celebrate the 50th anniversary of the Chinese Revolution with actions that shake-up the rotten imperialist order, in order to enthrone our scientific, proletarian ideology among the masses.

LONG LIVE CHAIRMAN GONZALO, GREAT LEADER OF THE PARTY AND THE REVOLUTION!

LONG LIVE THE ALL-POWERFUL GONZALO THOUGHT!

LONG LIVE THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF PERU!

LONG LIVE THE INVINCIBLE PEOPLE'S WAR!

PEOPLE'S WAR UNTIL COMMUNISM!

LONG LIVE MAOISM, DOWN WITH REVISIONISM!

LONG LIVE THE TRIUMPH OF THE CHINESE REVOLUTION!